

**The Entrepreneurial Self: food cultures and young people's transition to adulthood.**

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PhD

I, Martyn John Richmond, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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## **Dedication**

I am indebted to those who have offered tremendous support to me in doing this work, particularly Kate, my wife, and Andrew Burn, my supervisor at the Institute of Education. Thanks also to Fred Welbourn who continues to inspire.

## **Abstract**

The study conducts an ethnographic examination of the meanings that food has for young people, in their performance of becoming adult. It uses Giddens' understanding of self-identity as a theoretical lens with which to inspect their performances. A social semiotic multimodal analysis is made of young people's visual artifacts, about an aspect of food which mattered to them, and interviews with them. The study provides a view of their engagement with adult food culture that is about their learning to manage more independent lives, and learning to adapt to a future, in which a 'self-entrepreneurial' disposition - that is a commitment to perpetual self-improvement - is required of adults in a rapidly changing, globalized, and increasingly neo-liberalised world. We see how this engagement frames a moral repertoire for them; but also produces contradictions with the desire for social belonging which they must deal with.

The analysis identifies, first, how young women dissociate themselves from dysfunctional relationships with food, including eating disorders, by construing a version of themselves that is self-improving. Second, the analysis shows how healthy eating is an important framework for young men and young women with which they measure their self-entrepreneurial selves, and dissociate themselves from the popular conflation of unhealthy eating, social dependence and unsuccessful lives. Third, the analysis shows their appropriation of ideal values for food's social function as another driver of young people's self-entrepreneurial narratives: re-centring the basis of future self-development within the self. Fourth, the analysis shows that in addressing consumer taste, young people cooperate in constructing a meritocratic legitimacy for social differentiation, focused upon the possession of a self-entrepreneurial disposition: the commitment to self-improvement and social aspiration.

The study disentangles the representation of young people's relation to food as problematic from their actual, subjective lives and cultural work.

## **Impact statement**

### **POLICY MAKERS**

This study suggests that healthy eating interventions need to address young people's own aspirations for themselves. It shows young people to be actively negotiating with food culture, and its contradictions, in ways which are about appropriating risk-management and developing a trust in self. The study shows that future developments should address young people's self-management as a part of their construction of a self-entrepreneurial, self-identity and a desire to be seen as positively orientated to future, personal and social well-being. Young adults' interest in healthy eating is not encouraged by healthy eating messages alone.

### **CONSUMER GROUPS AND THE FOOD INDUSTRY**

The study shows that young people distrust the messages of industrial food producers, advertisers and service providers, and would value greater transparency about food healthiness and provenance. This interest serves young people's interest in becoming independent: developing trust in themselves, as consumers, rather than relying on parents for their wellbeing. Transparency also serves young people's interest in construction of a more adult lifestyle. There is a relation, mostly for female participants, between the value of artisanal food and the communication of personal authenticity and generosity towards others. There is a substantial interest in young women, in the study, to resignify food processes away from an association with traditional female food work.

### **EDUCATORS**

The study underlines the importance of young people's interpretation of the territory of an educational institution - particularly the values it promulgates, its privileging of kinds of self-reflexivity and its sociality - as a biographical marker of becoming more adult. It highlights young people's interest in negotiating with former, habituated food practices, and leaving behind younger versions of themselves, in order to imagine their present and future success. Although the study reinforces the view that class possession of economic, social and



cultural capitals supports a personal sense of advantage, it also shows that the performance of a self-entrepreneurial disposition also signifies a potential for future success across the contemporary middle-class.

The study underlines the importance of young people's learning to be creative interpreters of food culture in developing confidence in themselves as resourceful and capable. It points to the importance of being given the opportunity to engage in semantic production - in discourse, design, production, distribution and interpretation - to this end. That body size is implicated in the reading of the body healthiness, and the social judgment of a positive or negative, personal disposition to individual goal achievement, shows the importance of schools' and universities' role in promoting non-thin role models of success and self-entrepreneurial attitude.

## **MEDIA**

The study shows that young people's engagement with food television is a part of their developing confidence in themselves as capable interpreters of the consumer market, and their imagining their future, self-improvement. Its mediation of food capability and taste, as an aesthetic circulated in popular food culture, rather than a signifier of class distinction, allows for young people's construction of a self-entrepreneurial identity, distanced from the socially and culturally pathologised identities of obese and socially dependent individuals.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

This is a study which brings together interests in young people's subjectivity, their sense of making personal progress in life and their use of food as a cultural resource with which to mark or imagine that progress. It is a study which tells the story of their performances of becoming more adult, in their food practices and in the meanings they attribute to them. Because the research settings are in educational institutions – a university and a school - or connected to them, these self-performances are connected to the values and dispositions encouraged by those institutions, but they are also personal and define participants as individuals with lives outside of them. The fieldwork involves young people aged 16 to 23 years.

These self-performances are seen in the visual artifacts they make, in response to the prompt of the researcher to explore thoughts and feelings about an aspect of food that is important to them. They are also seen in the interviews that each takes part in. In the body of the study, and in Appendix 1, you will see these artifacts – from video diaries and documentary film treatments to conceptual art pieces - and extracts of these interviews. The analysis of them, in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, tells the story of these young people's negotiation with adult food culture and with kinds of personal disposition associated with socio-economic success. It shows food 'lifestyle' (Giddens, 1994, p.5f) to be a cultural resource with which young people manage their present lives and their imagined, future lives: conserving what works for them in the here and now, but learning how to adapt to the flexibility required of adults in a rapidly changing, globalized world. This learning to adapt to new places and new social and institutional settings is already underway, for example in those who have moved from home to university. In their address to being the best that they can be, we see their negotiation with, and performance of, what this study terms a self-entrepreneurial disposition.

In its interest in food and identity, this study continues the interest of my MA research study (Richmond, 2008), focused, in part, upon people's engagement with food culture and its meanings for them. That study followed



the Cultural Studies model of the circuit of culture (du Gay, Hall, *et al*, 1997), and dealt with the 'biographies' (ibid, p.2) of television programmes featuring telly-chefs Hugh Fernley-Whittingstall, Nigella Lawson and Nigel Slater. The study was interested in the television production companies' mediation of food's meaning, their address to the politics of the television industry and its regulation by government, their engagement with different vocabularies of middle-class identity, and my respondents interpretation of them.

It was the work with respondents, and their use of these texts to say important things about themselves, that continued to interest me. They produced rich accounts of their lives - aesthetic, pleasurable, embodied and reflective. They described how they lived, what they valued, how they thought and felt about themselves and others. As I approached this study, I continued to have an interest in the television industry, and food television, but it was the relationship between food and identity which interested me the most. The interest in the television industry is occasionally seen in this study, in its reference to the genres of broadcast, food television, at the time of the fieldwork, and in reference to the use of food television extracts in the second phase of the fieldwork.

The relationship between food and identity is very productive because food is connected to being in the world and the performance of who we are. It is necessary for life, the means of calming the anxiety of hunger, and, for some, the fear of survival. It can be an object of pleasure and desire. It is a means of bonding and intimacy with others, of learning to trust our relationship to the world from the beginning - with others, with time and with place. It can be a means of generosity and shared humanity between bodies, a means of love and commitment, or negligence, or despair in not being able to provide for others. As central to our habits, of being in places and being with other people, of movement along everyday pathways, it is a means of maintaining normality, and of maintaining a social identity in a performance of self. It is a cultural phenomenon with which young people learn about themselves, their capacities and their changing identities in and outside of families. It is a means of social and cultural belonging, of social solidarity, of ritual and memory work. It is the means by which the body is in the world, by which it prospers or

perishes. In its unequal distribution, food is a means of social privilege and deprivation, of social division and injustice. It is a marker of social identity and power. Its production, consumption and disposal shape the rural landscape and the city-scape. The organisation of food trade connects individual consumption with networks of dominance and dependence, of great extension and intention, across the globe, creating opportunities and constraints for others. Its production and consumption contributes to the conservation or destruction of life on the planet.

The position, about the importance of food, is long held. Naturally, there is further reflection during the time of the study, by wider reading and attendance at conferences. The Literary Review makes reference to some of the reading. To illustrate, the work by Tim Lang and associates (2009 and 2004), and Peter Lunt (2011), on food policy, has informed my view of the healthy eating message, and its association with responsible citizenship in wider social discourses, as a 'regime of truth' (Foucault, 1986, p.54) and basis of self-management. I would also highlight the importance of Alan Warde (1997), alongside my own life experience, in informing my view of the headwork that women routinely do, in their engagement with food work and the market, in their investment to do their best for others, usually their families. The work of giving value to the processes of sourcing, preparing and feeding others, is a gendered, social expectation and performance of self, which young women in this study negotiate with. Angela McRobbie's (2012) theoretical perspective upon post-feminism, the neo-liberalisation of the family, and Pierre Bourdieu's (1998) reading of neo-liberalism's undermining of institutions of social solidarity, together with my own experience of family, has influenced the way I think about this negotiation. They have informed my understanding of the social myth of self-autonomy, which hides the dependency upon others which is necessary for its performance. The interest in a psycho-social dimension to sourcing, eating and sharing food, and its symbolism, goes back a long way to work with Fred Welbourn (1965 and 1968), on my first degree, and his introduction to an anthropological perspective upon belief, social practice and the construction of a sense of belonging to the tribe or society. This included

an introduction to Mary Douglas (1970, 1971 and 1973) on cultural rules of social practice, including the symbolism of food.

As the chapter on theory describes, a post-structural view of identity, and a view of embodiment that is post-Enlightenment, inform the stance of this study. I need to single out the reading of Stuart Hall's essay on identification (2000), Judith Butler (1992) on the performance of self, and Anthony Giddens (1984 and 1994), whose work on self-identity (1994) is a key focus of this study. The collection of essays, on the embodied negotiation of culture and self, compiled by Thomas Csordas (2000), Rosalyn Diprose's (2002) work on 'corporeal generosity' (the title of her book) and the collection of food studies compiled by Pat Caplan (1997) have influenced the way I have thought about food as a means of experiencing the self and thinking about the self through a cultural vocabulary. Once the analysis of the fieldwork was underway, and young people's performance of being self-entrepreneurial selves became so apparent, thinking about the connection between subjectivity and neo-liberalisation became important for this study. I would single out my participation in the conference at Manchester Metropolitan (Neoliberalism as Policy, Theory and Practice, 2013) as the point at which my thinking about the dialectical relationship that Giddens (1994) describes, between subjective work and institutions of 'high modernity' (ibid, p.4), cohered.

As the Literature Review describes, young people are poorly represented in food studies, particularly in any sense of the meaning that food has for them. As the Review describes, interest in them is dominated by their part in the obesity crisis. Their consumption is not given the depth which Cultural Studies would give to it, as the appropriation of meaning and practice. However, as the Review describes, Cultural Studies has shown little interest in young people's food.

The interest in this study, to give a fuller account of young adults' food meanings, is also motivated by being a teacher, focused upon young people's learning, and how they negotiate a sense of themselves, in dealing with the aspirations of peers, families and school, and how they take charge of cultural objects, ideas and values. Doing the M.A. at the IOE, later participating in

working groups and attending conferences there (e.g. Playground Games and Songs in the New Media Age, 2010), and reading have informed this study's view of young people's engagement with culture. In particular, David Buckingham (2008, 2011) on children's participation in the market and culture, and Andrew Burn (2015), on children's and young people's creative and critical engagement with visual culture, have all been important. Jones' (2012) perspective upon youth as diverse transitions to adulthood, through engagement with institutional structures, and my own awareness of the difficulties which young people face, at the time of this study, in gaining the traditional, social markers of adulthood, have prompted reflection upon young people's negotiation with culture and their performance of personal progress.

Sarah Pink's (2007, 2009) work on ethnography, particularly visual ethnography, and its critique of the kinds of knowledge developed by different kinds of research method, is influential in this study, perpetually challenging me to reflect upon the design of the work with participants and the claims that I make in the analysis.

## **THE CONTENT OF THE STUDY**

This is a study that gives emphasis to the analysis of fieldwork, to participants' self-performances, in their visual artifacts and interviews, as the basis of the claims that are made about them. This is reflected in the proportion of space given to the chapters in the study.

### **Literature Review**

This chapter outlines the different interests in food, predominantly in the Social Sciences, such as Social Anthropology, Sociology, and Cultural Studies. It notes that, even though there has been a burgeoning of interest in the study of everyday food practices, including those in the UK, since the Economic and Social Research Council's research programme of 1992-98, there has been a shortfall in addressing young people's participation in food culture, and its part in young people's identities. It describes how the current agenda of an obesity crisis, in media, political and health discourses, drives much of the research, particularly upon children. Research has focused upon children's and young

people's consumption of food, as food choice, and upon the influences upon their food behaviour, at the expense of understanding what food means to them. Further, a Cultural Studies interest in the consumption of food, which is about the appropriation of meaning, is not concerned with young people and young adults per se.

The Review notes that, although there has been a strong interest in food culture and identity, particularly in Anthropology, Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies, this has not focused upon young adults. Their interest in the symbolism of food is noted. This is particularly robust in dealing with ethnicity and the experience of migration. It includes food's use in the embodiment of cultural ideas. There is specific interest, in Sociology, in the problematic relationship of eating and the ideals of girls' and women's bodies, in economically advanced, Western societies. There is some, more recent interest in eating and body dissatisfaction in boys and young men. There is little interest in young people's affective experience of food more generally, and how young people learn to negotiate becoming adult through its use. This includes thinking about the relationship between this negotiation, the capitals (Bourdieu, 1986) which they possess, and the different kinds of transition to adulthood that young people make. This also includes thinking about their relationship to geographical place and foodscape, the negotiation of commercial and political forces, and relationship to food producers and food products in place. The Review concludes with an exploration of food policy, in national and global contexts, as a means of understanding how the interest, including that of research, in obesity, participates in a neoliberal agenda. The research question orientates this study to areas of shortfall identified in this Review, from a Cultural Studies perspective. The question is: How do young people's identities develop through engagement with food culture, in the transition to adulthood?

## **Theory**

This chapter outlines the theoretical approach of the study, and how it drew upon theory that helped address the themes of the research question, and inform the methodology. It takes the theme of self-identity, as Giddens (1994)

describes it, as the main theoretical focus of this study, and reflects upon it with reference to the identity performances made by participants. This reflection brings into play Hall's 'identification' (Hall, 2000, p.2), as the description of a desiring subject, feeling the insufficiency of her present social identity, and as helping to explain the affective depth of participants' desire to be something more in the future. It asks what Hall's location of subjectivity within discourse adds to Giddens' account of 'self-reflexivity' (Giddens, 1994, p.9), including sight of what constrains young person's identity performance, and the sense of making progress, as well as what enables it.

Drawing self-identity into dialogue with cultural representation, and regulation of different kinds of social selves, seen within Foucauldian, genealogical and governmental frames (Rose, 1999), helps explain the kinds of cultural vocabulary with which these participants operated with, in order to mark their personal progress as kinds of self. This discussion draws upon the well-known Cultural Studies model of the circuit of culture, in which the meanings articulated in 'identity' produce, and are the product of, the processes of meaning-making at the other nodes of 'consumption', 'representation', 'regulation' and 'production' (Du Gay, Hall et al, 1997, p.3). It considers how making the self culturally intelligible offers a way of sustaining the self-narrative, which Giddens describes, within present day social, economic and institutional contexts, and along the diverse, transitional pathways from youth to adulthood which Jones (2009) describes.

Using strands of phenomenological theory, the chapter stresses the centrality of embodiment in self-identity, in the relations between perception, meaning-making, and cultural participation. In this way, the study attends to participants' embodied self-performances and their representations of their own, and others', embodied, performances of food culture. Here, the chapter bridges to the discussion in the next chapter, on Methodology, about how a multimodal inspection of communication can allow sight of personal experience within culture.

## **Methodology**

This chapter explains the practical aspects of the fieldwork, and the kinds of analysis used. It explains my decision to work with young people in predominantly educational, institutional settings, as an ethical and pragmatic settlement linked to my use of visual ethnography. It explains how the use of visual artifacts is intended to give participants the degree of reach into experience that they wish, within boundaries that they understand, and within a creative process, of 'criticality, aesthetics and pleasure' (Burn 2015, p10), which they are practiced in. The chapter explains how a Social Semiotic multimodal analysis of this process, in the material product and in the interview which follows, would assist a description of their self-performances.

The chapter describes the three cohorts of participants as opportunity samples, considers the diversity within them, and explains the research strategies within each of the three settings. Each stage of the research is described as a phase. Phase 1 involved students and ex-students, from a community college at which I had worked, making a video about an aspect of food that mattered to them, in settings outside of college. Phase 2 involved Film Studies students at that college, making a documentary about an aspect of food that was important to them. Phase 3 involved university students on a Graphics Design course, making a visual artifact of their choice about an aspect of food that mattered to them. Each phase involved a semi-structured interview with each participant. The chapter explains how the artifact and the interview are viewed as 'punctuations' of meaning about themselves and their food practice and experience, along a 'semiotic chain' of meaning (Stein, 2003, p.58).

The chapter explains the practical processes of fieldwork - of recording material, transcription, analysis of artifact and interview, and their thematisation. The groundwork of thematisation and analysis is included as Appendix 1. Illustration and explanation of those themes is given in the analysis in chapters 4 to 7. The chapter explains the kind of knowledge that is developed in the ethnographic account of those chapters. This discussion takes on board the debate about whether ethnography and multimodality can

work together (Dicks, Flewitt, Lancaster and Pahl, 2011, Pink, 2011, Hurdley and Dicks, 2011, and Kress, 2011). It explains the settlement made by this study. It accepts the limited access to participants' actual food practices, the limited experience of co-presence, and inter-subjectivity. However, it argues that sufficient knowledge is generated by the analysis of participants' self-performances, in the dialogue between a multimodal, social semiotic analysis of their meaning making and a reflexive account of what they say about their lived experience, to make a 'thick description' (Geertz 2000, p.6) of their self-identity work; and sufficient to specify the place which food has in the cultural life that these young people live in.

### **Chapter 5: Leaving behind dysfunctional relationships with food**

This is the first chapter of analysis of the fieldwork. It focuses upon female participants, from all three phases of the research, in response to a second reading of the fieldwork material, described in Appendix 1. This second reading was a comparison of positions to food according to gender , specifying young women's interpretation of a female dysfunctional relationship to food and eating. It includes eating disorders but, more broadly, other kinds of emotional complication, such as low self-esteem about body image or eating, which prevent, or hinder, their full participation with adult food culture. This chapter shows that key to their perception as to what an adult female should be, and what they should be striving for, is self-autonomy and being what this study calls self-entrepreneurial. This is being someone who is in control of themselves, whose thought subdues negative feeling, and who is continually looking for opportunity to improve themselves. This personal disposition was key to their self-performances in all of the research settings. The chapter acknowledges that eating disorders and body dissatisfaction are also male issues, but that it was young women who, in this study, elected to use this theme to define who they were, and to use control over the body as a metaphor of their self-improvement and their capacity for self-fulfilment.

This chapter shows that this position-taking is a part of having a more general self-entrepreneurial, disposition to life: of working on the self with the same kind of self-responsibility, self-motivation, personal resourcefulness,



adaptability, rationality and focus upon self-productivity that characterises being a successful adult, according to neo-liberal versions of successful selves. In their visual artifacts, and in the interviews, they show this work upon themselves. They compare younger versions of themselves with their present selves who, in the experience of moving in place and time and social and institutional setting, are more able to achieve this self-improvement. The chapter shows that these self-narratives are enmeshed, socially and culturally, in versions of a self-autonomous adulthood that is associated with widespread approval, high status and positive affect, and those, on the other hand, which are associated with social dependency, disparaging judgment and shame.

In this chapter, we see participants dealing with contradictions inherent in the social myth of self-autonomy, particularly in respect to their recognition that interdependence and social belonging are vital for successful, and healthy, adult lives. We see participants making settlements between the needs for self-autonomy and belonging, in their visual texts and interviews. The settlements are gendered in relation to their sense of responsibility both to themselves and to others, in respect of food: that they, as young women, must deal with the social expectation of not only providing food for others, but of using it as a conduit of care for others. They feel the social expectation that they should be the exemplary individual subjects of great capacity - individually competitive and compassionate toward others. This negotiation recalls the description of the post-feminist, can-do-girl (McRobbie, 2011).

This chapter shows that orientating a sense of self, according to a neo-liberal vocabulary of successful adulthood, to the future, is going on in a creative engagement with culture. This learning is a part of the accumulation of the cultural capital of their education. It also shows this symbolic self-transformation going on with more urgency in those who are in the process of adapting to new places and social settings associated with becoming older.

## **Chapter 6: Being a healthy eater**

This second chapter of fieldwork analysis addresses the theme of being a healthy eater, as it appeared across the diversity of gender, class and ethnicity, in all three phases of the fieldwork. This chapter shows that healthy

eating is an important discursive framework within which these young people measure their ability to manage themselves independently. The chapter shows that healthy eating is associated with 'colonising the future' (Giddens, 1994, p.133) – with self-autonomy and a successful, adult life, and its opposite, the association of unhealthy eating with unsuccessful lives. It shows that healthy eating is a means of being a self-reliant individual, as young people adapt to movements from home to university, and from university to home and places of work. Healthy eating provides a means of making a self-narrative about personal progression outside of the family. Learning to re-centre the source of 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1994, p.36), from caregivers to a self-entrepreneurial self, is done by engaging with food as an adult, cultural phenomenon.

Healthy eating, as self-management, is a way of showing others that they had a self-entrepreneurial disposition. The performance of being self-entrepreneurial is also to show that you are a savvy consumer, improving knowledge about food, learning to prepare healthy food and learning how to work a healthy food lifestyle within a youthful life. In making their own healthy and non-obese bodies, they achieve a means of social distinction. Kinds of resistance to healthy eating are implicated in the performance of gender difference and different manifestations of a self-entrepreneurial disposition.

This chapter shows that, once more, this symbolic self-transformation, seen in the making of visual artifacts and in the interview, is part of a psycho-social orientation to being a successful adult in the future, before the acquisition of traditional markers of an adult identity.

### **Chapter 7: Making sociality through food**

The third chapter of fieldwork analysis addresses the theme of the social function of sharing food – that is, sharing food to establish contact with others and to build a sense of belonging. The chapter shows how this is a part of the performance of a self-entrepreneurial disposition for these young people: tuning themselves into the way their world is changing, including the movement to new territories, being improvisational, revising the cultural resource of food for present and future use, accepting individual exposure to

risk and focusing upon future reward. An important part of the adaptation to new territory is the re-appropriation of ideal value for food in a self-narrative of self-improvement. For female participants, this involves negotiation with traditional female food work. Again, there is intersection with being consumer savvy, in interpreting adult food culture in ways which realize kinds of social relationship and power which sustain, rather than threaten, this self-narrative - for example using food to make and sustain friendship or partnership in which participants are equally valued.

This chapter tells the story of young people learning how to transform the means of social belonging from family to fellow university students, or reimagining family in a return home, through an engagement with food culture. Once more, this is seen as a part of the work of 'self-identity', of 'colonising the future' (Giddens, 1994, p.133) and of re-centring the source of 'ontological security' (ibid, p.36) from home to self. Learning to feel good about your own competence to engage with food culture, and to establish a sense of social belonging, anywhere, is seen as a part of a self-performance adapted to the opportunities of an increasingly globalised, and neo-liberalised world.

### **Chapter 8: Learning to use the cultural capital of food**

This, fourth, chapter of fieldwork analysis addresses a form of adult consumer savviness - the incorporation of 'taste' (Bourdieu, 1986, p.1). This is about learning how to distinguish personal taste in food as a signifier of an approved adult, social identity. This is the familiar territory of Bourdieu. However, the chapter shows that what legitimates social differentiation, in the research settings, is not a naturalised, class difference, but the idea of meritocracy. Having merit is about showing that you have a self-entrepreneurial disposition: distinction in food, for these young people, includes demonstrating their commitment to self-improvement and social aspiration. I draw on Savage's (2015) description of a reconfigured landscape of class in the UK, and make a case that the vocabulary of self-entrepreneurialism is the rhetorical means by which social difference is negotiated across the very broad reach of what Savage describes as the new, middle-classes, and its intersections with gendered and ethnic identities. This vocabulary of social distinction focuses

upon the personal disposition of the individual to make the most of themselves, rather than class membership. However, the analysis shows that these young people negotiate positions to class distinction through personal food culture. These are not determined by the inheritance of different accumulations of social, cultural and economic capitals, but there is a relation to them. I draw upon Warde et al's (2007, p.143) 'cultural omnivores' in this discussion. These positions are described as the 'supremos', 'apprentices' and 'democrats'.

The chapter shows how young people's imaginative engagement with adult role models and mediated forms of adult food culture is a means of their self-entrepreneurial performances - consumer savvy and self-autonomous. This is construction of social distance from the mediated version of the poor and working class who, according to a neo-liberal view of the world, fail to make good choices in life. Their food culture is characterized as food knowledge poverty and unhealthy eating, associated with poor parenting and obesity. The chapter shows how these young people's negotiation with this binary, of self-autonomy and social dependency, is a part of their 'colonising the future' (Giddens, 1994, p.133). It also shows how they appropriate the social and cultural uses of photography, to ensure that they are on the right side of this judgment of social distinction.

## **Conclusion**

The conclusion describes the versions of successful, adult selves which we have seen participants negotiate with, and contribute to, in their engagement with food culture: what are called, here, the 'healthy self', the 'consumer-savvy self' and the 'can-do girl'. The conclusion reflects upon how these young people have shown themselves to be the best they can be with food by being self-entrepreneurial. It considers how their creative engagement with food culture has allowed them to negotiate with the idealised subjects of neo-liberalised institutions and perform their transition to adulthood accordingly. This draws together the 'specification' (Geertz, 2000, p.27) about the place that food has in the cultural life that these participants live in.

## **The Appendices**

The first contains material from all 3 phases of the fieldwork, and all 40 participants, to illustrate their responses to the prompt of the task, and explains the thematisation of the material. The second gives illustration of the association of meanings, in wider discourses of popular cultural texts, which are referred to in the analysis chapters. The next gives a typology of food television genres, at the time of the fieldwork, based upon an analysis of Broadcast magazine, referenced in the analysis chapters. The next gives description of the structural obstacles to young people's acquisition of the traditional, social markers of adulthood. Further items include prompt sheets, used in the focus groups and the A level specification, referred to in chapter 5, and a key to the transcription of speech and visual information.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **CONTENTS:**

- Introduction
- The prompt of healthy eating to research and government food policy
- The symbolic value of food and social solidarity
- Food, culture and embodiment
- Ethnic and national identity
- Food meanings in the home
- Food meanings outside of the home: you are where you eat
- Conclusion

### **INTRODUCTION**

The Literature review was driven by the study's focus upon identity, food meanings, food culture, and young people. It extended across the field of food studies in the social sciences. As the introduction described, a reading of theory, about identity and culture, precedes, and accompanies this review. This includes particular reference to Giddens' Modernity and Self-Identity (1994).

### **THE PROMPT OF HEALTHY EATING TO RESEARCH AND GOVERNMENT FOOD POLICY**

Close attention was given to Murcott's overview, in *The Nation's Diet* (1998), of the diversity of social science interest in food practices in the UK, addressed in the Economic and Social Research Council research programme of 1992-98. This was a seminal text, in this Review, partly because it catches a moment of collision in UK culture: when intense interest in food and eating in the social sciences (Ashley, Hollows, et al, 2004, p.vii), coincides with a moment in the complex development of UK consumer culture:

in which the social figure of the 'consumer' becomes central to the figuring of citizen agency (Sassatelli, 2007, p.50), food becomes a means of consumers defining social identity, and there is intense, governmental concern about obesity. The ESRC's project, that results directly in *The Nation's Diet* (1998), and, indirectly, in a collection of studies (*Food, Health and Identity*, 1997), by members of the ESRC team and those involved in the Concepts of Healthy Eating project (Caplan, 1997), follows the National Diet and Nutritional Survey of 1992, and governmental reassessment of key dietary and nutritional policy objectives. However, even as a response to these prompts, *The Nation's Diet* refuses to reduce its interest in food consumption and culture, in the face of government agenda setting - to focus study on the need to improve diet, in reference to obesity and chronic disease. The breadth of interest in *The Nation's Diet* (1998), and that of its sister text, *Food, Health and Identity* (1997), informs the themes of the Review which follow.

Murcott's rationale, in *The Nation's Diet*, shows the ESRC's disposition to complicate an account over focused upon individual responsibility and food choice: 'Food means more than economic survival; it also means psychological and cultural survival, and is some of the stuff of social and economic relationships.' Murcott highlights the importance of the psychological formation of attitudes, beliefs and knowledge, cultural definitions and symbolic use of food, social processes and micro-economic factors, in food choice. Among the disciplines missing from the ESRC work was Cultural Studies, which, with others, 'could and should contribute to the investigation of food choice.' (Murcott, 1998, p.9).

In this section, I use a reading about UK, and international, food policy to understand the force of this government agenda, about food and obesity, in the UK: forceful in its production of a discursive context, within which citizens are meant to perceive their relationship to food, their ethical work upon themselves, and within which much research operates.

The research agenda of individual food choice, personal responsibility for healthy eating, and external influences on behavior, all focused on the 'obesity epidemic' (Buckingham, 2011, p.105), is a part of successive UK governments'

political positioning to UK and international interests. These interests include those of UK NGOs and medical bodies, the Food Standards Agency, and, internationally, the World Health Organisation' UN affiliated International Diabetes Foundation, and the European Commission - all determined to tackle the incidence of obesity, and regulate food production. The interests of food producers are expressed in recommending soft, self-regulation, in the face of pressure upon government to control the production and advertisement of HFSS foods (Foods High in Fat, Sugar and Salt) (Buckingham, 2011, Lang et al, 2009, Lunt and Livingstone, 2013). Successive UK governments follow the neo-liberal agenda of world food markets (Lang et al, 2009, Lunt, 2011). Lang and Heasman (2009, p.285f) describe the ascendancy of an international, neo-liberal, 'productionist paradigm', and the history of regulatory reform by successive UK governments within it. The problematizing of individual behaviour, rather than the market, is a part of a neoliberal project (Kiely, 2013). Keane (1997, pp.172-192) tells the story of successive, post-war, UK governments' complicity with the interests of UK food producers, for example, in encouraging post-war production of foods high in fat and sugar, resisting the advice of health advisory councils and committees, particularly in connecting food and chronic disease, and not investing substantially in health promotion, in the face of increasing chronic disease, and rising health and welfare budgets. Even a series of food supply crises, for example, the BSE disease in cattle 1985, salmonella in eggs in 1988 and CJD, again in cattle, in 1992, did not change the laissez-faire policy paradigm.

The focus, upon individual and family self-regulation, with particular interest in monitoring children, has characterised UK government response to the so-called obesity 'epidemic' (Lang et al, 2009, p.111) – following the 2003, joint WHO/FAO's report, Diet, Nutrition and prevention of chronic diseases (Lang et al, 2009, p.108), and, in the UK, the Foresight Report, Tackling Obesity: Future Choices (2008). This focus is seen in the flow of policy: including the Health Select Committee's third report, Obesity (May, 2004); Healthy Food in Schools: Transforming school food and drink (September, 2005); the introduction of the National Child Measuring Programme Regulations (November, 2008), monitored by the Department of Health's Obesity Team;



the Call To Action on Obesity (2011) and, following the Foresight Report, Healthy Weight, Healthy Lives (January, 2008), and, in September 2008, the launch of the Change4Life campaign, targeted at families. The Healthy Child Programme (October 2009) illustrates the coordinated, institutional effort to enable families, and particularly disadvantaged families, to be effective in preventing obesity in children. Anxiety, over children as victims in an 'obesity epidemic' (Buckingham, 2011, p.105) is reflected in popular cultural mediation, for example the campaigns of telly-chef, Jamie Oliver: in the series, Jamie's School Dinners (2005), Jamie's Ministry of Food (2008) and Jamie Oliver's Food Revolution (2011), and his TED prize speech (2010). In extending the issue of responsibility for children's healthy food to government provision of a school meals service, and to working class mothers' home, cooking skills, Oliver operates in the spirit of the Foresight Report's (2008) specification of what it calls the 'obesogenic environment', for a New Labour administration, and television, food campaign mediation of balance between individual responsibility and state action. As a personification of the compromise of 'third way' discourse (Giddens, 1998), Oliver is used by the political left and undermined by right-wing government and press. Cambell's Guardian article (2010), 'Jamie Oliver hits back at health secretary over school meals 'insult'' (2010) references the former, and Clark's Mail article (2009), 'Jamie's School Meal Revolution Shunned' illustrates the latter.

A wider reading of government sponsored, food health advice, such as Change4Life (Great Britain, Department of Education, 2009) and that of charitable organisations, such as the British Nutrition Foundation (2016), with links to the food industry (Chamberlain and Laurance, 2010), has supported the description, here, of the primary problematisation of individual adult behavior, and a policy goal of individual healthy lifestyle. Wider reading extended to newspapers, food television, cooking texts, food education campaign texts aimed at school educators and university students. The latter was followed up with visits and discussion with participants in these campaigns, for example the Food Education Trust (2008) and student, healthy eating projects at Leicester University (2011).

Academic research of children's and young people's food, which follows this paradigm of problematising individual, unhealthy food choice, often shows insufficient interest in the meanings that food has for them. This is a problem which the ESRC research programme, referred to earlier, was determined to avoid. A series of systematic reviews, carried out by the IOE's Evidence for Policy and Practice Information Centre (2002) makes it clear how most of the research into the obstacles to healthy eating, for children, did not seek their perspectives, nor seek to understand them, sufficiently. For example, in the three in-depth reviews evaluated, information was less rich about the experiences and feelings of young people regarding healthy eating (ibid p.52); and there was insufficient attention by enough studies to give young people sufficient opportunity to present information in their own way (ibid p.53). The research was interested in improving the design of interventions into children's food choice. The EPPI's later, (2009), systematic review (Great Britain, EPPI, 2009, p.14) reports that there is 'a stark lack of studies that serve to privilege children's views ... only a small body of research literature ... could be described as largely being research 'of' children, rather than 'for' them.' There is an inadequate understanding of children's descriptions and rationales. Behaviourist research methodologies further hide a view of young people's agency (Buckingham, 2011).

Buckingham describes how adult discourses, about children, as victims of the advertisers of unhealthy food, participate in a 'moral panic' about obesity and about the loss of traditional childhood (Buckingham, 2011, pp.105, 107). A focus upon the child as victim misses seeing children's long history of active negotiation with the market. Studies, implicitly aimed at controlling behaviour and regulation, focus upon external influences, miss children's and young people's agency, and how food is a cultural item. As Buckingham (2011, p.106) notes, throwing the emphasis upon external 'risk factors' of obesity, loses the contexts of social relationship in which food consumption has meaning, and the broader economic contexts that constrain or enable food choice. The focus on influences has represented young people as passive to environmental and social factors which influence their food choices or behaviours (Eldrige and Murcott, 2000). Eldrige and Murcott's discussion of

young people's attitudes to nutritional advice, for example, depicts young people as pulled one way and then the other, by adults for the good, by peers for the bad.

Coveney's (2006, pp. 224-242) discussion, of parents' changed behavior, illustrates how 'obesity discourse' (Buckingham, 2011, p.105) constrains adults' view of children's agency: parents, previously happy for meal times to be an opportunity for children to express their growing independence, now feel the pressure to intervene, to ensure that they are eating healthy food. The focus upon parents' responsibility to regulate children's eating, is seen in Hambly's (2002) study, which refutes, but has to address the possible links between the working regime of mothers and children's unhealthy food. Hambly is responding to a depressing, patriarchal, social myth that working mothers are compromised and fail to give their children a healthy diet at home.

The analysis of young adults' food continues with an emphasis upon the influences on choice. Pigford, Raciti, et al's study (2008), comparing the attitudes of 18-24 year old university students to healthy and unhealthy food of those who live at home, to those who live away, at university, seeks to identify the factors needed to modify behaviour away from home, through an 'inducement process' (ibid, p.1). Beasley, Hackett, and Maxwell's (2004) study of 18-25 year olds, distinguishes those who take responsibility for planning, buying and cooking their own food because of their health need (diabetes) from the norm. Surveys do regularly show the high use of so-called fast food by the 16-24 year demographic (Wills, Becket-Milburn et al, 2009), but do not enable explanation of it. Willis' study (2003), of young adults' diets, concludes that eating healthily was at odds with their needs to differentiate from the family and strengthen bonds with peers. Studies of young adults all too often show them to be incapable or careless in food choice. Barker's study (1999), on the misperception by adolescent young women of healthy food as less fattening food, and Warwick's (1998) of the ghost compliance of young women (11-17 years), to a healthy diet, is typical of accounts of young people as clueless, needing adults' guidance. Young adults may cooperate with the binary construction of youth, which Hebdige described as 'fun' and 'trouble'

(Osgerby, 2004, p.61), by leading apparently hedonistic lifestyles and neglecting healthy eating advice (Balfe, 2005), but studies which do not go further risk stereotyping all kinds of young people, according to age, and miss more complex self-identities. The lack of a nuanced account, and insufficient social differentiation (EPPI, 2002) continues. Discussion of the performance of a youthful identity is extended in section 6, below.

In contrast, the studies, in *The Nation's Diet and Food* (ed. Murcott, 1998) and *Food and Identity* (ed. Caplan, 1997), are committed to deal with the diversity of identities that are in play, in consumption, and to contextualize them within social change. This reflects their awareness that Britain had undergone great social and cultural change, and that the nation is very diverse. Both collections show the contribution that qualitative research can make to an understanding of the complexity of identity in food practice.

Ethnographic studies, in these two collections and elsewhere, which bring together people's self-identity, cultural processes and food consumption, include a negotiation with official food policy and its paradigm of self-management. Keane's ethnographic study (1997, pp.172-192) is a good example of an articulation of government food policy, food practice and subjectivity. It found that the management of food crises by government, their complicity with food producers, and the sensationalism of media coverage, were interpreted by respondents, who distrusted healthy eating advice. This study shows how they negotiated with it, giving more emphasis to hereditary factors in chronic disease, and using their social networks to decide the issues. Disposition to health management in food was not according to the interpellation of official health advice – individual and rational - but embodied and socially conditioned. This distrust in official health advice is symptomatic of what Lang et al (2009) have documented as a series of crises in the dominant model of international food policy, driven by a neo-liberal agenda of global development - the World Bank's 'Washington Consensus' (Lang et al, 2009, p.42) - since the 1980s. In response to repeated food crises, opposition from national and international food movements and NGOs, and division within trans-national world bodies such as the FAO (Food and Agricultural Organisation), and only limited control by national governments of globalised

companies and food chains, national governments have attempted to secure their authority by limiting the agenda about food choice.

Media coverage, of ecological crises, global warming, volatility in markets, insecurity of food safety, supply and international inequality and injustice, exposes the contradictions in national governments' policy and advice to consumers. Reilly and Miller's (1997, pp. 234-251) analysis of government inability to control media coverage of the BSE and CJD crisis, because of the divisions within state institutions, and between government and different interest groups, is an example of crisis in official representation. This is a part of the distrust which Keane describes. More recently, Buckingham's (2011) analysis of the regulation of food advertising, shows just how effective the use of the media, by groups lobbying on behalf of children's health, was.

Lunt's (2011) analysis of the regulation of HFSS advertising further illustrates how repression fails: food producers' savaging of the Hastings Report (2003), commissioned by FSA/Of Com, only prompted further commissioning (Livingstone's Report, 2004) and evidencing of the case against HFSS foods and their advertising, and further media coverage of it. Further, my own M.A. study (2008) showed that government attempts to manage UK broadcasting institutions, particularly through the instruments of the PSB (Public Service Broadcasting) role and funding, contributed to the creative response of television production companies, to question consumer, retail and production practices, as well as to comply with a neo-liberal range of consumer self-management. As a part of this Review, I made an analysis of food television, in the context of institutional politics between television producers, government, and OfCom, using *Broadcast* magazine, from August 2008 to February 2011. This gave a view of television's mediation of healthy eating and its situation of it within discourses of self-management, obesity, and consumerism. This mediation participates in the organization of a neo-liberalised subject and citizen.

This Review also attended to other, attempts to reframe food consumption, and food policy, away from the agenda of individual self-management, to world health, community health and international justice. These included

Trentmann (2008, pp.235-252) on contemporary, ethical consumerism and imagined relationship to food producers around the world, and Jackson and Ward (2008, pp.235-252) on the historically changing moral relationships between producers and consumers of sugar (2008, pp.235-252), and Carolyn Steel's *Hungry City* (2009) on our practical and imagined relationship to food production and consumption within changed cityscapes. The latter recommends wholesale re-organisation of food supply in the modern city which connects the urban consumer to food production, and citizen control. Kneafsey et al's study (2008), gives useful ethnographic detail to a kind of community identity construction, through the reconnection of food consumers to food production and supply. These are illustrations of alternative discourses about food, health, and well-being. They are examples of civic society's empowerment in the face of dominant supply chains and the productionist, laissez-faire food policy paradigm of successive governments in developed, industrialised countries.

## **THE SYMBOLIC VALUE OF FOOD AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY**

Anthropological reading of the symbolic value of food practices frames the importance of food in terms of social belonging, solidarity and social identities. The rules with which individuals and groups operate in their food practices, and the meanings that they have, are cultural. This operation maintains a sense of the orderliness of the world, a trust in it, and a sense of one's place in it, which pervades personal and social life. It addresses the experience of life, the imagination and social belonging as the basis of action. It is Douglas' structuralist anthropology, along with Welbourn's comparative work in West Africa and Britain (Welbourn, 1965, and 1968), and my work with him on my first degree, that has had the greatest influence upon me, in this address to meaning-making. Douglas' work may be seen as seminal in the field of this study. Buckingham (2011, p.37), for example, describes her work, with Isherwood, as 'one of the founding texts in the anthropology of consumption', that draws attention to how consumption ritually makes 'visible and stable the categories of culture'. My own reading of Douglas has included *Purity and Danger* (1966), *Natural Symbols*, (1970), and her essay, *Deciphering a Meal* (1972). The last deals directly with the sense of order, achieved in the

organisation of meals, and the connection between the instances of family eating and the greater, cultural language which it expresses. In her writing, more generally, there is a relentless questioning about ritual, as the culturally specific and systematic ordering of practice, according to the lived experience of ordinary people; ritual is rescued from association with exotic or so-called primitive peoples, by recognising that the routine operation of cultural value, according to rules, is a means, for all of us, of sustaining and controlling experience, and our place in reality. Further, as Ashley, Hollows, et al (2004, p.34) observe, Douglas distinguishes herself from Levi-Strauss, and his development of a binary analysis of food language, in his *Structural Anthropology* (1963), *The Culinary Triangle* (1966) and *The Raw and the Cooked* (1994) in her due emphasis upon the generation of the cultural code within the micro settings of social relations.

Douglas' attention to the grammar of the meal directly informs the sense of rightness - that is the investment of value and curation of social relationships – in the aspiration to provide what I will call a 'proper meal', or a 'family meal' (Murcott, 1998, pp. 32-48), or a 'true vegetarian' meal (Willets, 1998, p.117) or an ethnically or nationally authentic meal (Harbottle, 1998, pp.87-110), for example. Attention to the structuring of a meal, within structurally organized time, space and sociality highlights the performative nature of eating and identity. Although linguistically based, Douglas continually relates meaning to embodied experience and the investment of people in remaking and restoring cultural categories. She embeds food practice and identity in the experience of social solidarity.

Buckingham's point (2011, p.38), in comment about Douglas, that cultural meaning is not a fixed, but a dynamic process, also marks out the post-structuralist stance of this study, and its working within a Cultural Studies tradition. Welbourn, in particular, did not think of identity as static, in his work on traditional and industrially developed societies. Many of the studies in the ESRC project, Murcott (1998) and Caplan (1998) address the meanings of food according to changes in the sense of social identity. A diversity of so-called grammars encode belonging to a diversity of social relations and social identities, including ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age and class. The

normativity which Douglas highlights, the public language of meaning-making, is not in conflict with social change, but is a contested process of making the world mean which Hall describes (Hall, 1982/2006, p.137) and of 'identification ... as a construction always in process' (Hall, 2000, p.2). The question, according to the self-identity work which Giddens (1994) describes, would seem to be about the appropriation of rules which give a sense of existential security, deal with anomalies between experience and given categories of meaning and sustain a fit between 'the two bodies' of 'self and society' (Douglas, 1970, p.112) in a world of 'high modernity' (Giddens, 1994, p.4).

Studies, focused upon children's food choices outside of the home (Wills, Becket-Milburn et al, 2009), which emphasise the persistence of habituated rule following, actually provoke investigation of young people's movement to new territories, and their adaptation, or resistance to new 'social pressures and classification' (Douglas, 1970, p.85). Interesting work on young people's construction of generationally appropriate identities, based on the very unpredictability of their lives, through the ordering, or encoding, of their 'consumer lifestyles', using generationally specific cultural products (Miles, 2000, p.28) does not include food.

The anthropological perspective, upon the performance of social solidarity, expresses what Welbourn (1968, p.65) called an 'exo-psychic' perspective, characteristic of traditional societies, which presumes a continuing sense of belonging and responsibility to a three dimensional web of relationship with others, which includes the dead in present time. Giddens' (1994) conception of self is broadly within the 'endo-psychic' perspective, which Welbourn describes - of a modern world, in which individuals are psychologically separate from others, existing in the present, working to make life individually meaningful through the exploitation of resources in social practice. However, Giddens' interest, to describe the creativity of self-identity, in maintaining a narrative of continuous relationship to others, draws further attention to the anthropological question: how may food connect us to others, and assign particular social belonging, in the performance of particular cultural codes of food practice?



## FOOD, CULTURE AND EMBODIMENT

Sociological interest in the social construction of female gender, through food practice and eating, is massive. There is increasing interest in the construction of masculinity, including male negotiation with an idealized male body (Beardsworth and Keil 2001). A part of hegemonic masculinization is to distance interest in dieting and the self-production of a body, according to a muscular ideal, from female discourses and practices: associating their interest in weight loss with health (de Souza and Chiclitira 2005) or sport (Hatmaker, 2005, McCabe and Ridge, 2006) rather than dieting or slimming, and denying connection with eating disorders (Robinson *et al.*, 2013). We are reminded that male body-work differs, in its intersection with kinds of masculine identities, such as a gay identity (McArdie and Hill, 2007).

Good overview is given by Germov and Williams (2009) of work about the social construction of the ideal female body and girls' and women's negotiation of this in subjective work. Their overview gives due weight to the structural shaping of female behaviour, including the economic and political systems and cultural mediation. Beardsworth and Keil's summaries of Charles and Kerr (1986), Cline (1990) and Orbach (1988) show their specification of women's problems with food resting upon the contradictory expectations that are expressed through it: of feeding the family and making their bodies fit male, ideals of female beauty. Women's seeing food and eating as problematic is explained as an expression of powerlessness in patriarchal and capitalist societies. As Orbach (1988) makes clear, this contradiction is also lived through by more aspirant, middle-class women, who must now do it all – do well in education and work, care for others through food provision and make their own bodies conform to a patriarchal ideal; eating disorder are on a continuum with dieting because they produce female powerlessness.

Germov and Williams give due weight to a post-structural view of female agency, including the work that women invest in dieting, and the maintenance of beauty, and, at its extreme, in eating disorders. They also describe women's resistance. The importance of feminism, in the discursive production of a sense of self different to that perpetuated by the body industries and

consumer culture, is described. This perspective makes us attend to the subjective work that women do to be in control of their experience of themselves, as female consumers of food, appropriating meanings for food that do not disempower them, either in their embodied sense of themselves or their relationships to others. To accept this means that we need to differentiate the self-identity work which Giddens (1994) according to gender, and situate it within discourses of gender. Germov and Williams also draw attention to the inequality of different females according to their body's appearance, women's self-discipline and their policing of other women's bodies. Much work has emphasized how early female body dissatisfaction begins - from five years, (Pine, 2001) - and how historical comparison across the 20th shows a dramatic increase of it in women (Feingold and Mazzella, 1998). The work that women invest in food, both in their production of a female body, and in their caring of others, produces a vocabulary of success and failure, and a means by which women can be judged. McRobbie (2012a) explains how the individualistic competitiveness of women, their celebration of the capacity to deal with the patriarchal expectations coming their way, and own traditional female family work in a self-empowering way, brackets off feminist social policy, and serves a neo-liberal agenda. Women's food work is identity politics; within a Foucauldian frame, rule following, in the food performance of a gendered identity, is within regimes of power which play key roles in contemporary governmentality. Within a neo-liberal vocabulary, ideals of female food performance are a means of being successful, or shaming others, according to pathologised categories of body shape and failure to produce functional families - that is families who do not require welfare and public services. Studies which emphasise anxiety and conformity for women and men (Smith Maguire and Stanway, 2008) and female competitiveness (Peden *et al.*, 2008), in food consumption and producing a personal body, indicate the constraint in self-reflexivity (Giddens, 1984) and self-identity (Giddens, 1994).

The focus upon disempowerment draws attention to the discursive work needed for an alternative femaleness. Germov and Williams illustrate an example of the former, in the corrective self-identity work of older women: throwing importance upon life-achievements rather than external body image.

Although the importance of feminist discourse, in developing alternative forms of self-worth, is described, how young adults engage with that, is not.

Young people are included in the accounts of the various forms of the rise of vegetarianism and veganism, which Beardsworth and Keil (2001) survey, but not, specifically, in the construction of younger, generational identities. Their overview of the motivations of vegetarians, and the rhetorical positioning to their food practices, show how vegetarians negotiate with the beliefs and values which underpin the normative rules of diet and the meal, and emphasise embodiment in the incorporation of relations to the self and to the world. In all of the illustrations of 'religious/spiritual', 'New Order', 'health/physiological', and 'aesthetic/gustatory' themes (Beardsworth and Keil, 2001, p.226-230), personal identity work takes the form of realizing a moral obligation: for personal, physical, moral or spiritual wellbeing; for animal welfare and the environment. The theme of vegetarianism is extended in the sections following, on young people's identity and food in and outside of the home.

Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984) broadens discussion about the intersection of class and gender in the embodiment, and signification of social identities. He demonstrates how the habituated food practices of each class, and the aesthetic meta-language of taste of the ruling class, not only signify, but satisfy, their sense of who they are. Objectively, body appearance presents individual class provenance, a history of consumption and work, to others. For example, the thinner body of the dominant classes signifies the more refined, and expensive diet of those who do not need to eat the substantial and practicable meals of the working class, orientated to physical work. Although, as many have said, there is a national, cultural and historical specificity to Bourdieu's account (for example, Sassatelli, 2007), it underlines the importance of food practice signifying personal, social belonging, subjectively and objectively, as the outward sign, in the body's appearance, of a social class. This extends the anthropological interest in social solidarity just discussed. As a part of subjectivity, food's provenance, may prompt the memory of place and presence with others, and the memory work (Kuhn, 2002) of shared family, class and regional identities, or threaten and

disorientate the person. Similarly, distancing the self from the food of habitus, for example through engagement with popular cultural mediation of food, may be part of a desire to be outside of kinds of structural constraint and social history. The determinism of Bourdieu's account is well documented (Sassatelli, 2007). However, in his account of food consumption, as the embodiment of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.173f), he reminds us that there is an emotional underpinning to the construction of 'lifestyle' (Giddens, 1994, p. 80f); and that it involves a negotiation with a history of social practices around food, which connote kinds of social belonging, and kinds of social identity.

Sociology deals with the experience of embodiment in young adults, and younger females, in eating disorders. It is worth picking up a strand, about subjectivity, which directly addresses this study's question. In Hepworth's overview (2009), of the diverse, and competing explanations of eating disorders, in biomedicine, psychology, post-structural interpretations and feminism, she highlights the importance of accounting for young women's embodied experience, and their social and cultural contexts. She notes how biomedical discourses have not done that. She recognizes how accounts such as Bordo's (1988) of anorexia nervosa, using a Foucauldian frame, allows for female agency, subjectivity and a reading of culture, particularly of media representation of women's bodies. In that account, anorexia nervosa is seen as self-disciplinary work aimed at self-empowerment. Individual agency may also be seen, in a psychological account, as an achievement and resolution of crisis, either of mother-daughter identification/ separation or of self-possession. In these accounts, the body is the means of identity work: the individual invests in the disorder, both as an address to cultural values and to the micro settings of their lives. Beardsworth and Keil's (2001) overview also emphasizes this, in their reference to the theorising of young women's eating disorders as strategies of empowerment: for example in Bruch's (1978) explanation of the working out of identity within a whole family dynamic; and, in Brumberg's (1988) and MacSween's (1993) as dealing with the contradictions of their social identities in a cultural and ideological context, for example within capitalism and patriarchy.

The relationship between the management of food consumption, identity and an embodied experience of social and cultural life, is extended in this Review's reading of ethnographic studies. Becker's study (Becker, 2000, pp.100-115), for example, on the meanings of food and the bodily appearance in Fiji and the United States, drew clear comparison between different, cultural attentions to the body, and the different meanings given to food in relation to that. In Fiji, scrutiny of individual bodies was about checking that the person was being nourished enough, as a route through to checking that there is not some dysfunctional part of their community not nurturing and holding individuals within it. In the United States, scrutiny is about checking the individual prestige of the person, judging the character of the individual, in having what it takes to achieve economic or moral goals. This evaluation derives from an assessment of how successful s/he has been in managing the physical achievement of a well-toned body. In Fiji, social, not personal identity, is experienced in the personal body, and, as the analysis of pregnancy in Fiji shows, another's experience is felt and acted out by others, having the meaning that it is happening for them too.

Cohn's (Cohn,1997, pp. 193-212) study, showed how dietary advice, given to patients attending a diabetic clinic, was read by them through their personal, emotional experience of the world. The body, addressed by medical practitioners, was, in their perceptions, only a part of themselves that existed in relationship to others, and to God. What happened to the body as a part of the greater self was a product of balance or imbalance in those relationships: improvements in physical health would be the result of addressing worries and stresses as much as diet. In Keane's study (Keane,1997, pp. 172-192) generalized, healthy eating advice was interpreted according to her respondents' perceptions of what suited their bodies, according to personal experience and knowledge developed in their social networks.

Other than the coverage of eating disorder, the literature lacks an address to young people's embodied experience of food and their subjectivities within the context of culture. There is attention to children's physical use of food to establish friendship (SyLOW and Holm, 2009), and children and young people learning how to display or hide their habitus in the foods they choose to eat

with others, in locations away from home, including relaxing healthy eating according to social occasion (James *et al.*, 2009, pp. 35-51, Wills *et al.*, 2009, pp. 52-68). There is some attention to teenagers establishing generationally different identities through eating unhealthy food, the opposite of what they would eat at home (Iannou, 2009, Roberts, 2003). We are reminded of James' study (1982, cited in Buckingham, 2011, p.117) of children's 'carnavalesque' use of sweets with other children, to subvert adult food practices, out of sight of them. What is not there is a commitment to broaden the agenda beyond so-called unhealthy eating, to study young people's food as a part of an embodied subjectivity, not determined by a discourse of youth identity, and including a more adult identity.

### **ETHNIC AND NATIONAL FOOD IDENTITY**

Ethnicity is productive ground for considering the diversity of a society and the diversity of identity work, in food practice, and this is reflected in the attention given to it in the literature. Ethnicity complicates accounts of self-identity (Giddens, 1994) and habitus (Bourdieu, 1984), so far discussed, intersecting class, gender and age. The negotiation of ethnic identities, in the face of migration and adaptation to life within other societies, is well represented in social anthropological studies of food. Such literature deals with the dual forces of conservation of tradition and adaptation to change. Dean *et al.*'s study (2010) is typical of this interest. It investigates the adaptation of Mexican food traditions amongst migrant workers - to place and host culture. It deals with the negotiations which go on at work and at home. It is typical in its focus upon female agency in the negotiation of food tradition. Brembeck's (2009) study, of Bosnian and Iraqi refugees in Sweden, is interesting in its emphasis upon children, in their developing food taste, as the integrational agents of their mothers. Similarly, those studies focused upon a UK setting, such as Tuomainen's (2006), on Ghanaian migrants in London, and Bradby's (1996), on Punjabi women in Glasgow, illustrate an interest in the central roles of women in both conserving traditional, ethnic food knowledge and practice, and adapting to new cultural, social settings.

There is interest in different adaptations made by different generations to being educated in, or working in non-ethnic settings. This often has a healthy eating interest, drawing attention to the obesogenic environments of Western societies and attempts to maintain traditional food practices and values in these settings (Dean, Sharkey *et al.*, 2010, Liou and Bauer, 2010). Burgess and Morrison's study (1998,) demonstrates how marginalized ethnic food can be within a British school setting. Studies of adaptation include young people's negotiating the meaning of their body shape, particularly in terms of the perception of obesity, by both home and majority culture audiences (Liou and Bauer, 2010). Bassra (2007) shows how younger, British Asian women positioned themselves in reference to their body image more in terms of western understandings than their elders. Caplan *et al.*'s study (1998, pp.168-182) draws attention to the variety of negotiations made by British adults of Caribbean heritage with their ethnic food identity: including older respondents' conserving a specific Caribbean identity, through preparing typical meals while female teenagers avoided it because of its association with weight gain; and men and women, in their twenties, returning to Caribbean food in their twenties, to distinguish themselves from British white culture. Older British Caribbean respondents associated traditional food with a duty of care to the young.

There is some interest in how ethnic food traditions allow for a positive self-identity in opposition to 'Englishness' (Caplan, *et al.*, 1998, pp.168-182). A study like Harbottle's (1998, pp. 87-110) is particularly interesting: first in its complication of unitary ethnic identities; secondly, in its challenge to a view of the integration of ethnic cultures in the UK, and how authentic, ethnic food is distinguished from so called ethnic food which is a part of British food culture. It addresses the use of food to deal with conflict in personal and group identification. It shows how highly fragmented Iranian groups of migrants in Britain, following the Islamic revolution, have been unable to unify around either national and religious public identities: how they have resisted colonial, so-called Persian identities as well as coping with racism and their marginalisation in British life. It shows how this conflict has worked through the preparation of food, including the adaption of authentic Iranian food, and the

adoption of passing Asian identities in running so-called Indian restaurants. James' (1997, pp. 71-86) point is that static versions of traditional ethnic or regional food have more to do with the othering of other national or ethnic identities, than the reality of the dynamic development within any local or ethnic setting, and the diversity of food's uses, within any tradition, to mark out specific rites of passage and specific, social identities, such as class and age.

Discussion of the impact of ethnic food traditions upon the development of British food culture is commonplace (James, 1997, Ashley, Hollows, *et al.*, 2004). It is a discussion which makes visible social change in the UK: the proliferation of food types in a consumer culture; the globalization and hybridisation of food cultures; social changes in food practices, for example the proliferation of eating out in the UK; the changing configuration of urban spaces (Ashley *et al.*, 2004). Warde's study (1997) makes the case that a greater variety of foods across the classes in the UK, including what, from a white British perspective, is foreign food, did not eradicate class distinction. Warde and Marten's study of 2000 (Ashley, *et al.*, 2004) illustrates how the performance of being at ease with different national and ethnic cuisine, and having the cultural capital for discernment, constructs middle-class identity in restaurants.

## **FOOD MEANINGS IN THE HOME**

Young people's identity work through food in the home, and their engagement with a wider food culture there, is not well represented in the literature.

Sociological interest is mostly on adult women's food work, and its contribution to the construction of gender and patriarchal power in society. Beardsworth and Keil's (2001) overview of studies shows the difference between men's and women's (and children's) status and dietary provision (for example in Charles and Kerr, 1988), the distribution of food-related tasks between men and women (Warde and Hetherington, 1994), and the responsibility taken for planning, shopping and preparing meals (Ekstrom, 1991). The thrust of the research is on female subordination produced by food work (Ellis, 1983, Burgoyne and Clarke, 1983, Mackintosh and Zey, 1989). Female experience is unremittingly bleak. Henson *et al.*'s (1998, pp. 183-196) overview of Charles



and Kerr's (1980) and de Vault's (1991) studies, for example, reflects the oppression of family meals.

Work, of a more post-structural character, deals more with women's agency. Ethnographic accounts include women's attribution of meaning to the processes of food work: for example, playing into the feeling of love for others while shopping. Miller highlights 'thrill' as an act of love (Miller, 1998, in Ashley, *et al.*, 2004, p.112), and a means of humanizing and individualizing the otherwise, homogenized experience of supermarket shopping. This is much more than accounts of women as 'gatekeepers' of the flow of goods into households, or women obtaining what men want (McIntosh and Zey 1989, in Beardsworth and Keil 2001, p.86). It draws attention to women's skilled negotiation of taste and family identity, and the production of security and care in the family (Curtis, *et al.*, 2009, pp. 94-111.). Kneafsey, Cox *et al.*'s (2008) ethnographic study foregrounds the feeling of care as key to the reconnection of consumers with the food market, for example their empathy for unknown others, communities and environments. They show how important ideals are in consumer agency: ideals about local communities, eco-systems, authenticity and transparency in the market, eating together and building relationships through personal investment in quality ingredients and thoughtful cooking. This study extends the meaning of care, in food, for men as well as women. It also shows how a disposition of 'generosity' (Diprose, 2002, p.5ff) is part of an appropriation of an exchange economy.

Coverage of young people's roles in households is slight. Eldridge and Murcott's (2000) study does document the variety of roles in domestic work and participation in cooking that teenage children might be involved in, and the range of their dietary negotiations at home. Otherwise, children's and young people's contribution to domestic food culture is unclear. The meanings those processes have for them, other than the learning of gender, is not explored. This is surprising. At one extreme, almost a quarter of a million young people, aged 16-24 years, have the role of carer for a parent in the UK (Becker and Becker, 2008). With respect to young adults, 3.3million 20-34 year olds live in the parental home, including 49% of all 20-24 year olds (ONS, 2013). Young people's food work, in a diversity of families, is not reflected. 2.5

million, for example, are lone parent families; over a quarter of a million household comprise two or more families. LGBT couples are parents too. The complexity of family ethos, and young people's contribution to food work, consumption is lost.

Coverage of young people's use of food as a means of identity construction within the family is limited. Buckingham, in his overview (2011), notes that marking out the distinction of age, between children and adults, through the provision or eating of different kinds of food, within families, is a comparatively recent phenomenon, in British settings. James et al's (2009) work on making generational difference, through food use in family life, the different micro-cultures of individual family life and the production of different kinds of family identity, all draw attention to the family as a dynamic setting. It is dynamic in terms of its ethos (James, Kjørholt and Tingstad, 2010), in terms of the rituals of family conversation and in terms of the changing roles of more independent, young people (Kaufmann, 2005, Eldridge and Murcott, 2000).

How it is also dynamic in young people's bringing their values to bear on family eating, is attended to in terms of vegetarianism. Henson (1998), for example, deals with how families adapt to young people's decision to become vegetarian, and how they legitimise it. Willets' study (1997) shows how young vegetarians use wider social discourses about food, for example those about intense farming techniques and environmentalism. However, how young people negotiate their greater independence, and knowledge of food culture, in the home, and participate in the material creation of the identity of their homes (Hollows, 2008), and their own identities within it, is not. For example, are younger men participating in the masculinisation of food work and kitchen space (Brownlie and Hewer, 2007), and participating in the male chef culture of tele-chefs such as Jamie Oliver? Respondents in my own M.A. study (2008) indicated that, for some young men, and young women, preparing food in the home was a part of their construction of their older identities. Accounts often postpone the construction of independent identities to a time after leaving home, and breaking away from family meals (Murcott, 1997) and family structures of eating, when a longer term relationships with a partner, and a

sense of responsibility for someone else, is established (Caplan *et al.*, 1998, Kaufmann, 2010).

### **FOOD MEANINGS OUTSIDE OF THE HOME: YOU ARE WHERE YOU EAT**

Outside of the home, most studies concern themselves with children's and younger teenagers' use of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.173f). Some reference has been made, in Section 4, to the attention given to children's negotiation of their home food, including its ethnic identity, with peers, and in school and college settings, particularly where obesity is a concern. Section 1 made reference to the performance of child and youth identities through the subversion of adult rules, including those playing into healthy eating discourse, at home, but there is a good representation of the importance of habitus in equipping young people to make choices which reflect social and cultural values learnt as family rules (Wills *et al.*, 2009), and middle-class identity (James *et al.*, 2009).

Not enough is made of young adult's participation in the broader food culture, and their identity performance of being more independent selves, outside of the home, is not well investigated. Although the consumption practices of children, which are a part of their becoming teens, and young people's consumption, which is a part of their becoming adult, has been the subject of study (for example, Miles, 2000, Willett, 2008, Cody, 2012), how this goes on with food does not receive attention.

Not enough is made of young people's learning about food practices and food meanings which are different to home, encountered in the places of consumer culture, such as shopping centres, sports arenas, cinemas, pubs and restaurants, or in social encounters with people culturally different to themselves. Eating with friends from different backgrounds, at work or university, are opportunities to learn about diverse food practices and values associated with them. Martin's (2005) study is rare, in its interest in how students at university use food 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1984, pp.53-54) which is not just the product of home, but is appropriated from the market, media and peers, to negotiate their sense of themselves in new territory. The attention given to emplaced, adult, food consumption, and identity

performance – for example, the restaurant (Ashley *et al.*, 2004, Warde and Martens, 2000), the street and the shop (Ashley *et al.*, 2004), is not matched by investigation of young people's learning about a wider food culture, including playing into adult food performances, in their navigation of public places.

Young people's negotiation with locality, through food, is missing. The personal and collective narratives of living in a particular place and region in the UK, the aesthetic, ethical and customary dimensions (Maffesoli, 1996) of community life, and the shared knowledge and experience of local food, are obscured. Young people's memory work (Kuhn, 2002) of food, place and social life in a community, including ethnic and generation identification, through food, as with music (Bennet, 2000), is missing. Their encounters with, and evaluations of, their foodscape, the imagery, and values of different, commercial and charitable institutions, and diverse local identities - as different as a privatized mall and a street in a transitional town, for example - is missing. A transitional town, such as Totnes, Devon, is a community project which seeks self-sufficiency and independence from carbon energy, and protection from the instability of global capitalism. It has an interest to favour local, ethical, vegetarian food production and oppose the presence of global brands in the town centre. Lindenmeyer's (2006) retrospective account shows how food type and food location served a particular identity construction, that of political and generational differentiation within lesbian communities, but a more general interest in young people's negotiation of food geography is lacking in the literature.

The physical presence and imagery of brands are points of imagined identification with others, either in pleasurable consumption (Sassatelli, 2007) or construction of oppositional or alternative identities. McDonalds and Coke, among other brands, have been a focus of study of the complex negotiation of local meaning making and global capitalism (Storey, 2006, Ashley *et al.*, 2004). In a sense, these are like the 'culturalist' (Storey, 2006, p. 29f) accounts which came before them. They focused upon specific institutions, such as the pub, in order to tell a story about resistance to the hegemony of mass culture, rather than give a picture of people's territories, within whole, local geographies.

(Storey, 2006, p. 18f). These are typified by Stedman Jones (1982) (Ashley *et al.*, 2004) and Hoggart (1957). Similarly, Bauman's theoretical account of how the disempowerment of the individual vis-a-vis the power of global capital is symbolised in the citizen's experience of its buildings, their scale and ubiquity (Podalsky, 2011), prompt an interest in young people's navigation of food spaces through which young people move, meet, remain alone or communicate.

This interest in located consumption and identity, articulated with other social processes, goes some way to answer Bell and Valentine's (1997) call to connect the macro features of food geography, such as world patterns of production and trade issues, with the spaces in which people live. Skelton and Valentine (1997) address teenagers' consumption as located, cultural politics, but not in respect of food. Dyck's (2011) study deals with the daily negotiation of a neighborhood, with its symbolism and traces of cultural history, according to the person's own ethnic and ideological history. He describes a city area as a landscape of different affect, including kinds of food stores and eating places, which have a learned disposition toward others. However, it does not focus its interest on young people, nor have detailed food reference.

Edwards and Mercer's Australian study (2012) of young people who address food poverty and the wasteful practices of supermarkets by taking food which they throw out, and setting up their own free, food kitchens, is an interesting example of embedding identity, social processes and food production and distribution in place, in this case the streets of Sydney. It is, though, an example of academic interest in youth 'spectacular subcultures' (Clarke, 2005, p.170) - 'dumpster diving' and a 'freegan' subculture - rather than most young people's, everyday lives.

## **CONCLUSION**

This review has noted the place which young people have been given in food study. Other than as a part of a discourse about obesity, young people are quite marginalized. Study of children and young people has been dominated by an interest in the unhealthiness of their diets and a perceived need to control them and make them better consumers and citizens. Comment in the

first section of the Review described this as filling the discursive space produced by the laissez-faire, food regulatory policies of successive UK governments, and an international, neo-liberal collegiate. The problematisation of children's and young people's food practice, which follows from this, leads to explanations which are insufficiently informed by the meanings which food has for them. It participates in the authorization of schools, families, official health bodies, and, to a limited extent, regulators of food advertising and food production to act on behalf of children and young people. This intervention is, for young people and adults, according to the laissez-faire paradigm of food policy, mostly about informing them about the kinds of selves they should be – healthy and self-managing. This makes it an ethical requirement that young people, like adults, should establish and maintain their healthiness and wellbeing through a regime of healthy eating.

Study framed by this agenda has gone on at the expense of understanding what food means to young people. The Review used the ESRC project to typify the social sciences' interest in broadening the agenda, in order to understand the diversity of people's food practices, and give a fuller account of the lived contexts of food in people's lives. The Review noted the usefulness of qualitative, and ethnographic study, in addressing what food means to people, and how their self-identity work articulates with other, cultural processes.

The review then drew together important themes, from Anthropology, Social Anthropology, Sociology and Cultural Studies, which addressed the meaningfulness of food to people and served the interest of this study in identity and young people. The first, food's symbolism of social and cultural belonging, broadens the ethical basis of subjectivity, from the narrow version produced by the obesity discourses; and it addresses an interest in the work of self-identity (Giddens 1994) as investment in maintaining social belonging through the cultural codes of food and eating. It connects the ordering of food practice, according to a shared, conceptual vocabulary, with the psycho-social experience of having a social identity and solidarity with others, across time and space.

In addressing the second theme of embodiment, the Review noted the substantial sociological interest in the social construction of female identity, in the production of a female body and in domestic food work. Problematising the medicalization of so-called eating disorders, by seeing them as on a continuum of normative, female performance, was valuable in its defining normative, ethical work of female self-identity, as engaging with contradictory, social expectations. This contradiction, expressed, in relation to food, is the expectation to be agentive *and* to reproduce a structure of gender inequality: in perfecting the personal body and in serving the needs of others. Young women's development of alternative forms of self-worth is not well described.

Discussion of Bourdieu's habitus reminded us of the role that an affective affiliation to it may play in the construction of self-identity, through 'lifestyle' (Giddens, 1994, p.80f). It alerted us to the signaling of social identity in the physical presence of the body, and in the performance of eating, including food 'taste' (Bourdieu, 1984, pp174-5). An anthropological interest alerted us to the body's performance of ideal, cultural value. Other than in attention to eating disorders, the literature lacked a specific interest in young people's embodied experience of food.

The Review noted how the role of conserving, and adapting traditional ethnic food knowledge and practice, in new cultural territory, was incorporated in adult, women's identity work. Young people, with an ethnic food heritage, had an interest in negotiating its meaning with those outside of it, including others' perception of its unhealthiness. There is some attention to the distinction of authentic ethnic food from its hybridized version which is known by those outside of the ethnic food heritage.

Sociological interest in the fourth theme, of food meanings in the home, is focused upon adult women's food work, and its contribution to the social construction of gender and patriarchal power in society. There is interest in adult, female appropriation of the meaning of this work, including exercising choice in the market, according to ideals of care, and ethical reconnection with food producers and other consumers, but it does not involve young people. Although there is attention to the dynamic nature of family identity, and some

attention to young people's attempts to forge a personal identity within it, through food choice, as in changing to a vegetarian diet, coverage of young people's contribution to home food culture, as a part of their identity construction as older people, is limited.

Discussion of the fifth theme concluded that young people's participation in the broader food culture outside of the home is not well investigated. In particular, their learning to use the foodscape of a city is largely absent. There is some reference to 'spectacular' (Clarke, 1981, p.170) food practice, but not to how most young people map their everyday lives onto a local geography. The fourth and fifth themes of the review are important for this study because they draw attention to young people's transition to adulthood, in relation to time and place. Territorial identity emplaces the self-narratives which Giddens (1994) describes. It prompts enquiry into young people's negotiations with the codes of particular territories, in their movement from place to place, and in their self-awareness of growing up. We may conclude that there is insufficient account of young people's interpretation of a wider food culture, as a resource of adult, social practice and identity construction.



## **Chapter 3: Theory**

### **CONTENTS**

- Introduction
- Giddens' self-identity
- Hall: social subjects, a desiring self, self-identity within discourse and within a cultural circuit
- Embodiment and self-identity
- Transitional studies: young people sustaining self-narratives of becoming adult

### **INTRODUCTION**

The research question is, How do young people's identities develop in their engagement with food culture, in the transition to adulthood?

This chapter sets out the main theories which drive the methodology and which were brought to bear in explaining the fieldwork material produced by the young people involved in this study. That material was a visual artifact and an interview with the researcher. This is described fully in the next chapter on methodology.

This chapter addresses the research question, first, by drawing strands from Giddens Self-Identity (1994) - particularly the account of identity as individual work, orientated to the future, and to making the most of life in a late modern world. This discussion highlights the importance of the transformation, from trust in others to trust in the individual self, in Giddens' account of the successful individual.

The chapter continues to address the research question by articulating these strands from Self-Identity with aspects of Hall's theorizing of identification, from *Who Needs Identity Anyway?* (2000). Hall's explanation, that identity is in dialogue with the person's subjectification within institutional encounters

across society, constrains the agency of Giddens' account of self-identity. Hall's argument for the psychic dimension of identity work also gives affective depth to the self-reflexive work described by Giddens', and recognizes the desire of participants to be the best that they can be. This contextualises individual empowerment (Giddens, 1994, p.138f), involved in Giddens' self-narrative, as negotiation with the enclosure of life within social and institutional contexts, and their habits of self-reflexivity, and with cultural vocabularies of self-legitimation which exist outside of them. Brief discussion of how the 'circuit of culture' (Du Gay, Hall et al, 1997, p.3), is helpful in explaining the production of those cultural vocabularies, follows.

The chapter, then, uses Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984) to think how self-identity work is both embodied and embedded within kinds of social and cultural life, but also challenged, by a person's movement across social fields, social positions and 'bodily regimes' (Giddens, *ibid*, p. 61ff). This means that self-identity work is in a dialogue between kinds of social belonging and the social myth of self-autonomy. Each offers a different basis for 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1994, p.36f), that is a trust in your relation to the world.

The chapter concludes with brief consideration of how a transitional studies perspective, upon the present day difficulties many young people face, in acquiring the traditional social markers of adulthood, helps us to see their engagement with adult food culture as a means of adult self-performance and the re-appropriation of control that Giddens describes.

## **GIDDENS' SELF-IDENTITY**

Giddens' account of self-identity (1994) is to the fore in this study because it addresses the articulation of identity construction, meaning making and time, central to the idea of personal progression, at the heart of the research question.

The phenomenological perspective of his theory addresses individual construction of identity, through the individual's giving social practice a shape, as a 'lifestyle' (*ibid*, p.5), which answers the existential needs which arise from living in a world of 'high modernity' (*ibid*, p.27f). This addresses the meaning-

making, given to food practice by participants in this study, as part of wresting individual control within the context of institutional and social change, characterized by Giddens as 'high modernity'.

Giddens distinguishes life in 'high modernity' from the regularised control of life within the institutions of the modern, capitalist and industrialised, nation state, in terms of a different interlinking of the individual's sense of self and sense of the world in which s/he lives. This follows from the failures of modern institutions: now there is a sense of greater exposure to risk and opportunity in a world which seems more unpredictable; now rapid technological and scientific change have undermined prior, official explanations of the world and our place in it; now globally connected individuals and institutions produce global and not local reflexivity and consciousness of the world. Self-identity, within this phenomenological context, is even more dis-embedded from the fixities of place and time in social life, than post-feudal, modern society was, from society's earlier, 'traditional' forms (ibid, p.33). Identity within traditional life was about continuities of role, social practice, and ritual, embedded in place, Nature, community and a cyclical sense of time. In comparison, self-identity, at a time of 'high modernity' goes on within a heightened sense of both risk and possibility (ibid, p.111ff).

Self-identity, for Giddens, is a project, of constructing a self-narrative which allows the self to master the future, and deal directly with the risks and opportunities of life, as they are perceived in a late modern world. This project is a means of achieving personal well-being, which is psychological, existential and material. It is aspirational. The self-narrative, about how the person is in the world, is realized by the individual exercising a degree of free choice, by making her social practices cohesive as a lifestyle (not to be confused with the rhetoric of advertising and commodity consumption). At one point, he characterizes this agentive work as dealing with the 'dilemmas of the self' (ibid, p.187ff) which are experienced in this late modern, world. Making her social practices personally meaningful in a self-narrative, is a form of praxis: a counterforce to what it is about late-modern life that is potentially disastrous for self-identity. The experience of 'fragmentation' (ibid, p.189f), across the different worlds in which we live, is offered its dialectical opposite

by incorporating and unifying 'numerous contextual happenings and forms of mediated experience' in the self-narrative (ibid, p.201). The 'powerlessness' (ibid, p.191f) of the individual, in the face of globalized systems of control, is responded to by exploiting the opportunities which global extension and distance offer the individual self-narrative. The loss of 'authority' (ibid, p.194f) in official narratives and the corrigibility of expertise are met by an instrumental and wary use of 'expertise'. The 'commodification' of experience (ibid, p.196f) is dealt with by personalising standardized commodities.

At another point (ibid, p.155ff), he identifies the traction for this shaping of our sense of ourselves, this sense of purpose in the self-narrative, in the fact that it deals with key aspects of human experience which had been, to an extent, hidden away from us, and managed and explained away by modern institutions: key areas of human experience, reduced to 'illness', 'insanity', 'criminality', 'death', 'sexuality' and 'nature', 'sequestered', in turn, by the institutions of the hospital, the asylum, the prison, the institutions of medicine, justice and religion, the family, and institutions of architecture, capitalism and technology.

Self-identity is future orientated. It is the constitution of the self in time, aimed at 'colonising the future' (ibid, p.133). In defining identity as self-work, orientated to the future possibilities of living, he echoes Merleau-Ponty (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2010, p.482): 'It is of the essence of time to be in the process of self-production, and not to be: never, that is, to be completely constituted.' Time is integral to the individual's perception of purpose, intention, direction and meaning in the world for Giddens, as for Merleau-Ponty. Merleau-Ponty opens the chapter on 'Temporality' with a line from Claudel's poem, 'Le temps est le sens de la vie', explaining the pun in 'sens' as 'direction' and 'meaning' of life (ibid, p.476). For Giddens, late modern, self-identity work is going on within increasingly globalized, time-space contexts, increasingly 'lifted out' (ibid, p.18) of association with specific, local place and continuity with traditional forms of social life. Inter-subjectivity is increasingly globalized, both within and without the local place and moment in time. Contemporary self-identity, then, is the product of individual, reflexive work, within the open horizons of possibility, in touch with global, time-space

connections with others, and in its use of globally diverse 'abstract systems', such as money and 'expert systems' of knowledge (ibid, p.133ff).

It is important to identify the role that Giddens gives to trust, as a basis of the agentive work of self-identity, because it directly addresses the heart of this study's research question: how do young people develop the independence, capability, resilience and self-responsibility, which we readily associate with adulthood, in the late modern world which Giddens characterizes? Drawing upon the developmental psychology of Erikson and Winnicott, Giddens focuses upon the transformation of trust in others, as in the 'basic trust' (ibid, p.45) that babies and young children develop toward their carers and the world in which they live, into a trust in self. Successful learning about one's place in the world, and the resourcefulness of the world in relation to personal purposes, underpins what I am calling the self-trust in Giddens' account. Self-trust enables the forward propulsion of self-identity: that is, self-transformation through creative engagement with the possibilities of the world, and its risks, including that which lies over the horizon of perception (ibid, p.41). Self-trust enables young people's development and transition to adulthood.

This progression forward, from childlike dependence to adult independence, may be characterized as learning to answer the existential questions (ibid, p.48ff) which present themselves to the individual as she moves toward the world and perceives the risks and opportunities in it. This progression is realized in creative and interpretative engagement with adult, social practices. In answer to the question of 'existence and being' (ibid, p.47f), the individual finds meaning in the world outside of the given, traditional frameworks of the past. In depicting this as moving beyond the 'shadow' cast by past morality, it seems reasonable to say that this includes the present, construction of values. The existential question of 'finitude and human life' (ibid, p.48f) is answered by making the most of life by shaping it as a finite biography. It seems reasonable to say that this is also about marking personal progression. The question of 'the experience of others' (ibid, p.50f) is answered by establishing a depth to the reality and continuity of relationships with others through doing day to day, conventional social interaction. The question as to 'the continuity of self-identity' (ibid, p.52f) is answered by sustaining a self-narrative of self-

development. It follows from a description of individual life, as orientated to possibility, that Giddens leaves these answers vague. However, key to this study is the tremendous importance, and meaningfulness of lifestyle choice, which Giddens identifies, as the means by which individuals realise their adult identities: by marking out the values she lives by, the progress she is making in her life, her social belonging and her personal disposition to making the most of herself in the world and improving herself.

In depicting the individual's positive orientation to the possibilities of life in the late modern world, as a negotiation with social practices, Giddens is describing the performance of a successful adult disposition: adapting to the world as it is, being capable of responding to the anxiety of risks and opportunities by creatively engaging with social practices, to the end of personal well-being. This theoretical perspective alerts this study to participants' creative engagement with adult food practices, and the meanings adults give to them, as a means of establishing their own personal values, shaping a biography of personal progress, and establishing a sense of social belonging which extends across time and place. Giddens' theoretical perspective connects their making food meaningful with a growth in personal confidence, a 'mastery ...to be able to control one's life circumstances, colonise the future with some degree of success' (ibid, p.202).

The creativity of making adult food practice personally meaningful, in the self-narrative, forges a link to the methodology which is explained in the following chapter. In inspecting the text-ness of that narrative, a Social Semiotic, multimodal analysis offers a view of that creativity, of how participants use mode and material, in the visual artifact and interview, as a part of 'the practical mastery of how to 'go on'' (ibid, p.41). Giddens' explanation of 'creativity' (ibid, p.41) is that it is not only made possible by a trust in others and confidence in your place in the world, but that it is a characteristic of manipulating the world, appropriating it for your own purposes, and therefore a means of self-development. This helps us to see participant representation of food, in its imagination and interpretation of adult food practice, as a part of a self-performance which is orientated to 'colonising' the future (ibid, p.133)

successfully, by opening out its possibilities and discovering value in it for them.

### **HALL: SOCIAL SUBJECTS, A DESIRING SELF, SELF-IDENTITY WITHIN DISCOURSE AND WITHIN A CULTURAL CIRCUIT**

There are important aspects of identity work, relevant to this study, which are missed in Giddens' account of the self-reflexive work of self-identity. The first is an explicit interest in wider social discourses as a means of how the self-reflexivity, that Giddens (1994) describes, works. Hall's (2000) account of 'identification', in *Who Needs Identity Anyway?*, argues that identity construction is in dialogue with the subjectification of the person within hegemonic discourses. Drawing critically upon Foucault (1987, 1988) and Althusser (1971), these discourses are seen as operating within institutions across society. Hall's use of Lacan, in making an argument for the psychic dimension of identity work, is about finding explanation for individuals' negotiation with the identity positions offered to them in discourse, in terms of their desire to be better versions of themselves.

Discourses are important in understanding self-identity, in their seeking to place the creativity Giddens has described as belonging to an individual who is also a social subject, speaking back against her being placed by others as a kind. His reference to Butler (1993) emphasizes the importance, in identity performance, of the imaginary 'effort of alignment, loyalty, ambiguity and cross-corporal cohabitating ... the sedimentation of the 'we' in the constitution of any 'I' (Hall, 2000, p.16).

Hall's argument grounds the work of identity in the forward momentum of a desiring self, based upon a perpetual sense of lack which is grounded in the formation of consciousness, and a sense of being incomplete in the settlements made with the interpellation of being a kind of social subject. The dissonance, between what I am said to be and what I feel I am or could be, is particularly obvious in the realization of what Laclau (1990) has called 'violent hierarchies' (Hall, 2000, p.5) of social identities, in racist and sexist distinction, for example, or in the heterosexual project described by Butler (1993). This is about living with a desire to be more than how you have seen yourself through

the eyes of others, who have placed you, according to an agenda of social types. Institutions empower others to do this. This dissonance is well illustrated by Phoenix (2009) on the experiences of children of Caribbean origin in British schools. Hall's and Butler's arguments grounds identity within the normative expectations of social life, in which social identities provide agendas for self-productivity, and relations of power.

Although Giddens is concerned to ground self-identity, in 'lifestyle', as a cluster of habits and orientations' (Giddens, 1994, p82) and 'decisions taken' and 'courses of action' (ibid, p.6), and 'self-reflexivity' in recursive, social encounters and social practice (Giddens, 1984, p.5f), Hall reminds us that psychic life is never free of the experience of being embodied and emplaced within power relations. A description of the phenomenal context for self-identity needs to include an account of the discourses about social identities, and vocabularies of social judgment, which legitimize the actions of individuals as social types. In *Self-Identity*, there is little account of how, in social and institutional life, 'self-reflexivity' comes to mean very different things, according to the power one has, and expectations that others have of you. Being highly self-reflexive may not be so much about freedom and 'self-actualisation' (Giddens, 1994, p.78), but about compulsion, for example, as a part of everyday life in employment, education, welfare and family settings. Self-reflexivity may be routinely demanded by others, within institutional settings, insisting that individuals show that they care about making so-called improvements to their performances and themselves, or, in social, family or peer group settings, that they must demonstrate their investment in normative performances of types of social identity. Giddens underestimates conformity: the 'sedimentation of the 'we' in the constitution of the 'I' ... is marshalled, consolidated, retrenched, contested, and, on occasion, compelled to give way', as Butler puts it (Hall, 2000, p.16).

Hall deals with the inner-dialogue of identity, as dynamic, rooted in a human desire to be more than one is in the account of those who would have power over you. As much as we might think of much self- performance as sedimented in routinised, encounters with others – caught in Giddens' discussion of 'practical consciousness' and knowing how to go on



(Giddens, 1984, p.41f) - Hall's account reminds us that there is a profound interest, in those disempowered, not to continue to go on as before, and not to realise the same social relations within the same discourses. Self-reflexivity, as the monitoring of behaviour (Giddens, 1984, p.5ff), harnessed to social continuity, serves some more than others.

We may think of different kinds of self-reflexivity. As Adams (2006) points out (using Adkins, 2003 and McNay, 2000), different reflexivities are a part of different habituses (Bourdieu, 1986) and the production of different social identities of gender, class and so on. If, as Adams argues, reflexivity is, as Giddens (1984) argued earlier, a part of the reproduction of the social conditions for action, then reflexivity is itself learnt within social fields, a part of having learnt to respond in certain ways, and how to be in specific social settings and surroundings. In fact, being able to exercise the kind of self-reflexivity Giddens envisages, in *Self-Identity*, may be seen as social privilege, a means of constructing a middle-class identity, through exercising so-called free-choice fueled by a privileged possession of economic, social and cultural capitals. This is to think of reflexivity as a resource that allows social mobility or constrains it. Although Giddens does acknowledge the constraint of learned disposition (Giddens, 1994, p.78) and limited resources (ibid, p.85f) upon 'self-actualisation' (Giddens, 1994, p.85f), it is not central to his discussion.

The development of a discourse of 'life politics', not 'emancipatory politics', in Giddens' *Self-Identity* (ibid, p.210ff), stems from individual experience, and the recognition of a need for change in the lives of like-minded individuals.

However, a politics premised upon the subjectification of social identities, such as race, gender and class, which Hall draws attention to, is absent. Giddens' account of the individual 'colonising' the future, is about handling risk on a personal basis (ibid, p133ff) and developing trust in the self by answering universal, but not socially differentiated, 'existential questions' (ibid, p.47ff). His description of the risks of engaging with the world as it is, and overcoming the danger of anxiety that is a part of maximizing opportunity, is empty of a history of being subjected by others to racism or sexism, for example. Hall's (2000) account of psychic work, premised upon different degrees of constraint, according to social identity, draws attention to the uneven contours

of the social fabric. It also draws attention to the negotiation with a given social identity, in the use of role models and in the use of cultural resources in self-performance, to make alternative or oppositional readings of yourself. Hall's account makes suture to alternative, idealised versions of the self, which are different to those in hegemonic discourse, a psychic necessity. Idealisation, here, works against the simplification of naturalised social difference by allowing complication and depth to subjects like you. Hall's explanation of identification informs the self-narrative which Giddens describes, by showing that self-performances are going on against a history of contradiction: between a latent sense of self and a performance of being a socially and culturally intelligible self.

Hall's identification makes us think about the lived, personal histories of the participants in this study: how they have learnt to understand themselves and perform themselves within the expectation of being judged and positioned by others in terms of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, and age. This theorization informs the methodology in three ways: first, by ensuring that, in the task setting, there is a freedom for participants to choose what they say about themselves; second, that, in the semi-structured interview, there is some opportunity for the researcher to learn whatever the participant wishes to disclose about her lived, personal experience; third, that analysis should be reflexive, in thinking about participants' self-performances as negotiating with kinds of self-reflexivity which have been learnt as appropriate to institutional context, to normative perception of their social identity, and to negotiating with cultural vocabularies of social judgement.

Hall's focus upon identity draws our attention to the vocabularies participants use to evaluate and legitimise their food practices, and those of others, as the performances of social subjects. It focuses our attention upon the vocabularies participants use to measure their personal progress in the self-narrative. Specification of those vocabularies is a means by which the analysis of this study may make connection between what Giddens describes as the 'transmutations introduced by modern institutions' and 'individual life ... and the self' (Giddens, 1994, p.1).

The circuit of culture of Cultural Studies (du Gay, Hall *et al*, 1997) works with Hall's understanding of identification, by citing the dialectical engagement with discourse, and by situating personal identity as a negotiation within a whole series of dynamic, cultural processes. These are 'representation', 'identity', 'production', 'consumption' and 'regulation' (ibid, p.3). Each of these nodes of the circuit are stages in the history of a discourse about an aspect of reality, or a 'biography' of a cultural object (ibid, p.2), in which meaning and power is re-articulated. It allows investigation of agency in the development of what Foucault calls 'discursive formations' (Storey, 2006, p.102) that is, the association, overlap and contention of ways of representing reality. The circuit adds to Hall's account by giving sight of the cultural context of identification in the greater series of negotiations of meaning-making and power. It situates what Giddens describes as the individual's negotiation of 'expert systems', as a means of self-empowerment (ibid, p.139f), within pre-existing, cultural dialogues and social histories of giving meaning and cohesion to social practices. Through this assembly of theory, self-performance, through the use of the cultural object of food, is about the negotiation of a desiring self, within a cultural context of meaning-making, and a dialogue between imagination and social legitimation.

The circuit allows sight of a means of making progressive self-narratives about becoming more adult. As a bridge to methodology, the circuit allows what Burn (2015) describes as its partner, a Social Semiotic analysis, to specify the 'semantic networks' (du Gay, Hall *et al*, 1997, p.15) which are being used, as a part of the self-performance. A Social Semiotic analysis provides the detail as to how the existing meanings are being extended or expanded by the communicator, at this node of identity. The circuit allows explanation of the power of discourses in their use. It gives the means of establishing their provenance by referencing their incorporation in particular social and institutional practices. The circuit is a way of avoiding determination by the processes at work at any one of the nodes, by associating it to the meanings made at the other nodes. Whilst allowing for description of the exercise of institutional power, in the relations between food use and a socially and

culturally intelligible identity, it allows for the individual's interpretation of food and its use in the individual's identity performance.

The circuit's focus upon power, in the re-articulation of meaning, at the node of identity, gives sight of the resources with which Giddens' description of 'empowerment' (Giddens, 1994, p.139ff) works. It supplies Giddens' explanation of developing self-trust, through creativity and the discovery of value, with the culturally shared diversity of expertise, values, role models and imagery that it needs. Otherwise, Giddens' individuals, generating 'mastery' of the circumstances they confront (ibid, p.202), have the qualities of ideal personas, according to a myth of self-autonomy, in a neo-liberalised world. The circuit also supplies the means by which what Butler described as the 'sedimentation of the 'we' in the constitution of the 'I' (Hall, 2000, p.16) is negotiated.

The node of identity, within the circuit, also allows for the individual negotiation of meaning within the micro setting of the social settings in which they are already immersed. Bourdieu (1986) reminds us that, in consumption and identity construction, the self-reflexivity, which Giddens highlights, is premised upon pre-conscious learning, and the habit of taste and social belonging. The following section extends this discussion.

## **EMBODIMENT AND SELF-IDENTITY**

Giddens' understanding of embodiment stresses the centrality of the body in the work of self-identity within social and cultural life. The body has, since birth, been the way that we are in the world, the way that we interact with others and engage with the objects in the world. Central to this social immersion of the individual is the social expectation to control and continually monitor the body in social interaction, in order to keep the normality of social life going. The departure which Giddens makes from Foucault, and the discipline of 'docile bodies' (Giddens, 1994, p.57), is about the emphasis he wishes to give to individual agency – that a part of the profound learning of knowing how to go on in social life is to be a 'competent social agent' (ibid, p.57). The performance of self-management, in the body's 'appearance', 'demeanor', and 'sensuality' (ibid, p.99) is a means by which a biography of

self-identity is maintained and a means by which others judge you. However, a key part of that self-management, is knowing how to explain the performance if required. The reasonability, or cultural intelligibility of individual, bodily 'regimes' (ibid, p.100), is key for psychological health, in experiencing the self as being embodied rather than alienated from the body in some way.

The body, as a focus of pride or shame, throws enormous weight upon body management as a means of building what I am summarizing as the trust in self, discussed in the first section, which is so central to the self-development of a more independent and autonomous, adult person. A key distinction in Giddens' explanation of 'anorexia', from 'authentic reflexive monitoring' (ibid, p.107) is that the body has become the object of mastery, rather than the world itself. The latter - an engagement with the risks and opportunities of the world - has the end of making the most of the self in the world. The distinction, between a kind of arrested development, and a future orientation to maximize opportunity, proves to be important in the self-performances of the younger female participants in the first chapter of fieldwork analysis. On the theme of leaving behind a dysfunctional relationship to eating, their self-performances match this binary about 'self-actualisation': of 'letting go of the past ... becoming free from oppressive emotional habits, generating a multiplicity of opportunities for self-development' (ibid, p.78).

For Giddens, the body is within late modern life, and its 'internally referential systems' (ibid, p.7). This means that the experience of the body is a part of the project of 'self-identity', discussed in the first section of this chapter. Constructing, controlling and shaping the body is a part of making a coherent and cohesive self through 'lifestyle' choice (ibid, p.58) and the 'reflexive appropriation of bodily processes' according to a 'life-politics' (ibid, p.218). Once more, we can see how the work of making the most of bodily experience, through the use of globalized resources of expertise, may be brought into dialogue with the circuit of culture, situating the creative work of embodied self-identity within pre-existing, cultural dialogues and contestation of meaning about kinds of bodies, food practices and identities. The circuit allows sight of the 'reflexively ordered environment, where that reflexivity links self and body to systems of global scope' (ibid, p.214). The intersection, at the

node of identity, for example, of regulatory discourses of healthy eating advice and representation of vegetarianism or veganism, helps to see the specific implementation of personal responsibility for the body. In reference to what Giddens calls 'life politics', 'thoroughly penetrated by modernity's abstract systems, self and body become sites of a variety of lifestyle options ... a remoralising of daily life (ibid, p.225).' In his specification of 'life politics' as 'the politics of lifestyle'(ibid, p.214), we can see how the politics of food choice, with reference to 'morally justifiable forms of life' and 'global interdependence' (ibid, p.215), implicates the body in addressing the existential questions he characterizes as demanding attention in contemporary life.

Bourdieu's (1984) analysis of taste complicates the self-autonomy of Giddens' social agent by reminding us of affiliation and loyalty to the sedimented lifestyle of class. The 'regime' (Giddens, 1994, p.61) of eating, like others premised upon biological necessity, and perceived by the body, in all of the sensations relevant to pleasure and a calming of anxiety, is affectively associated with social belonging. What Giddens characterizes as the learned, social expectation to show personal bodily control by being individually responsible for the health and appearance of the body, may also be realized through continuity of the food practice of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.101). In his earlier, tripartite model of consciousness (Giddens, 1984, p.7), 'practical consciousness', that which is learned and a part of our automatic action, is not at odds with 'discursive consciousness', the reasoning of our agency, but accompanies it. This makes it important, in the analysis of the fieldwork, to address the dialogue between the food practices of home, the 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1994, p.43f) they may have offered and continue to offer, and an agentive appropriation of a wider food culture, the motivation of which is to take control of bodily self-management and have a more adult, self-identity. As a part of that agentive work, how is the food of habitus interpreted? And what is the connection between participants' reinterpretation of food and new kinds of embodied, social experience, for example at university?

Bourdieu's analysis also prompts us to question what meaning food's signification of social class, as well as the connotation of social belonging, has

for the young person when it is made objectively real to them, in the clash with the habituated food practices of another social class, in the new territory. If, as Adams (2006) says, the kind of reflexivity Giddens describes is a resource that allows mobility, and the self-separation from prior forms of social solidarity, is there another kind which resists that separation? Adams characterizes these adaptations as either a struggle, in an attempt to bridge the disjunction between habitus and the new social field, or an attempt to creatively invest in the reproduction of social difference. The suggestion is, then, in the latter, a socially advantaged class has learnt the value of individualism; and that, in the former, a more socially disadvantaged class has learnt to maintain the value of social solidarity.

Bourdieu's analysis also shows the production of objective class difference in the physical body. The learned food habits of different social classes, including having different dietary requirements according to different kinds of work, and learning different mobilization of the body in eating, further complicates Giddens' politics of choice. There is likely to be a different evaluation of body shape, as well as its demeanor, as a measure of social class, according to the class position of the individual. Although Bourdieu's analysis, here, does include the intersection of gender, in the embodied performance of class, a more nuanced account of social differentiation needs to include ethnicity and age.

Warde et al's work, in *Cultural Omnivores* (2007), reminds us how diverse the value of distinction has 'deferred' - according to Derrida's description of the change in relation of signifier and signified, over time (Storey, 2006, p.98) - across a very diverse, middle class. That diversity is expressed in the different accumulations of economic, social and cultural capitals. Taste is used, as a part of self-identity, to maintain a diversity of social distinction no longer premised upon an earlier, social hierarchy, and a contrast between so-called high and popular culture.

## **TRANSITIONAL STUDIES: YOUNG PEOPLE SUSTAINING SELF-NARRATIVES OF BECOMING ADULT**

A fourth thread of theory, which informs this study, is the conception of the development from youth to adulthood as a transition. This perspective is derived from Jones (2012), in her overview of the re-theorising of youth which has gone on in Social Studies. The strand of hers which is incorporated into this study is that which moves away from normative timetables for youth development: those linear and unitary models found in psychological explanations of individual development, biological identification of so-called life stages, and anthropological description of rites of passage from fixed cultural identities of youth to adulthood. Instead, drawing upon both Giddens' (1994) concepts of self-reflexivity and high modernity, and Bourdieu's (1984) habitus and cultural capital, as the norms of conduct we learn through family upbringing and educational training, she thinks of transition from youth to adulthood as young people making sense of personal progression within social change.

Jones focusses our attention upon how a diversity of young people have to construct the meanings of a changed social identity, of becoming adult, through the specific institutional negotiations that they make. The diversity of their routes to adulthood is the product of their use of their different, learned dispositions and resources of their social positions, in these negotiations with institutional life. Focus upon social change means that there is awareness that the traditional signifiers of adulthood are no longer available or appropriated in any consistent way. This is a contemporary problem that we are all aware of, from our knowledge of friends and family, and from media representation of the problems facing young people in the UK . Further illustration of this is given in Appendix 6.

The acquisition of traditional markers of adulthood is better thought of as a piecemeal attainment along 'strands' (Jones, 2012, p.95) of independence, such as moving from education to paid employment, from living in the parental home to forming a household or starting a housing career, establishing a long-term, intimate relationship, and becoming a parent. A changed youth labour



market, industrial restructuring, loss of secure jobs and craft apprenticeships, prolonged engagement with formal education and training, mass higher education and its commodification, changes in family structure, delays in established relationships and marriage and child rearing, rarity and cost of housing, and changes in welfare provision, have all meant that acquiring what traditionally marked out adulthood is much more difficult for many young people. For Jones, a close look at what Giddens calls 'high modernity' means an awareness of changed institutional structures, through which young people can construct their self-narratives of becoming adult. In this, she is acutely aware of the different resources which different young people possess, according to class, and the individual difference of personal psychology.

The diversity of transitional routes toward adulthood contextualizes an account of 'self-identity' (Giddens, 1994) as a process in which individuals develop self-trust, and thereby a personal capability to deal with the risks and opportunities of life in a late modern world. Her account points out the importance of different resources, including cultural and social capitals, which underpin 'fast' or 'slow track' transitions (ibid, p.95f), and young people's development of self-confidence, perception of risk, and what has been coined resilience – for example, in schools, prompted by societal concern about increased mental illness among young people.

The theme of time, which Giddens' account of the self-narrative, shows to be so important in giving the life-course shape and meaning, helps us, again, to see the importance of young people being able to mark their personal progress, in becoming more independent and autonomous. By foregrounding constraint in many young people's transition to adulthood, a transitional perspective underlines the importance of their showing others that they are competent social agents, even if well-paid employment, a housing career, and so on are remote goals for most. This perspective also draws attention to the personal negotiation of self-identity in places and institutions, as territories in which different values and different habits of self-performance are located and realized in different forms of sociality .

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has explained the usefulness of Giddens' conception of self-identity to this study, particularly in its address to individual perception, and construction of a self-narrative through an engagement with the contemporary world. It offers a framework in which to understand the process of becoming adult as a creative engagement with the possibilities of being in this world and the development of what I have summarized as self-trust. Then the chapter articulates Giddens' self-identity with Hall's understanding of identification, which helps to see the 'dialectic of control' (Giddens, 1994, p.138), or empowerment, which is involved in the creative work of self-identity, as a dialogue with our interpellation as social subjects.

The chapter then situated this creative work within the cultural processes described in the circuit of culture (du Gay, Hall *et al*, 1997) and with food as a cultural resource of identity.

Then the chapter articulated Giddens' explanation of individual body management and food regime with the cultural dialogues of the circuit. The perspective of Bourdieu (1984) upon embodiment reminds us that the interpretation of food and the body, which is a part of the self-reflexivity Giddens describes, has to work through another dialogue: between what was learned in the embodied experience of habitus, and its relation to social belonging, and subsequent experience of embodiment and developing an adult self-trust in new territories. Lastly, a transitional view of development, from youth to adulthood, reminded us that the development of self-trust in many young people goes on within a contemporary experience of the frustrated acquisition of traditional markers of adulthood.

## **Chapter 4: Methodology**

### **CONTENTS**

- Introduction
- The agenda set by the research question
- The fieldwork samples and generalisability
- The ethical and pragmatic negotiations with these young people
- Summary of the fieldwork
- The data collection and link to Ethnography
- The data analysis and link to Social Semiotic multimodality
- Conclusion

### **INTRODUCTION**

First, this chapter uses the research question to explain the agenda for the fieldwork and analysis. Then the samples of young people are explained. The extent to which they are representative of young people is considered. There is explanation of the sample choice as both pragmatic and ethical. The working relationship with participants and the ethnography is explained.

A summary of the fieldwork is given so that reference in the explanation of the data collection and analysis makes sense. Then the data collection and its link to the ethnography of this study are explained. This is followed by an explanation of the data analysis and its link to social semiotics. There is a brief conclusion.

### **THE AGENDA SET BY THE RESEARCH QUESTION**

The research question is, 'How do young people's identities develop through engagement with food culture, in the transition to adulthood?'

First, the research question engages with shortfalls, identified in the Literature Review, by addressing the meanings food has for young people. It asks how they are a part of young people's identity construction, and a part of becoming adult.

Secondly, the research question engages with the theoretical interests, described in the last chapter, in particular, aspects of Giddens' (1994) description of self-identity. As such, it is interested in how young people's food related, 'narratives' about the self (1994, p.54) orientate them to a successful future. We identified becoming a 'competent social agent' (1994, p.57), and, out of Giddens' discussion of 'ontological security' (1994, p.36ff), developing what I have called self-trust, as central to the task of 'colonising the future' (1994, p.125, p.129) in the 'late modern' world. Using Giddens' articulation of the individual's 'existential questions' (1994: p. 47ff), in relation to contemporary institutions, the individual subjective work of young people is linked to an account of the society in which it is found.

Thirdly, the research question also articulates Giddens' self-identity with the other theoretical perspectives upon identity discussed in the last chapter. This means that I need to ask how young people's self-narratives are in dialogue with cultural vocabularies of adulthood, food use and social identity, as well as former habitus (Bourdieu, 1986/2007). This further links the individual subjective work of young people with an account of the society in which it is found.

## **THE FIELDWORK SAMPLES AND GENERALISABILITY**

The fieldwork involves three samples of young people, in three settings and in three phases, called Phase 1, Phase 2 and Phase 3. The age-range of participants, across the three phases, from 16 to 23 years, is consistent with the working definition of the UN (UNESCO, 2017), and government and social science demographic descriptions, of young people as being between 15 and 24 years. The participants, in each of the three phases, are opportunity samples: they were available at the time of the research, fit the criteria of the research question, and were willing to take part.

The sample of Phase 1 comprised of 12 individuals, distributed evenly across the ages of 16 to 23 years. Some were at university; some were waiting to go, in the summer, having completed A levels; some were about to start their final year of A levels; and some were in employment but still living at home. These were ex-students from the community college I had previously worked at full-time. They had responded to my word of mouth request, in the community, for volunteers. Phase 2's sample comprised of 10 individuals aged 16 to 17 years. These were current A-level students, studying Film Studies at the community college referred to previously, and were taught by me, in what was then a part-time capacity. Phase 3's sample comprised of 27 individuals, aged 19 to 20 years, who were first year, Graphic Design students at a local university. They were in their second year of university, having completed a Foundation year

The samples, in total, were 49 young people, aged 16 to 23 years. The size of the total sample is sufficient to provide 'a series of complex comparisons' between the participants in relation to the themes of the study (Gray, 2003, p. 110). These themes are the meanings that food has for young people, and the part that meaning making has for their self-identities. These participants provide sufficient diversity of social identities to provide what Connell terms a high 'theoretical yield' (Gray, 2003, p. 101). As Gray points out, what matters the most in a Cultural Studies project like this is that participants are chosen who are likely to produce the material which provides the in-depth information necessary, rather than to be too preoccupied with the numbers per se - 'a concept which refers to a different research model, and, as it implies, is designed to function as a representation of the whole' (Gray, 2003, p.101)

These samples are from the target population in the research question, but not statistically representative of young people across the entire population. The biases that exist, in gender, ethnicity, class, and educational achievement, for example, are expressive of their being particular opportunity samples. The rationale for their selection, and how it keys into the generation of data useful to the research question, is explained in the following section. The sample bias, in terms of educational achievement, for all three phases, is obvious enough: all have been students at A-level, and over 50% of the

samples have studied, or are studying at first degree level. However, participation in university and higher education is not an elite phenomenon: the estimate for entry, in England, in 2011/12 is 49%, and 43% in 2012/13 (Great Britain. Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2014, p.43).

There is a bias, in Phase 1 and 2 samples, toward a white and what may be called a lower-middle-class demographic, as traditionally defined, or, according to Savage's (2015) perspective, toward what he describes as a heterogeneous middle-class (2015, p.168ff). Established from findings from the Great British Class Survey, he describes new class configurations, based upon an analysis of the contemporary, accumulations of economic, social and cultural capitals. Between what he calls 'elite' and 'precariat' social classes, which are, in turn, difficult to enter or escape from, there is the possibility of considerable social mobility across this heterogeneous middle, some 70% of the total population. This comprises of what Savage describes as 'established middle class', 'technical middle class', 'new affluent workers', 'traditional working class' and 'emerging service workers' (Savage, 2015, p.169). This is the diversity of class from which all three samples are drawn. In terms of self-identification, participants in these samples negotiated identities for themselves that were ambiguous, in terms of class: nominating the description of working class in not wanting to be seen as snobbish, and nominating middle class in wanting to be identified with independently making your own way through work, and in being self-aspirational.

Again, the bias toward an ethnically white, heterogeneous middle class, is expressive of the bias in the population attending the state comprehensive school, used for the first two Phases of the fieldwork, and in the villages which form its catchment area. Peripheral to an East Midlands' city, in which 55% are non-British White, the concentration of white British in the catchment area of the school is typical of the clustering of different ethnicities and class in key areas of the city and county (University of Manchester, 2013, pp. 1-4).

Phase 1 and 2 samples are biased in being mostly white, but balanced in terms of gender. The Phase 3 sample is biased, in terms of gender and ethnicity, which is expressive of student choice of a Graphic Design degree

course, at this East Midlands university, reflecting, in turn, an earlier subject choice at secondary school. At the time of this phase of the fieldwork, 73.8% of the intake in 2010/11, and 78.3% of the intake in 2011/12 for the Graphic Design course were female, as confirmed by Smethurst, C. (2018). Almost 80% of the Phase 3 sample is female; 68% is white British. There is also a middle-class bias. According to Savage's (2015) perspective, they are all from the 'heterogeneous middle-classes', described above, and skewed upwards, in terms of their accumulation of the three forms of capital, which Bourdieu (1986/2007) describes, and Savage uses in his analysis of contemporary Britain. Only 10% of the sample was identified as 'traditional working class' (Savage, 2015, p.172). According to the cultural capital of regionality in Britain (Savage, 2015, p.261ff), I would estimate a median value, for attendance at this university, and for this Creative Arts and Design course. In 2011/12, this non-Russell group university, is ranked 9<sup>th</sup> (The Guardian, 2011), and the course 11<sup>th</sup> (The Complete University Guide, 2012).

Seen from the perspective of Savage's (2015) analysis of class in the UK, all three samples offer a view of young people from the very diverse, middle-class, as it is now configured in Britain – some 70% of the population (Savage, 2015).

We may argue that Phase 1 participants, being volunteers, were more likely to have an interest and pleasure in the subject of food and in the task than other young people; or that Phase 2's volunteers were more likely to see advantage in co-operation with the researcher/teacher. In terms of educational achievement, already identified, the issue of cooperation could be said to be a sample bias.

The validity of the knowledge developed, about young people like this, and the society in which they live, is argued to be high, in the sections, on data collection and analysis, to follow. Part of this is the use of a reflective and reflexive account, in which the social differences of participants are a part of the account given of them. Knowledge developed about these young people, with this reference to their age, class, gender, and ethnicity, may inform further study about more young people like them, and may be used to

challenge other theoretical claims about them. The diversity of young people represented in these samples, is sufficient to challenge generalized accounts of young people's food practices, such as those described in the Literature Review.

## **THE ETHICAL AND PRAGMATIC NEGOTIATIONS MADE WITH THESE YOUNG PEOPLE**

Pragmatically, the institutions from which these samples come were a means of recruiting sufficient numbers, and a sufficient diversity of young people, across the age-range, and at different territorial points of transition in a biography from youth to adulthood. The latter included the movement from home and school to university and to place of work, and that from university to home and employment. In addition, the institutional settings of Phases 2 and 3, a community college and a university, enabled the production of the sufficient material to construct the ethnographic knowledge needed to address the research question.

The institutional settings of Phases 2 and 3, and the quasi-institutional relationship with participants in Phase 1, also offered the mediation my research needed. The community college, in Phases 1 and 2, and the university, in Phase 3, offered young people, and the parents of younger participants in Phase 1, verification of my status, and legitimation of my contact and task setting. In Phase 1, participants knew me to be a reputable teacher in the college which they had attended; in addition, in Phase 2, I was one of two teachers of their Film Studies course; in Phase 3, I was introduced by their university course tutor, and worked alongside him for part of a module of work, in university work spaces. Having this legitimacy was vital because of my age, gender and ethnicity and theirs, particularly at a time when the issue of the grooming of young people by adults was so prominent. I am a white, British male, in late middle-age. Formal permissions were sought from the community college and university, from all participants and the parents of those in Phase 1, and endorsement from my university was provided. The issue of trust between participants and researcher was important to allow participants to engage freely with the creative tasks, and in a one to one



interview. A study which addresses self-identity, personal meaning and a cultural object, food, grounded in personal and family practice, had to be mindful of this.

An important aspect of these samples is that all of the participants had an interest in visual creativity, and in the representative technologies they were to use, and could engage purposefully with the task which, potentially, offered them interest or pleasure in self-performance. Further, in Phases 2 and 3, use of the visual mode was implicit in their self-performances as young people making progress in their Film Studies and Graphics courses.

It is in the creative work, of setting a task for them to make a visual artifact about an aspect of food that was important to them, that the research may claim to have value for those who participated in it. I believe that value is illustrated in the examples of participant work which feature in the chapters of analysis. The use of a visual artifact gives participants a good level of control over what they do or do not show of their personal lives in a public arena. Visual metaphor and montage, for example, allow the connections that participants make with other images from their own experience, to remain discrete. Subversive readings and pleasure may remain private. The greatest constraint upon participant negotiation was in Phase Two. However, even though participants were also A level students, and wanted what they made to achieve grades, according to exam criteria, they were expert at negotiating personal expression within the framework of a creative task at school. Their work was framed by me as creative work, consistent with their personal expression, and critical reading of film expected throughout their Film Studies course.

Negotiating the formality of the role, and being present with the student and participant, is something each teacher and researcher does, and the formality which I maintained both constrains and enables the kind of ethnography done. First, the formality of the task giver, facilitator and interpreter is consistent with the distance between researcher and participant implicit in the social semiotic multimodal analysis, explained further below. Secondly, the openness to the perception and affective life of the other person, and himself, is consistent with

the ethnographic account of lived experience. This negotiation of a distance, by both parties, allows a great deal but not the emplaced, sensory participation, in the participants' environment and social practices which Pink (2009), for example, recommends. Neither was it the situated observation of food practice, as the 'production and reception of meanings within physical and material social settings', worked with 'the backstory' of 'socially situated activity' (Flewitt, 2011, pp. 307-8). This study did not allow the observation of food being used at home or in other private spaces which allows one way of construing the relationship between grounded cultural and social values and the individual's performance in institutional spaces.

However, it is consistent with the ethical stance of this study that it seeks a rich, personal account (of food, identity and how cultural and social values are played out through social relationships) in the creative work, and in the interview. The negotiation of distance and presence, by the researcher, in this study, reproduces the boundaries of privacy familiar to participants in an educational setting. I would not enter their private spaces, their social groups or view their social practices. I would not film them or photograph them; I would only photograph their artifacts after their permission was given. The distance seeks to serve the creative work of participants. In all three phases, that work went on in their own spaces, away from the institutional spaces of our meeting, and they controlled it.

Housing the researcher within the culturally intelligible role of the teacher was the decision I took so that participants could understand my role and trust in where their participation would take them. Consent given by participants to help my research was informed: the outline of the study, what my purposes were, what would be asked of them, what I would do with what they made and said, including photographing their work and recording an interview, was given to them at the outset. The central place of the BERA guidelines (BERA, 2014) in the research was explained. I again sought permission before photographing and recording. Information was given that they could withdraw their participation at any time. Permission was formally sought from representatives of the institutions in which I worked, from parents of participants in Phase 1 and 2, and from all participants themselves. I

explained that the material they made would migrate from their world to my world, and that I would analyse the material at home, and described the methods I would use. I explained that I would share their material with my supervisor, with other research students like myself, and that what I wrote would be read by a wider, academic audience. I explained that the study would have open access. I explained that their identities would be protected by not using surnames and not naming institutions and places.

## **SUMMARY OF THE FIELDWORK**

### **Phase 1**

In this phase of the fieldwork, participants were ex-students from the community college I had previously worked at full-time. They had responded to my word of mouth request, in the community, for volunteers. Their ages ranged from 17 to 23 years. Some were at university, some were waiting to go, having completed A levels; some were about to start their final year of A levels; some were in employment but still living at home. I met each, separately, on the campus of the college, and explained my work and their task if they took part.

The task was to use the video camera I gave them to make a video about an aspect of food that mattered to them, and which said a lot about who they were. It was stressed that there was no presumption about subject, setting, genre, length, or the perception of quality, and that my purpose was to learn about what mattered to them about food. It was stressed that I wanted them to get something out of making the video for themselves. As the chapters of analysis show, they chose a great diversity of genres, and addressed a great diversity of experience about food and eating. We met at various locations convenient to them for a semi-structured interview. The interview was recorded. The questions, in the semi-structured interviews, were to help me to see things from participants' perspectives and for them to establish a narrative about themselves. The first questions asked them to show me what they had made, how they had gone about it, and what it had felt like to do it. Each was encouraged to show me parts of the video to help do that, to bring the visual text into being a part of the spoken narrative. Then, they were asked what it

was that was important to them about this aspect of food. Later, the theme of transition in the research question was directly addressed, by asking them whether food had meanings for them now that it had not had in their earlier life. After the interview, a combination of ethnographic and multimodal methods, as described in the later section on analysis, led to categorization of the themes each participant addressed, and the position each took to the theme, in the interview and in the video, as recorded in Appendix 1.

## **Phase 2**

Participants in this phase of the fieldwork were A-level Film students, aged 16 to 17 years, at the community college previously referred to. I was one of two of their teachers. My work as a researcher, and the ethical dimension of the work, described in the last section, was explained to them. Work with those who volunteered was in two parts. The first task was to make or design a documentary film about an aspect of food that was important to them. Students not taking part were prepared to make or design a film of a different genre. The text produced would be an element of their AS Film Studies coursework.

From those who volunteered, two focus groups, one female and one male group, discussed food related issues, to support their individual choice of documentary subject. Prompt-sheets were used to support the discussions (see Appendix 7): one about food related dilemmas facing young people, and two others about different ways of thinking and feeling about food. Both prompts were based upon issues identified by Phase 1 participants, in their interviews. I acted as a group facilitator for the male group, to introduce the task and materials only. The facilitator of the female group was the female co-teacher of the Film Studies group. She acted as research assistant solely for this purpose. Other activities in class supported their understanding of the coursework requirements, but their creative work on the documentary, including their recruitment of friends and family for acting and being photographed, went on outside of class. The documentary, as part of their AS Film Studies, was individual work.

All participants produced a design for a documentary film, a treatment in two parts, according to the Film Studies specification (Appendix 8): either a photo-narrative board of eight images, illustrating sequences from across the imagined documentary, accompanied by written specification of the visual and sound elements, or a set of five step-outlines (WJEC, 2009). The main element of the step-outline is a written account of the imagined scene, attempting to see it through the lens of a camera. This visualisation includes details of mise-en-scene (lighting, iconography etc.), camera work, sound, editing and performance. The step-outline also includes written specification of the scene's role in the overall narrative, under the headings of 'location', 'endpoint of last scene', 'characters in scene', 'point of scene', 'conflict', 'ending/central question', as well as a summary of 'key micro elements employed' (WJEC, 2009, p.10f). Micro-elements, in Film Studies, means the film-language used - the mise-en scene elements, camera work, sound, editing and performance. The second part of the treatment is a 'reflective analysis' (WJEC, 2009, p.11): an evaluation of the effectiveness of the chosen documentary form and use of the micro-elements. These treatments are within the thematisation document in Appendix 1. Once made, I used the multimodal methods, described in the section on analysis, below, to categorise the themes each addressed and the positions they took to the theme, as recorded in Appendix 1.

The second tier of the work, with most participants, was an individual, semi-structured interview, based upon their interpretation of three extracts of current, food television programmes. This had no connection to the Film Studies course or assessment of any kind. Participation was voluntary. The programmes were *Come Dine With Me* (2010), *Jamie Does Marrakesh* (2010) and *Supersize v Superskinny* (2010). They represented a range of food television genres, each mediating food differently, according to my analysis of broadcast television from September 2009 to December 2010 (Appendix 4): the first, a food competition programme, the second, a hybrid celebrity-chef demonstration and travel programme; and the third, a hybrid body horror/body makeover/social investigation programme, focused on obesity and eating disorders. After viewing each extract, of 10 minutes duration, each

participant was asked to select five or six still image cards, from about twenty, for each programme, which would help the participant to identify what interested them most in it. These images are in Appendix 5. The interview was recorded. As in the Phase 1 interview, my questions were used to help me to see things from participants' perspectives and to encourage them to talk about themselves and what was important to them. After the interview, the same combination of ethnographic and multimodal methods, described in the later section on analysis, were used to categorise the themes each addressed, and the positions they took to them, in the interview, as recorded in Appendix 1.

### **Phase 3**

Participants were first year, Graphic Design students, aged 19 to 20 years at a local university. I worked with the course tutor, to design and lead part of an introductory unit of work about research. I worked with students, in two workshops, which involved their exploration of an aspect of food that was important to them, their use of research to develop their thoughts and feelings about that aspect of food, and their search for a graphic means of expressing their stance to it. Making a mind-map was a part of the first, exploratory process. They used work journals to record their independent research and designs. They, then, made a visual artifact, in the medium of their choice, to fix the position they wanted to take to the food subject.

Volunteers took part in a semi-structured interview, in which they showed me the visual artifact they had made, and explained it to me. As in the interviews in the earlier phases, I asked questions to help me to see things from participants' perspectives and to encourage them to talk about themselves and what mattered to them. Again, with permission, the interview was recorded and the artifact photographed. Their work did not contribute to any formal, university assessment. After the interview, I combined the ethnographic and multimodal methods, described in the later section on analysis, in order to categorise the themes each addressed and the positions they took to the theme, in the interview and in the video, as recorded in Appendix 1.

## **THE DATA COLLECTION AND LINK TO ETHNOGRAPHY**

The data collected, in each phase of the fieldwork, is the visual artifact and the interview. These are the two communicative events in which participants make meanings about themselves and food. This meaning-making directly addresses the research question when it is a part of their self-performance. First, the link with self-performance exists, in these two communicative events, when there is motivation in the participant to say something important about herself, for example, in relation to her use of food, her skill and her knowledge, her family, her social worlds, and her social identity. Secondly, it exists in the participant's creativity - the artistic intentionality of her use of representative technologies, in the artifact, and in the embodied modes of communication, in the interview, which are used to represent her interest. In both ways, then, 'self-expression becomes self-representation' (Burn, 2005, p.81). The link between self-expression and self-representation was encouraged in all of the task-setting and interviews by making self-representation the explicit subject.

The data collection was ethnographic, first, in going on within face to face meetings with participants, such that analysis of each person's positioning of themselves to food included an account of an embodied self-performance. This includes facial expression, bodily movement, and tone of voice as the communication of ideas and feelings. In the interview, I could be attentive to what the other person did as well as what she said, including the use of objects, particularly the visual artifact. The semi-structured interview allowed the participant to construct a self-narrative, in her terms, in response to initial, open-ended questions; and it allowed me to ask subsequent questions in order to clarify the participant's position to the subject. The self-narrative included accounts of how food was a part of socially situated activity, social relationship, social and cultural norms and personal identity.

The data collection was also ethnographic in its reflexivity. The recording and writing out of interview exchange prompted recall, and reflection upon our interaction. This included reflection upon what was constraining or shaping our interaction, such as the place of meeting, for example a university classroom or a bar, and the association, for either of us, of the provenance of meaning-

making or self-performance with those places. This included the resonance of location with a personal history of subjectification, of being placed and acted upon by others, as a type of social subject (Hall, 2000, Phoenix, 2009). The genre of interview, realised in the performance of both participant and myself, further anchored our social identities, including those of teacher and student, in an educational institution. Identifying how both researcher and participant were addressing social identities of gender, age, class and ethnicity, in each other, was an important part of analyzing, the data. Making this kind of self-reflexive account was a key part of developing an ethnographic knowledge about these young people and the social life that we both were a part of. This is an attempt to give some account of how ethnographic knowledge is being produced as well as represented, as Pink (2008, p.24) points out: 'not solely the subjectivity of the researcher that may shade his or her understanding of reality, but the relationship between the subjectivities of researcher and informants that produces a negotiated version of reality.'

The openness of the tasks set, which invited participants to nominate their food interest and to adopt their stance to it, and the relative openness of the semi-structured interview, was a part of my disposition not to limit young people to a pre-ordained agenda, such as the unhealthiness of young people's food. This followed very much from the observation of limited interest in young people's food, in the Literature Review. This determination, to have a bottom-up perspective, is a part of the ethnography of the study.

The study is also ethnographic in participants' use of representative technologies and materials that are a part of their visual culture. At the time of the fieldwork, the video camera in Phase 1, the phone camera in Phase 2, the diversity of technologies and materials in Phase 3, were all used by participants for representative purposes, at home, with friends and in college and university life. They were integrated into their daily self-performances and their interpretation of visual representation in wider visual culture. Using the visual mode to engage with personal experience and express great diversity of meaning and tone, from comic self-parody to memorializing profound life experiences, to critically read visual representation and to share it, is a part of young people's affective lives and social practices. Artistic use of the visual



was a part of their self-performance as students with subject expertise, and a part of their distinguishing themselves from many of their peers. For example, Phase 2 Film Studies students could show their understanding of film language and film genres, and Phase 3 Graphic Design students could show the range of their creative use of media and their interpretation of a wider, visual culture. Because the visual is a mode routinely used to represent food's meanings at all nodes of the 'circuit of culture' (du Gay, Hall et al, 1997/2003, p.3), participants could readily engage with, and express an interest in, the element of wider food culture in the research question. In short, using the visual was intended to give great scope for creativity. Creativity is here, understood, as Burn (2015) explains it, as an inner dialogue between imaginative play and conceptualising, grounded in cultural participation: playing, feeling, engaging with, and critically reading, the social uses of food, and their cultural mediation.

The ethnography of using the visual artifact also resides in its use by participants to build their self-narratives in the interview. Visual images, such as photographs, are a rich cultural resource for social interaction. Participants' handling of them in the interview allowed time for them to develop and revise thought and feeling. This included explaining their motivations, in their use of mode and material, in their artefact, illustrating their positions to food with accounts of experience, drawing upon wider social discourses and articulating personal values. The visual artifact provides a meeting point between researcher and participant, an opportunity to exchange ideas and feelings about food and food culture and a chance for both to better understand the world each lives in.

## **THE DATA ANALYSIS AND LINK TO SOCIAL SEMIOTIC MULTIMODALITY**

Social Semiotic multimodality, as developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2000), Kress (1996, 2001, 2010), and Van Leeuwen (2008), is used as an analytical tool, serving the ethnography of the study and its commitment to 'explicit and holistic interpretation from a bottom-up perspective' (Schroeder, 2003, p.64). It is ethnography's methodological partner, here, in providing a

means of defining each participant's self-performance, in her making of signs from a socially shared pool of semiotic resources. It attends to the creative work of self-identity (Giddens, 1994, p.41) in the instance of the text of the visual artifact, and the instances of embodied self-performance in the interview. Social Semiotic multimodality is tuned to analyzing the production of a version of the self, or a 'transformation of his subjectivity' (Kress, 1996, p.22), in the person's motivated combination of modes of communication. It respects the meaning making which is being done by people. It recognizes their resourcefulness and the ways that their agency and identity is being carried out; it recognizes the ways that people know and learn (Bezemer and Kress, 2016, p.1).

The thematisation of the data, shown in Appendix 1, practices the ethnological commitment to a 'holistic interpretation from a bottom-up perspective', by inductively building categories of participants' 'interest' (Kress, 1996, p.22) in food, from a social semiotic, multimodal analysis of what Kress terms each 'punctuation' along a 'semiotic chain' of meaning (Stein, 2003, p.58). The transcription of the visual artifacts and the interviews, is done in ways which attend to the multimodality of participants' communication and the motivated use of the 'semiotic potential' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.4) of each mode and material.

The material of participants' artefacts and interviews are thematised on the basis of participants' 'interest' (Kress, 1996, p.22) shown by their motivated use of mode and material. This is how the ethnographic account begins to be structured. The interests are identified, from the bottom up, first for the interview and the visual artefact of each participant, within each phase of the fieldwork, then across each sample, then across all three samples. It is on this basis of 'interest' that the different 'data sets' of artefacts and interviews, in each phase, are made to 'speak to each other' (Flewitt, 2011, p.295). The product is the four categories of the most robust interests across all three phases. These are: first, a female interest to show that they had a present, functional relationship to food; for both female and male participants, an interest to show that they were healthy eaters; for both, an interest to show that they were consumer savvy; and, lastly, that, for both, they were able to

use food to build sociality (to bring people together and deepen bonds with them). The codes for the four, most robust interests were then used deductively, combing back through the data. They were used to reduce the number of original categories of interest, in a process of rereading and preparing to write about participants' interests. These four interests formed the subjects of the four chapters of analysis in the study. The rhetorical principle of selection (Bezemer and Mavers, 2011) of participant's artifacts and interview extracts in the thematisation document (Appendix 1), and in the chapters of analysis, is the illustration of participants' interests, identified in the analysis of all of the visual artifacts and the interviews. More than half of the participants' artifacts and interviews are used in the chapters. Returning to named individuals, across the chapters, is done to deepen an ethnographic narrative about them.

It is accepted that multimodality works according to a modern, Western, five-sense, sensorium and may miss the perceptual categories of bodily experience which are about the integration of senses with the environment, and may miss those of non-Western cultures which have learned to tune themselves into their environments differently (Pink 2011). However, multimodality is useful in examining how social actors in this culture have learned their practices, have learned to be present, and cooperate with others and communicate with them. Bezemer's work on surgical practice shows the usefulness of multimodality in examining, in fine detail, how individuals not only learn to integrate their seeing, touching, talking as multimodal ensembles, in order to perform their tasks well with each other (Bezemer, 2016); he also shows how this is the learning of a disposition and the embodiment of attitudes, values, and behaviours. This is illustrated in the performance of the professional identity of being a surgical practitioner (Bandura, Cope, Bezemer, et al, 2016).

In this way, multimodality keys the observer into the fine grain of communication as the means of making social life work, and how, identities are performed within the 'shaping presence and force' of the social (Bezemer and Kress, 2016, p.1). This is to recognize that the sensorium is negotiated within a 'dynamic, relational and political' field (Hurdley and Dicks, 2011,

p.285) in the communication of meaning. This work highlights the usefulness of multimodality in recognizing how the participants in this study have learned from role-models, how to communicate an embodied disposition toward food and perform their self- identities.

This multimodal perspective upon meaning making, tunes the analysis, transcription and presentation of the data. The transcription of the interviews and of the videos, for example, seeks to recognize how bodily movement, gesture and facial expression are integrated with speech in meaning making, and are a part of an embodied positioning of the participant to an aspect of food, and to the presence of others. The salience of movement and synchronization echoes Deleuze's (1989) discussion of cinematic experience, emphasizing that others appear to us in their movement toward us and in our movement toward them.

The focus upon representation, in a Social Semiotic multimodal analysis, draws criticism that it is distant from the perception of those observed (Pink, 2011). However the objectification allows inspection of power relations which does justice to the social and cultural production of meaning, and the resonance of individual creativity with a cultural circuit, as discussed in the last chapter. These power relations include 'the precise relations between ethnographer and participant , consumer and producer, between provenance and new situations, in which the processes of power can be unfolded (however partially)' (Hurdley and Dicks, 2011, p. 289).

Attending to these resonances not only serves the cultural frame of this study, it serves the reflexivity of the ethnographic account itself by questioning the co-presence of researcher and participant, their emplacement in a specific location, and their cooperation or resistance to constructing a version of the world. It allows the interaction to be examined as a two stage, communicative process between the participant and the researcher in the interview: each the initial maker of a sign complex, in response to a prior prompt from the other: each an interpreter who, in turn, is interpreted by the other , the product of which is a further sign complex. The attention of the analysis is upon the 'interest' (Kress, 1996, p.20) of each in their interaction: that is the realization

of identity in the dialectical relation between who we have been in our histories, of making our selves known to, and with others, and the selection of signs judged apt in the communication of specific meaning in this context. As such, the social semiotic analysis has an ethnographic purpose: to inspect 'a direct consequence and expression of the sign-maker's subjectivity – focused in this instance and at the moment on the representation of a particular object or event.' (Kress 1996, p.20). The analysis is, then, focused upon the participation in, and production of, a social world and culture.

The Social Semiotic multimodality of the analysis of the visual artifacts, again, brings their dialogic nature to the fore. For example, the use of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) adaptation of Halliday's 'ideational', 'interpersonal' and 'textual' 'metafunctions', addresses how images, like 'speech acts' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.120) organize the viewer's relationship to the image. In turn, the image's representational meaning (echoing Halliday's 'ideational', Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.40) draws attention to how the object in the world, and its relation to others, has been organized, for example as a visual narrative (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.43ff) or a conceptual representation (ibid, p.79ff), distinguished from the former by representing participants, places and things in terms of 'their more generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence' (ibid, p.79). The latter include diverse text types, from advertisements and history text book, using photographs and text, diagrams explaining processes or networks, charts, maps and abstract art. Their adaptation of Halliday's 'interpersonal' (ibid, p.41), in the 'interactive' meaning (ibid, p.119ff) draws attention to how images attempt to structure the interpretation of them and position the viewer's intellectual and affective stance to it. This includes the interaction of gaze, the organization of social distance between participants in images and the viewer, the organization of point of view, horizontal planes and angle of view. In the 'compositional' meaning (ibid, p.181ff) echoing Halliday's 'textual' function (ibid, p.41), draws attention to the cohesion and coherence of the visual image, in the use of framing and connection of compositional elements, salience, modality (the means of expressing the kind of, or degree of truthfulness of the image) and

materiality. In this study, these structures are understood as being a part of the negotiation of meaning.

Similarly, a social semiotic multimodal analysis of genre is used as a means of attending to the use of all modes, as conventional organisations of communicative events – in their use of structured sets of semiotic elements such as discourse, objects, context, action role and sequence - in keeping the ebb and flow of daily life going. This is particularly valuable in drawing attention to participant investment in, or resistance to, integration into social role. This is a means of interrogating the self-performance of participants, in the address of the visual artifact to an audience, and in the situated address of the interview, as participation in wider social life and the processes of social differentiation. This helps to build an ethnographic account which is reflexive account, in explaining the participant's and researcher's negotiation of social role and power. An analysis of the motivated use of multimodal communicative 'interacts' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.118) in the interview, and negotiation with genres of speech, embodied expression, in the use of hands, face, body, and voice in volume, tone, stress, hesitation, and so on, and the use of objects, such as the visual artifact, all allow the negotiation of meaning and identity to be seen. This includes construction of similarity and difference between participant and researcher, according to social identities of class, gender, ethnicity, age and educational achievement. In this way, the analysis is reflexive in showing how the ethnographic account is going on within 'the relationship between subjectivities' (Pink 2008, p.24).

The text-ness of participants' meaning-making, which is rendered by a Social Semiotic analysis, also focuses the interest of the study on the cohesion of self-identity which Giddens draws attention to, as the clustering of 'habits and orientations' (Giddens, 1994, p.82) and establishing a 'continuity across time and space' (Giddens, 1994, p.53) in the self-narrative. The analysis is ethnographic in its focus upon cohesion across participants' narratives about themselves, their present lives and their histories. The ethnographic account is helped in specifying cohesion across their motivated use of different modes, in the artefact and in the interview. This is helped by van Leeuwen's (2008) vocabulary of verbal, visual and visual-verbal information linking. This idea of

linkage of information giving is extended to attend to how all modes are combined, for example between speech, body and face.

That the associative forms of multi-sensorial perception are different to the modes of communication (Pink 2009, 2011) does not so much invalidate an analysis of the latter, but identify it as focused upon the use of modal ensembles to make our experience of the world, and ourselves, culturally intelligible. Burn's (2009, p.9) explanation of Aristotle's triadic 'ethos, logos and pathos', reminds us that self-performance involves the social and cultural processing of experience: establishing the meaning-maker's ethical credentials, the logical sense of the argument and its emotional appeal.

A Social Semiotic multimodality outlines the relation between choice of mode and material and the constraint of the social and institutional context, inscribed by relations of power (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Stein's (2008) work in South African schools illustrated this well. She showed how black African children negotiated a traditional, African identity for themselves, in their use of indigenous, local knowledge, African language, and use of speaking, singing, drama, and doll-making, as well as the English language, deemed appropriate for their identity as modern, school students. A Social Semiotic investigation of 'interest' (Kress, 1996), in which there is a partial view of learned disposition, and adaptation to present, communicative setting, goes some way toward addressing a dialogue with subjectification within institutional life, as explained by Hall (2000).

A Social Semiotic multimodal analysis gives a broader view of the relation of the individual to power, than that which is explained in relation to the immediate research setting. As Burn recommends (2015), Social Semiotics offers textual tools with which to get to the detail of meaning-making in production and interpretation, and gives sight of the articulations of meaning and power going on in the larger picture of a cultural circuit (du Gay, Hall *et al*, 1997). The attention of a Social semiotic multimodal analysis to discourse, genre and modality are all used, to better specify participants' performance of identity. So, in their discursive transformation of food practices, how they choose to represent and evaluate them; and how they attribute purposes for

them and legitimate them is attended to. In their use of a genre of representation, in the artifact, or the spoken genre of the tutorial set-piece, in the interview, their negotiation of the value of an aspect of food and food practice is seen. Similarly, in their use of modality, their negotiation of the truth and reality of an aspect of food practice is visible.

The cultural circuit works with a multimodal Social Semiotics in providing a cultural provenance of discourse, genre and modality, and a history of competing interests in 'representation', 'identity', 'production', 'consumption' and 'regulation' in matters of food. The circuit contextualises participant use of discourse, genre and modality: for example, in address to discourses about food consumer responsibility within a larger political economy of food producer self-regulation and health messages about self-maintenance; for example, in address to the routine use of a 'sensory modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.175) in the genres of food advertising and recipe texts. It is with this interest that the chapters make reference to similar associations of meaning in wider social discourses, and further illustrates those associations in Appendix 2. The circuit is also helpful in contextualizing participant use of cultural, representative practices. An example is participants' use of video, to play into the visual practices of broadcast television, focused upon a social investigation of people's unhealthy eating. This relation, between the use of mode, in the 'design', and medium, in the 'production' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001) and interpretation (Burn, 2015) of participant communication and the cultural circuit, is consistent with the importance of social and cultural learning in adult, self-performance, in the sights of this study.

## **CONCLUSION**

This chapter has argued that the fieldwork is designed to give a researcher like myself sufficient opportunity to work ethically with young people to understand the meanings that food had for them.

The tasks were adapted to the research settings in which we met, but all tasks were consistent in addressing meanings which food had for them which were important to them in some way. All tasks asked them to reflect upon and represent an aspect of food that was important to them. The openness of the



task to make the visual artifact, the use of visual mode, and the use of a representational technology familiar to them, gave participants the means to explore and articulate meanings about food and themselves, to engage with and position themselves to wider cultural meanings about food. The design of the task of making the visual artifact addressed the subjects of young people's food meanings and young people's identities in the research question.

The visual artifact serves the ethnographical interest of deepening an understanding of participants' perceptions in the semi-structured interviews in Phases 1 and 3 of the fieldwork. Readily incorporated into a social use of talk, and the speech genre of a tutorial, familiar to participants, the artifact is a prompt for a fuller self-narrative, including reference to their everyday practices and engagement with a wider food culture, and their evaluation of them. In Phase 2, the semi-structured interview, using the image grabs from three, diverse food television programmes, provided the framework for this development of the self-narrative.

The samples provided a diversity of age, and emplacement in different social and institutional contexts, associated with different points of young people's biographies, their making progress toward 'adulthood' and their personal orientation toward the future. They included A level students at college in Phase 2; 2<sup>nd</sup> year degree students at university in phase 3; and, in phase 1, 3<sup>rd</sup> year students at university, graduated students, living at home and engaged in work or visiting home, A level students about to move to university, or those taking the different route of starting work. This diversity allows an address to that part of the research question which asks about the relationship between food meaning, identity and their transition to adulthood. It addresses the study's interest in that part of Giddens' theory of 'self-identity' which conceives of successful adulthood in terms of generating a sense of trust within the individual, as the means of 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1994, p.36), in the movement forward in time. As such, it is interested in how young people's food related, self-narratives orientate them to a successful future. We recall that becoming a 'competent social agent' (Giddens, 1994, p.57) was central to this 'colonising the future' (1994, p.125, p.129).

Further, the diversity of the samples' settings allows for consideration as to whether there is what was called, in the last chapter, a dialogue between earlier habitus and new kinds of self-reflexivity in the present settings.

The methodology makes a multimodal Social Semiotic analysis serve the ethnographical interest of this study, as focused in the research question. The ethnographic knowledge that is informed by a multimodal Social Semiotic analysis is not about participants' experience and perception, grounded in the researcher's emplaced, embodied and sensorial participation in young people's daily lives, but is about their semiotisation of experience and perception into ideas and feelings. That is the address to the research question: the cultural intelligibility of young people's self-performances, in their engagement with food culture, and in their performance of becoming transition to adult.

In articulating a multimodal Social Semiotic analysis with ethnography, the study does not presume an intimacy with its participants, but is respectful of them as people, is present with them, with their self-performances in the semi-structured interviews, respects them as meaning-makers and attends to their transformation of affect into feelings and ideas. It uses a multimodal Social Semiotic analysis in order to prompt a detailed and rigorous examination of this process, in the combination of modes of communication, because this study has to produce an account of their self-performance. As such, it offers a limited, but detailed account of how social and cultural life is played out. It also intends to objectify and not mystify the social interaction between ethnographer and participant, and to give the reader and viewer opportunity to interpret the material in their own way.

The multimodal Social Semiotic analysis also serves to de-familiarise the researcher from the participant sufficiently to make the kind of critical movement which Geertz (2000/1973, p.27) describes as necessary in the ethnographer: to move from 'inscription', or 'thick description', to 'specification', and the development of a knowledge 'about the society in which it is found, about social life as such'. In this, the multimodal, semiotic analysis serves ethnography well in giving material evidence for a narrative

about young people's creative, self-identity work, their perceptions of the world of 'high modernity' (Giddens, 1994, p.27) in which they live and their contribution to it.

## **Chapter 5: Leaving behind dysfunctional relationships with food**

### **CONTENTS**

- Introduction
- I'm not like her: distancing the self from an eating disorder
- Self-therapy with a video-camera: remaking herself
- Mind-mapping: finding a route to self-autonomy
- Conclusion

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with a strong identity theme, amongst female participants in all three phases of the fieldwork: that of having a present distance from kinds of relationships to food and eating that are perceived as dysfunctional. For them, this included kinds of emotional and psychological hang-ups to do with food, the most common being body dissatisfaction and dieting; but it also included the most toxic subject of a dysfunctional relationship to food which was an eating disorder, that is anorexia or bulimia. These participants represented an eating disorder not just as the most disabling mental, emotional and physical state but as the antithesis of what they knew they had to be, in order to make the most of their lives and fulfil their potential in the future. This chapter, then, begins to address participants' self-performances in relation to what Giddens (1994, p.78) has described as 'self-actualisation'.

This chapter begins with illustration, from 16 year Film Studies students in the college setting of Phase 3 of the fieldwork. We see how the sufferer of an eating disorder is the most potent representation of the kind of young woman they do not want to be: isolated and overwhelmed by anxiety, disempowered, unable to be independent and unable to make the forward progress which is expected of them, as young women. Making personal progress is the most important part of their self-performances. We see how their creative work, in

making a treatment for a documentary about a sufferer of an eating disorder, is a part of that self-performance.

Then attention shifts to an 18 year old, from Phase 1 of the fieldwork, who is herself an anorexia sufferer. Her need, to construct a version of herself that is able to make future progress, is much more urgent than the 16 year olds: she is about to leave home for the first year of university. We see how her representation of herself, her sister, who also has an eating disorder, friends and family, in her film, made in the setting of her own home, is a part of her self-narrative of making progress. This is, then, followed, in the chapter, by two 20 year olds, who are in the second year of university life, and from Phase 3 of the fieldwork. The setting is the university. We see how they use a mind-map, as part of their preparation for making the final visual artifact, in order to get past prior negative association of food and their own body dissatisfaction. We see how appropriating kinds of food activism enables their positive, adult-like self-performances. These examples begin to contextualize young people's food meanings, as a part of their identity work, in adaptation to territories socially and culturally associated with making the transition to adulthood.

We will see that what is very important to them is making a self-narrative that deals with anxiety about becoming an adult who has the right kind of disposition to go it alone and deal with future risks and opportunities. We will also see that another part of their self-evaluation involves confirming the importance of social belonging and ensuring that they are socially included. Squaring this circle, between their dual, self-responsibility for self-autonomy and maintaining relations with others, needs to be seen as an important part of the cohesion Giddens describes (1994, p.52) in the process of 'reflexive ordering of the self-narrative', for these young women.

This chapter also begins to tell the story of how young people's use of representational technologies are a part of their own self-identity work about becoming adult: first, in representing their knowledge about the best kind of adulthood to aspire to, and, secondly, using these technologies in ways that adults use them, in working with what Kress and van Leeuwen (2001, p.4f) call the semiotic 'strata' of 'discourse', 'design', 'production' and 'distribution'.

Following Burn (2015, p.7), we need to add 'interpretation'. The focus upon the 16 year old Film Students is their use of melodrama, within the documentary task; the focus upon the 18 year old is her use of the 'creative mode' of home video (Willett, 2009c, p.212); and the focus upon the 20 year old Graphics students is their use of mind-mapping. Their use of modes and materials is an integral part of their self-performances, as self-improving individuals, and a means of increasing the sense of trust in themselves to become successful adults in the future.

This chapter introduces us to the conceptual categories of young people's perception of what making progress is, in relation to food. These become the subjects of the next three chapters: eating healthily - that is using food to manage the appearance and health of the body; using food to build sociality - that is to manage personal wellbeing and that of others in establishing and maintaining bonds with them; and being a savvy consumer - that is to be resourceful and capable in negotiating with the market, attributing value to food, and transforming it into something that has important, personal and social meaning. The thematisation of the fieldwork (Appendix 1) shows that these categories are addressed by both young women and men.

Contemporary interest in how eating disorder, body dissatisfaction and negative self-image are increasingly issues affecting male children, teenagers and adults needs to be recognized (Hepworth, 2009). However, it was not represented by male participants, other than, tangentially, as a part of being a healthy eating person. That may be a part of the construction of a heterosexual masculinity, to keep the association of food, eating and body image off the agenda (de Souza, 2005, Robinson *et al.*, 2012). The identity work of male participants, to do with healthy eating, are mainly dealt with in the next chapter.

## **I'M NOT LIKE HER: DISTANCING THE SELF FROM AN EATING DISORDER**

The context of these 16 year old Film Studies students' creative work is given in the description of the fieldwork for Phase 2, in the last chapter on Methodology. This individual creative work was to make a treatment for a

documentary film about an aspect of food that mattered to the participant. The creative task clearly requires each participant to negotiate that interest with the need to transform it into a genre of film. As a part of their coursework for AS Film Studies (Appendix 8), the treatment is defined. It is in two parts: either a photo-narrative board of eight images, illustrating sequences from across the documentary, accompanied by written specification of the visual and sound qualities they imagine, or a set of five step-outlines for it. The main element of the step-outline is a written account of the imagined scene, attempting to see it through the camera. This visualisation includes details of mise-en-scene - lighting, iconography, camera work, sound, editing and performance. The step-outline also includes written specification of the scene's role in the overall narrative: under the headings of endpoint of last scene, characters in scene, point of scene, conflict, ending/central question, as well as a summary of the key micro elements employed. Micro-elements, in Film Studies, means the film-language used: the mise-en scene elements, camera work, sound, editing and performance. The second part of the treatment is what is called a reflective analysis: an evaluation of the effectiveness of the chosen documentary form and use of the micro-elements. These treatments are within Appendix 1.

The creative work of the treatment followed participants' discussion, in a female focus group, of food-related subjects they considered more important or interesting. There were prompt sheets to act as scaffolds for discussion (Appendix 7). The subjects chosen for discussion by this group were about female experience of policing eating, eating disorder, body image and peer, and media pressure related to it. It is important to say that the focus group discussion worked, not just as an engine of consensus, but as a means of cooperatively defining normative positions to what I have described as dysfunctional and functional relationships to food and eating. It is important to note that there was a complexity to the position developed toward sufferers of eating disorders which was drawn upon by each of the participants in their subsequent, individual work. All but one of these participants made the subject of eating disorder the focus of their imagined film. In brief, the position taken by the young women was that they were of an age and self-confidence which

meant that they had left behind the conformity of younger girls to ideals of body image, their fascination with airbrushed images in magazines, the constraints of dieting and over concern with being visually pleasing to others, and, as such, they had left behind the routes to, and danger of, what are popularly called eating disorders. In this way, the horror of the vulnerability and peril of eating disorder was othered by them, in terms of their difference of age, self-autonomy, and their positive orientation to the next step in their biographies - university and future life. However, the normative position developed was also that of respect for the sufferer, empathy for her, and a moral responsibility to do something for her and rehabilitate her in social life. In their discussion, it was the social isolation, combined with the health peril, which appalled them. In summary, in the speech work of the focus group, they cooperatively performed the grown-up, normative positions of modern, adult women: to be self-autonomous *and* to care for others. The values of both self-autonomy and social inclusion were worked out by the group as ideal.

If the focus group work is thought of as self-performance in what Goffman called the 'front region' of social life (Giddens, 1984, p.122), then we might think of their treatment for a documentary about eating disorders, for the external audiences of researcher/teacher/examiner, as a simple continuation of it. This is so only to an extent. In their unanimous use of a narrative genre, which I call the morality tale, they show their conformity to an adult, normative perspective upon the social problem of eating disorders, which mirrors two aspects of the focus group position: that of being personally distant from the problem, and sharing the social concern. This work is explained in the section below. However, in visualizing the sufferer of an eating disorder, either in a photographic image, or in a written description, there is a more complex negotiation: on the one hand, they continue to inhabit the conformist position; but, on the other, they create space for a different, synchronic, subversive reading of the image, in which they share both the desires of the sufferer, fear for her social isolation, and know that the desires, which led to this predicament, should be relinquished, in order to become a proper functioning adult. In order to deal with this negotiation, participants use the visual genre of melodrama. This is explained in the section after.



### **Distancing the self from an eating disorder using a morality tale**

In their use of a morality tale structure for the narratives of their documentaries, they are able to tell the story about what happens to a person who they themselves dread becoming: someone who fails spectacularly to become self-autonomous, who is socially isolated, and who has no future. The role of narrator of a morality tale allows them to occupy the safe ground of normality, to be like those characters who seek to intervene in the hopeless plight of the sufferer of an eating disorder, further differentiating themselves from her passivity and her incapacity to move things on in a productive direction. They are using a genre with a diverse history of aesthetic practice across written, spoken, film, television, and, latterly internet fan-sites and blogs, that, to use Foucaudian terminology of discourse history (Rose, 1999), is a means of problematizing a practice, explaining it visibly, organizing the inspection of the problem and the means of intervention, constituting authorities who have expertise to intervene, and constituting the subjective work that individuals must do to themselves to reform or improve themselves.

The overriding functions of the narrative is to warn others, inform them as to how they should check what they are doing, remind them what they should conserve and respect in social life and prevent further transgression. The time-structure of participants' narratives was linear, denoting different states of security/safety and insecurity/danger that the person is in. The narrative focus, on the character's vulnerability, plays into wider, adult social discourses about the power of media representation of idealised female bodies to drive the sufferer's dysfunctional eating (Appendix 2i). Adopting this interpretation of media misrepresentation, in their texts, as in the focus group's discussion of cynical airbrushed images of female models, is a means of travel to being adult. Victims' exposure to danger was associated with social isolation which should be avoided. The goals of the narrative are to intervene in the sufferer's plight, to make her physically and socially well again by socially reintegrating her. Again, these themes resonate with adult, social discourse about the crisis of young, female's eating disorder and their social isolation (Appendix 2ii, iii).

Although a victim, she is also blamed for her mistakes, in not being critical enough and rationally controlling desire, and, instead, choosing narcissism over the social bonds which would have sustained her. Having a private commitment to remake herself, according to media versions of the ideal female, begins the destructive progress of the eating disorder. Time and space intersect in set-piece meetings between the victim of eating disorder and other characters in her life. These meetings are distributed across the narrative to test the commitment of others to her: to test their awareness of her illness, to test their ability or inability to get through to her, and to test the progress of her illness and indicate the danger she is in. The meetings also function to signify her growing isolation. The identity of place does this too. For example, bedrooms and toilets are often where her secret, dysfunctional relationship to food and the body is seen; other domestic, or institutional spaces, such as doctors' surgeries are associated with trying to get through to the victim; and hospitals are the place of crisis and possible death for her.

This is a summary of the narrative phases used by participants in either photo-narratives or step-outlines. Images are taken from different photo-narratives to illustrate those phases.

### ***phase one***

Typically, a girl is shown to be preoccupied by images of ideal female bodies, usually models in magazines and websites. The power of these images on the girl is demonstrated by her fascination with them. This phase identifies the source of danger (figure 5.1).



**Figure 5.1:** Fascination

### ***phase two***

This phase makes a temporal extension, and shows an example of the consequence of acting on body dissatisfaction, and denying herself food. Typically her decline is shown through signs of physical illness and social isolation. Places where the victim is alone, being ill or self-examining, for example, extend the meaning of social isolation at this time (bottom, right image of figure 5.2).



**Figure 5.2:** Self-examination

### ***phase three***

In a further temporal extension, the worsening physical state of the girl is shown. Once more, this time is brought together with places of isolation.

### ***phase four***

In another temporal extension, this is a phase of crisis, usually involving the collapse of health, and, typically, hospitalisation: it aims to shock the spectator with the severity of the character's situation; the fate of the victim hangs in the balance. The severity of the situation is obvious to all concerned in the life of the girl. Time and place produce meetings. The girl's response to the opportunities offered by experts, family members and friends for health and social reintegration signifies her lost state. It creates a space in which the kind of ethical question being worked upon in the focus group may be asked once more: What is the best thing to do, to help this person? (figure 5.3).



**Figure 5.3:** Crisis

***phase five***

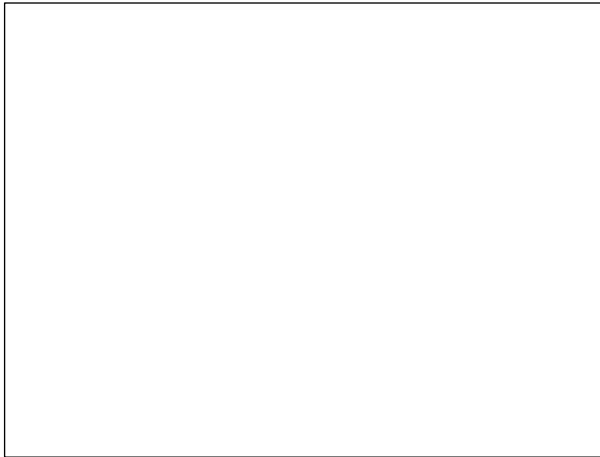
At this point, the narrative functions bifurcate onto two possible tracks. The first, towards redemption: the victim had suffered enough before the public gaze; there is a disposition in the victim, and supportive others, to offer hope of salvation. This phase involves a pivotal moment of recovery and beginning of the process of social reintegration; and a warning to the audience, from an authoritative perspective (a doctor's, or the victim's own) warning other girls not to follow her example (figure 5.4).



**Figure 5.4:** Redemption

The second route leads to destruction, in order to demonstrate the awful consequences of eating disorder, and the frightening limitations of good forces in redeeming the situation.

A representation of death is typical. A place, such as a graveside, foregrounds the moment of exclusion from social life (figure 5.5).



**Figure 5.5:** Death

### **Distancing the self from an eating disorder using melodrama**

The morality tale also creates the spaces in the narrative, particularly those moments of crisis for the sufferer, for a melodramatic reading. It is in their use of the genre of melodrama, or soap, that they extend their use of semiotic resources in order to complicate what is, up to now, the 'compulsory performance' of a heterosexual, adult female perspective (Butler, 1992, p.263). The melodramatic image of the sufferer allows them to both identify with the sufferer's desire and renounce it. The required use of image grabs, as photographic stills, or written transformations of what is visually imagined (in the step-outlines), is a prompt for their construction of images which facilitate their reading of each as a 'synchronic syntagm' (Burn, 2015, p.29f) in this way. Their interpretation of melodrama, as a cultural, representational resource, with which to maintain a pleasure, in the 'back region' of self-performance (Giddens, 1984, p.122f), is what adult women do too (Ang, 1985).

Privileging desires that run against the grain of social conformity, and then regulating it afterwards, with others, is also a part of doing melodrama and television soaps. We see it in the contributors to the on-line discussion and

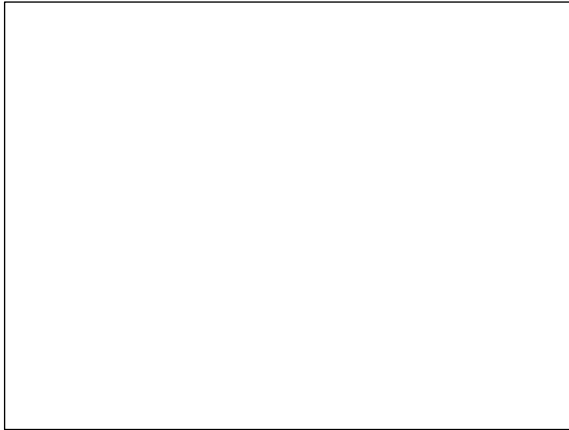
popular journalism (mumsnet, 2007, Mail, 2007, Independent, 2007) about the Hannah Ashworth anorexia story in Channel 4's soap Hollyoaks, broadcast when these participants were 14-15 years old, in the summer of 2007. We also see this ethical positioning in fans' reworking their own versions of salvation or destruction for the character of Hannah. They express how moved they have been by it, and then pass judgment on the accuracy of its portrayal of an anorexic person's behaviour and experience.

The image below (figure 5.6) is a design that plays into that management of emotion, which is a part of an adult, female, ethical thinking. Using Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, pp 126,130, 146) grammar of visual design, the interactive functions of positioning the figure of the girl so salient and so central, in 'close personal distance', yet subject to a point of view from above, organizing our power over her, all make her a recognizable victim of media representation. In Kress and van Leeuwen's terms, she is an image of 'high offer', an object of contemplation, from above, rather than a subject in interaction with us. Our focus of attention is upon the relationship of the magazines and the girl, and is informed by the discursive reference to the harmful influence of media representation of ideal female bodies, particularly in fashion and celebrity. As a view onto a girl alone, with no-one to mediate the magazine images for her, the design organizes a normative ethical position, which resonates with the parental and adult comment in wider social discourses, about the need to protect children (Appendix 2i,ii,iii). It plays into a fly on the wall documentary strategy of prompting concern, and thought about intervention in a social problem. The use of the young girl, and the occupation of a perspective upon her, is a re-fixing of the focus group's 'chronotopic' (Bahktin, 1981) strategy, summarized earlier as a means of distancing themselves in time and place from eating disorders, adopting an adult-like ethical stance to them, and producing a sense of their own freedom from such narratives.



**Figure 5.6:** Concern

The design of the image below (figure 5.7) is more motivated, by playing into Soap textuality, to maintain a melodramatic tension between ‘front region’ (Giddens, p122f) performativity and ‘back region’ imagination. It shares the soap text’s strategy of disclosing the existence of what may prove to be problematic to a parental generation, in the private space of a teenager’s life, here a bedroom. As such it privileges information to the viewer, for example a teenage fan, about what would constitute a social problem in the outside world, in the co-presence of adults. The location anchors the torso, to a storytelling function: the presentation of what is not yet a social problem within the social life of characters in the text, offering the image up to the reader’s play of feeling and thought, including sharing the desire of the figure depicted, to be thinner and more ideal in female embodiment. Further, in the design of the image, the use of what van Leeuwen (2008, p.170) has called a ‘sensory modality’ alerts us to the production of a dreamlike level of reality. The sensory modality is achieved by the articulation of colour (warm tone), softness of image (low-lighting) and the play of light and shade.



**Figure 5.7:** Heaven

The combination of image and music also plays into a re-reading of Soaps, familiar to fans who pay homage to the experiences of characters in them. Hannah Ashworth dying from an eating disorder, in Hollyoaks. (figure 5.8), given the title of 'Hannah's Struggle With Anorexia: inconsolable' by a fan (Flaxseed, 2008)', is illustration of this. The writing in the sound column, beside this participant's photo-narrative, describes how she imagines the non-diegetic sound of D.J.Sammy's track Heaven being heard. Once more this is ambiguous: on the one hand, in the 'front region', it provides an ironic link of contrast between image and sound, saying that the girl is deluded and that heaven is not a destination she has reached, or will reach. That is reinforced by the voice-over she imagines, again in the sound column, which explains the statistics of anorexia. However, as a piece of homage, the combination of music and image honours the sufferer, and, as a link between image and voice, compliments, or amplifies the sufferer's desire to be more than she will be able to become, and invites imaginative identification in the reader's sense of her own social constraint. This affective orientation is what prompts tears; and we make sense of it, with others, as pity, a very familiar experience to the viewer of film and television melodrama.

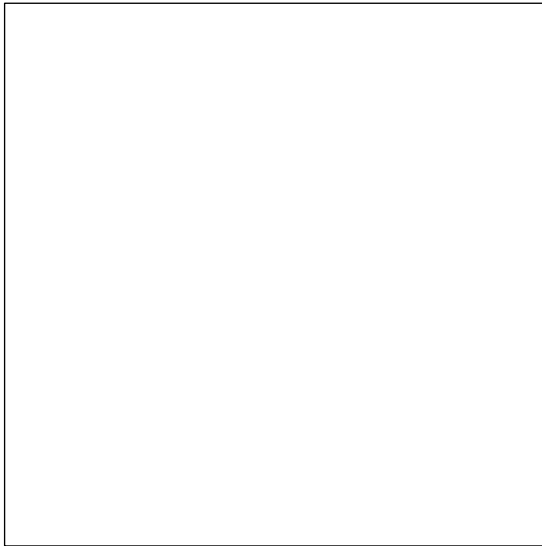




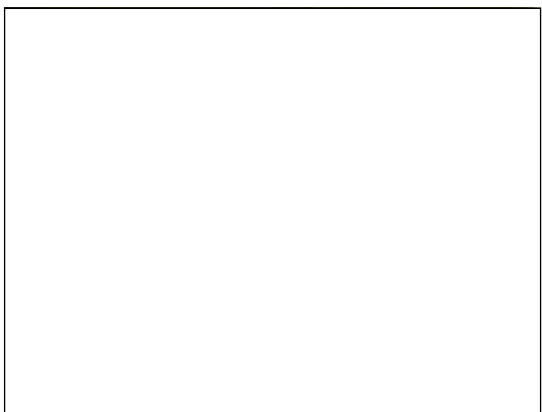
**Figure 5.8:** Pity

This invitation to pity is common in the visualization of scenes, later in the narratives, of the sufferer's illness, or death. As a part of the morality narrative, these scenes are temporal extension of the earlier depictions of the girl's delusional transgression, for example stopping eating to be like magazine models. The melodramatic representation makes a spectacle of suffering at a point of crisis in the narrative. What Brooks has called 'the quality of muteness' in the sufferer, discussed in relation to film melodrama (Neale, 1986, p.19) is important here. In figure 5.9, for example, in the image grab (Burn, 2015), the prostrate body, again salient and of high offer, is presented to the viewer for contemplation. The spectator's gaze, being relayed through that of the adults beside the sufferer, and their display of affect, legitimises pity and crying (whatever the motivation produced by the interlacing of personal meaning) as a part of adulthood. There is pleasure in intensifying the prompt to cry that is in Soap, and melodramatic film (Neale, 1986). So, for example, the use of the long shot of Alice's grave (figure 5.10) is about losing intimacy with the person and relinquishing her to the 'public distance' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.131) of the funeral process. Combined with the repetition of the opening music of Heaven, described above, the music amplifies the meaning of the viewer's conjoined surrender of hope for the future for the sufferer, and the loss of the earlier pleasure of identification with the sufferer's feelings that run against the grain of adult, gender conformity. We may

speculate that self-performance as a Film Studies student, in doing this task, is a part of the real life transition to adulthood, through academic success, a pragmatic route to power, which rubs up against the fantasy of masochistic identification with the sufferer's fantasy of self-transformation through dysfunctional eating.



**Figure 5.9:** Hannah



**Figure 5.10:** Alice's grave

In Imogen's step-outline for her scene one, she uses the written mode as mimetic of visual melodrama, in a similarly way, to allow the pleasure of identifying with a sufferer's desire for self-transformation, to be a version of ideal female beauty. In an early moment of her narrative, she uses writing to imagine the girl's experience of falling under the spell of a magazine image of female beauty, and to negotiate a masochistic pleasure in the girl's loss of

self-control. She imagines a point of view for us, and for herself, through the operation of a film camera: first, a close-up then slow-pan, to inspect the features of a model on the cover of the magazine, mimicking the girl's reading trajectory, ending with an exchange of gaze between the model who looks out at her and the reader. This identification between the girl's and the writer/reader's perspective is prompted by the use of inclusive pronouns ('we' and 'our'). The writer imagines a moment of magic-realism, in which a magazine image is transformed into a powerful presence, the direct eye contact of the model demanding our visual engagement. The writer mimics the visual 'sensory modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.170) of fashion magazine representation, in her written description of the model, finding the written equivalence for the visual articulations of saturated colour, colour modulation and tone range.

The participant also plays into poetic and novelistic genres of writing to register the effect of reading the image of the model. The effects are to be recognised as feelings, defined within linguistic fields of the erotic and romantic. She evokes an intensity to this experience, by describing sensation in diverse sensory streams all happening at once. The use of the time-marker 'whilst' prompts the imagination of this multi-layering. Repetition produces the effect of visual montage, and intensifies affect: 'another and yet another flawless face', and 'repeat(ing) again and the screen is filled with pairs of alluring eyes'. Power is given to the model, as the 'actor' in a non-transactional sequence of images in which she is the 'phenomenon'; and the viewer/reader/writer surrenders power, as the 'reactor' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.64f ). The lexical choice of verbs distributes the active and passive roles: 'she stares', her eyes are 'tempting us', 'entrancing us', 'gazing into our eyes', 'staring into our own'; the spectator is 'submerged'. Modifiers to verbs and nouns describe the effects of what she does and what she is: 'seductively', 'heartbreaking', 'alluring'.

#### Extract from Imogen's step-outline for scene one

Our eyes immediately focus on the creature on the front of the magazine; a woman with bronzed skin and gleaming eyes surrounded by dark, thick

eyelashes. She stares seductively at the camera, tempting us into her world of power and glamour. Whilst her heartbreaking beauty is entrancing us, the non-diegetic soundtrack, Vogue by Madonna, 'It's everywhere that you go, You try everything you can to escape', saturates the spectator's thoughts with the glamour of this fascinating world. On this magazine falls another with yet another flawless face gazing up into our eyes. This repeats again and the screen is filled with pairs of alluring eyes, staring into our own. The camera begins to spiral down into the magazines to create a dizzying effect; we are submerged into a dark screen.

The scene, in the following extract of her step-outline for scene seven, is typical of the renunciation of this identification with the desire of the victim, and assumption of the active role of moral judgment of the 'phenomenon' of eating disorder. Once more, writing mimics the use of visual mode with a film camera. The descriptions of the victim's hands, which signify her degraded state, are mimetic of a camera's close-up shot. A dispassionate inspection of the sufferer, is effected in the organization of a point of view for a plural audience. Much like a fly-on-the-wall documentary's observation of social problems, the camera shows an apparent objective reality: 'We see her ...'. Her statements use what van Leeuwen (2008, p.163 ) calls a linguistic, 'high modality', that is a strong claim to objectivity, to render the abject character of the broken, young woman. Descriptions of light are used to mimic the lights deployed by a film-maker to expose the state that the victim is in. The irony of the narrative is motivated to judge her former claims unkindly, and to shake the writer/reader out of any former fantasy of identification with her as powerful: 'She said it made her feel strong, powerful and determined; she was finally in control of something.'

#### Extract from Imogen's step-outline for scene seven

She is ringing her hands and picking at her brittle nails self-consciously. She begins to stutter anxiously as she is perched precariously on the edge of her bed. She talks timidly about how it started, hiding the food under her bed and throwing her packed lunch away at school. She said it made her feel strong, powerful and determined; she was finally in control of something in her life.

She proclaims that one day she will have earned her place alongside those women in the magazines. We see her dull eyes, her eyelashes thin and lined with tears, her brittle collarbones with her sallow skin stretched across them. She describes how her body changed, becoming thinner and more frail. The light falls onto half her face, accentuating the jutting bones underneath her pallid skin. Hannah protests her innocence and vulnerability in the situation she didn't consider serious at the time.

In the design of their films, these participants use semiotic resources - the affordances of visual and written modes, and genred narrative - to do their subjective work. In playing between morality narrative and melodrama, they test out the kinds of selves they should be, and the kind of selves they want to show themselves as, within the scrutiny of this educational setting, in respect to the theme of eating disorder. In becoming designers of a morality narrative, and in transforming the desire for the transgression of social norms to fantasy, they constitute their identities in terms of conformity to the normative values of social cohesion, respect for the authority and expertise of doctors, and the imperative that young people need to become self-autonomous. In their narratives, despite all of the attempts made by families, friends, doctors, and in one case, the filmmaker, to help the sufferer, ultimately, her only hope lay in herself. Those who apparently recover do so after a mysterious inner struggle, not as a consequence of others' actions. Becoming individually, self-autonomous is an imperative. However, social belonging and social solidarity are also to the fore in their narratives. The sufferers are so unreachable because they had fallen out of a social inclusion. In these reconciliations of desire and management of self, these participants have used their address to the social concern of eating disorders to work out an ethical version of what they must do: to improve themselves, to be autonomous and free to make the most of their lives, *and* to conserve social solidarity which enables that autonomy.

### **SELF-THERAPY WITH A VIDEO-CAMERA: REMAKING HERSELF**

This is an example of a participant whose need to construct a version of herself as making progress - in her address to herself, to her family and

friends, and to me - is more difficult, and more urgent than the sixteen year olds we have just discussed. First, this participant, Jane, is someone who has suffered for years with an eating disorder, and still does. Secondly, she is eighteen, and about to leave home to start a university course in London, a hundred miles away.

This example illustrates clearly how the movement from home to the territory of university, and the risk that the loss of the 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1994, p.35 ) derived from that embodied and emplaced experience of relationship to others, and shared history, prompts an evaluation of the self. This evaluation is in terms of the social myth of individual autonomy. It is as if she has to meet the expectation that she has to replace a trust in others with a trust in self. In this example, we can see how fragile that self-trust is. What gives her hope that she will be all right is that she, at least, has the necessary, self-entrepreneurial disposition. This is the language for self-evaluation, in readiness for what lies over the horizon of perception. We see how, in the making of her film, she bridges the conservation of the presence of older female friends and family members who have offered prior, emplaced security, into a use of them as her role models for her future. Seen through the lens of a food interest, they possess what she needs to become a successful, female adult: they are independent and economically successful, *and* are the social actors who make and conserve social solidarity.

Jane is a part of the first phase of the study. We recall that the task set for participants was to use a video camera, to address an aspect of food that was important to them. Unlike younger female participants, discussed above, her choice of film or video is not constrained by an exam framework. She adapts two genres associated with the domestic video camera. First, she adapts what Chalfen termed the 'home mode' (Willett, 2009c, p.212, Pini, 2009, p.71), associated with an older generational practice of using the camcorder to record family events. In her video, she records her nuclear family, boyfriend and his grandmother and aunt, and a friend, all in the setting of her kitchen. Her recording of them is 'home mode' in being a means of remembering them, of maintaining their presence, and engaging with her feeling for them. It is like the collation of a family album of photographs, just before leaving for

university. In e-mail exchange about this film, she said that, originally, she had planned just to feature her nuclear family; she explained including others as having 'created a family on film, of the people I know and love'. However, the event that is recorded, and the editing work she subsequently does, is not conventional 'home mode' video. She sets the camera up inside a fridge and films each of them peering into it. Further, she combines their spoken voice, in turn, defining their relationship to food.

Secondly, the video camera's other conventional use, which she engages with, is of making carefully planned, considered, creative pieces (Buckingham, Pini and Willett, 2009, p.66) in a home setting. As such, it bridges the creative work of her Photography A level, at the college she has now left, and the creative work to come in her university Film degree course. In a later, email exchange about the video, she makes reference to 'finding her voice' as a film maker. In creative mode, she uses the affordances of photography and video, for example choosing monochrome, dubbing sound and using montage, to make a self-reflexive, art text. The use of monochrome suggests a dialogue with such textual practices as art photography, photojournalism, and 'observational cinema' (Grimshaw and Ravetz, 2009); and a dialogue with short film genres, such as video diary and autobiographical portrait films, where video is used to go into private and intimate areas of life, such as in the work of Jan Peters (2012).

The film narrative comprises of eight brief cameos of what she calls her 'family'. The visuals feature each of them looking inside a refrigerator for an item of food to eat. They are filmed in mid-shot. The only sound is the dubbed voice of each person speaking, saying what food means to them, synchronised with their appearance. The audio was recorded separately.

The narrative organises the eight contributions in this order: mother, aunt, sister, male friend, boyfriend, father, boyfriend's grandmother, and then Jane, the video-maker. The mother's audio tells us of a childhood memory, of being rewarded with a present for eating up her food. Those of her aunt, and boyfriend's grandmother, are about their generosity to others. They are the epitome of adult women who sustain social belonging through food generosity:

using food, as they say, 'to express caring and love' and as 'a way of nourishing you but also a way of bonding'. The images show them as positive, interested in food, excited by the diversity of food on offer. The link between their speech and visual image is an extension, each complimenting the other's information of their positive use of food. As a visual and sound narrative, the two older women are active social agents, with a goal of nourishing and sustaining family and friends.

The text of the film is organized in an interesting way. The appearances and words of the older women are linked, to those of the sister of the video-maker and of Jane herself, as logical extensions of contrast (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.225). The younger women's words are about their difficulties and traumas around food; the images show them having great difficulty in using the food in the fridge in any positive way and they are awkward, preoccupied and diffident. The link of extension, made by the speech, complements the visual information about their caution before food, with information of their traumatic history with food, and their therapeutic orientation to get past it. The male contributions, in the fourth, fifth and sixth sequences, develop a further, gendered contrast with the dysfunctional orientation of the two younger women either side of them in the narrative. They are all about their uncomplicated pleasure in eating: the male friend's delight in making snacks for himself; her boyfriend's delight in chicken soup and its centrality in Jewish family culture; and her father's pleasure in eating food that he has produced or hunted.

The sequencing suggests that the older women, energetic and vital, model the goal for the two sisters. This is consistent with what the video-maker said, in the video text, that she was 'working through those challenges (of dealing with her anorexia) ... so food more and more for me is starting to become something I can enjoy.' The visual linking, characteristic of the rhetoric of persuasion (van Leeuwen 2008, p.229), offers hope for future change. Illustration of the two contrasts, between the aunt and the sister, and the grandmother and the film-maker, follow.



## Sequences 2 and 3: the aunt and the sister

### *The aunt*

In the visual composition, the aunt's face and upper body are central, in the mid-shot, framed by the front of the fridge (figure 5.11). Her positive facial expressions are salient, communicating curiosity, delight, and intelligent purpose. The point of view, from the camera inside the fridge, sets up imaginative interaction with her. As visual 'narrative representation', her 'goal' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.61f), is to find and enjoy food; the voice-over specifies this as finding food to give to others, and to express 'caring and love'. Stress in the voice, falling on the adverbs, 'absolutely, completely, definitely', together with high 'objective modality' of the verbs (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.163), produces strength to her assertions.



**Figure 5.11:** Aunt

Nb. The pdvd references belong to the image-grabs in the thematisation (Appendix1). Speech is notated according to the code given in Appendix 3; except here, stress is shown by italics.

**Table 5.1:** Sequence of the aunt

<b>Sound</b>	<b>Visual</b>
what food means to me	m/s of aunt's face and shoulders, her upper body intersected by the diagonal of the packet of Saint Agur cheese; she smiles broadly as she looks into the fridge. (pdvd000)
it <i>absolutely</i>	she shrugs with excitement and moves in closer to inspect some food item out of the spectator's view; her smile is expansive (pdvd002)
<i>completely definitely</i>	c/u she focuses intently; her gaze is downward, to her left, her mouth pinched in concentration (pdvd003)
is the way that you	she looks directly at us
demonstrate	she returns her gaze downward once more, this time to her right
affection	
caring	she holds a biscuit to her mouth
and love	
and you know	backs away from the fridge into m/s
love for someone	her hand covering the biscuit and her mouth
If (.)	she bites on the biscuit and her eyes widen momentarily in delight

Sound	Visual
you know (.) you come round you don't want to eat it won't occur to me you're not hungry (.)  it will be either  why/ is she being cross with me or why/ don't I  know anything that he likes to eat/  em (.) yeah (.) food is most  definitely how you express  caring and love	she returns to her position, looking down and to her right she moves into c/u as she peers intently down; centred in the frame she swivels away from the fridge, back into /m/s, then almost out of the frame altogether; below the cheese in the left foreground  she returns upright, in m/s, centre frame, peering into the fridge she moves forward once more, into c/u looking into the back of the fridge holding onto the fridge door; she steps back into m/s she takes one last step toward the fridge before stepping back and closing the fridge door; we see a jar of custard mix on the inside of the fridge door as it closes

### ***The sister***

The identical framing of the shot and the same point of view, make the contrast in the sister's performance more obvious (figure 5.12). Her movement of the head, upper body and hands is hesitant and tentative; her facial expression is pensive. As visual, narrative representation, to employ Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) terms again, her goals seem to be to check what food there is, and to avoid the camera's surveillance. She looks down; when her face is in view, her eyes are averted, to the left when the sequence closes. Because of her expression and gesture, its interactive function is about the communication of discomfort; observation seems voyeuristic - for example, we

follow the selection of a grape, to see if she will eat it. The use of pauses and fillers, in the speech, extends the visual meaning, of her affect: the discomfort and trauma of eating. The rising cadences (indicated by /) present tentativeness in presenting her eating disorder. The repeated use of ‘but’, to repair her self-presentation, after the extremity of ‘punishing’ and ‘disgust’, and, the lexis of therapeutic discourse (‘manage’), show her commitment to self-improvement.



**Figure 5.12:** Sister

**Table 5.2:** Sequence of the sister

Sound	Visual
	m/s of younger female (sister) as she opens the fridge becomes a c/u of the tip of her nose, mouth, neck and shoulder (pdvd004)
	the corner of the door shelf is visible to her right; as she inspects the fridge to her right we momentarily glimpse her eyes, then lose them again as the c/u fills most of the screen (pdvd005)

Sound	Visual
my first thought_ when I open the fridge_ (.) um (.)_ is complicated/ (1) er mm	she moves forward to inspect something c/u of her face up to her eyelids; she lifts her head up so that we only see her neck and right shoulder
it's like I'm aware of whatever	she peers back into the fridge and we regain the c/u of her face she again lifts up her head her arm and hand cover the screen
I eat can be punishing (1)	as she reaches into the fridge; then we see the blurred image of her hand in xc/u picking out something from the left of the screen
but I want to eat it at the same/ time (1)	c/u of her lower face and top of shoulder as she brings something to her mouth (pdvd006) m/s her blurred face slowly chewing
and it's the idea of disgust (0.5) but needing to eat at the same time/ and (1) sort of conflicting emotions about how I manage that (0.5) I guess	blurred image of her neck, shoulder as she reaches up for something or to replace something on a top shelf she turns away from the fridge and takes a step back so that we see her in profile in midshot (pdvd007)

## **Sequences 7 and 8: the boyfriend's grandmother and Jane, the video-maker**

### ***The boyfriend's grandmother***

Again, in the organization of the next two sequences, there is a similar logical link of contrast between what this chapter is calling the functional and dysfunction relationship to food. The movement of the grandmother's whole upper body, arms and hands is animated, as she searches and then takes a food item from the fridge (figure 5.13). Her facial expression is of enjoyment and concentration. As actor in a visual narrative, her 'attributes' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.114f) are knowledge and purposefulness; her goals are to find food to share with others. The speech anchors the purposefulness of the image, specifying her role in building social solidarity. The reading trajectory is very mobile, following the animated figure. Hers is the voice of tradition and wisdom, bringing an 'old idea' and the aphorisms about food's role in building friendship and security ('trust ...love ...support') to the fore. She draws upon wider social discourses about family and community.



**Figure 5.13:** Grandmother

**Table 5.3** Sequence of the grandmother

Sound	Visual
What food means to me is this old idea which is if you've eaten with people (.)	her figure in m/s beside the <i>Marmite</i> jar which occupies the left foreground  m/s of her reaching for a gravy boat which she takes from the fridge (pdvd011)
they're your friends for life (.)	and she turns from the fridge and momentarily out of the frame
if you feed a large number of people together	m/s of her face and shoulders as she returns to the fridge, her mouth half-smiling (pdvd012)
you're making sure that all those people are going to be friends (.) trust each other	c/u of her face, her gaze averted to the left of the frame, downwards: m/s of lower part of face and smiling mouth
(.) and love each other and support each other for life	she reaches up for a container
(1) so I think  food means	smiles in the direction of the camera (pdvd013)

Sound	Visual
to me	m/s of her turning to retrieve another item from the fridge, still with the quiet smile. She takes a step back
a way of nourishing you	and her face is half hidden
but also a way	by the <i>Marmite</i> jar and the door is
of bonding	closed

### **Jane**

Again, the visual, logical contrast, in this actor's dysfunctional relationship to food is seen. The visual narrative represents her attributes as cautious, pensive and explorative (figure 5.14). She handles the food items in the fridge tentatively and drinks from a bottle with unusual deliberation, and eats a plum quickly, washing it away with a drink afterwards. As she appears, she holds her head hesitantly, before she proceeds. Our reading trajectory follows her hands, which move into the fridge, and her face, to study her reaction.

As in the earlier sequence of the sister, speech extends the similar meaning of hesitancy and lack of confidence in the visual information: particularly in the frequent pauses and flatness of tone. The speech also extends the visual account, giving biographical information, and explanation of her anorexia. The complexity of self-management is communicated in the repeated giving of examples, of calculating the grams of sugar and fat. However, the 'but' (after the summary of 'I think that's a lasting legacy that's going to remain with me all my life') argues that an improvement has already been achieved. Further, the lexis of therapy, shows a substantial commitment to self-improvement.





**Figure 5.14:** Jane

**Table 5.4** Sequence of Jane

Sound	Visual
I have a complicated relationship to food cos	a m/s of head and shoulders moves into view, with hand held on head;  she looks up to a high shelf and brings down a film covered tray and looks at it in front of herself;
I'm a former anorexic	she looks down at the tray and replaces it back on the shelf, her arm covering her face
so food for me is very much about control	her hand extends into the fridge
(.) what I eat (.) when I eat it (.) how many calories (.) um (.) I'm very	and she brings down a carton of juice; she looks at it and begins to

Sound	Visual
worried about what goes into my body	shake it
and (.)you know (.) how many grams of sugar (.) how many grams of fat (.) and (.) I think	she brings up to her mouth a plum and sucks from it, puts it down
that's a lasting legacy that's going to remain	
with me all of my life	and quickly brings the carton of juice to her mouth
-(1) every meal (.) is a new challenge	m/s of her looking down in thought: her cheeks are full with the juice before swallowing
(1) umm (.) but on the flip side of that (.) accepting those new challenges (.) and working through them becomes more and more rewarding (.) so food (.) more and more for me is starting to become something I can enjoy	she drinks from the juice again; her gaze is constantly downwards

The meanings these older women give to food are consistent with normative discourses about women using food to make family. However, the value that their food practices have for the film maker is their resourcefulness, energy and self-fulfillment. They bring the dominant social myths underpinning consumer culture to life. Of those specified by Smith Maguire (2015, p.4), it is 'romanticism' (the work of stylistic self-expression), 'individual sovereignty' (the creative self-autonomy of the consumer), 'the duty to have fun' (self-actualisation as a moral obligation) and the 'democracy of goods' ('egalitarian access to the good life through consumption') which are to the fore here. In an

email of hers to me, she makes two extensions, of addition, according to van Leeuwen's (2008, p.225) verbal linking, to the description of the positivity of their family, food role: describing how they combine this with their successful working lives. She specifies their modernity, in being 'professional working women' and having a 'busy modern lifestyle'. They are role models that enable her to conceive of her own personal progress because they have learned to give consumption values which resonate with her: on the one hand, providing the security of social belonging, in the lexis of presence and body ('being' and 'heart'), and, on the other, showing the way to individual, self-improvement.

#### Email extract

J: When choosing to use my mum, Steve's aunt and grandmother in the film I thought how I always look up to them as women who see food as something positive, as well as it not being the only thing in their lives, they are all still professional working women, and this combination of food still being there in a busy modern lifestyle, but also still being at the heart of things and being positive.

In the video, using the two modes of social use -home mode and creative mode - she has constituted two identities for herself. First, in home mode, she constructs her family identity. She finds 'the representations of coherence, stability, continuity and integration' (Pini, 2009, p.90) that contrasts with the uncertainty of her future. To be included in their food practices is to stem the flow of anxiety that accompanies food in its symbolism of choice and contradiction.

#### Email extract

J: I think food is a very sticky issue for young people, we are bombarded with so many different messages, not to eat fast food but then watching Mcdonald's adverts that tell us fast food is now healthy AND cheap (completely unlikely). Also the pressure to be thin and also healthy and go out, and have careers and families and still do all this whilst cooking healthy meals, drinking 15 pints of water and not ever snacking. I don't think there's

one definite meaning for young people as a whole as we're constantly asked and challenged to accept many different perceptions.

Secondly, in creative mode, she constructs a creative identity for herself, of someone making a passage from home to the territory of university, and, as such, making a transition to adulthood. In designing, producing and interpreting the text of her film, she orientated herself to a future of being individualized, of having 'a voice'. This is to be someone who has lifted herself out of the social relationships at home, and recombined them, across space and time, in the new territory. This is, to use Giddens' term (1994, p.148), her imagining the successful 'disembedding' of herself. The creativity of the text takes on the metaphorical meaning for her, of generating sufficient self-trust for future self-improvement by work on the self. The management of her subjectivity is self-entrepreneurial.

#### Email extract

J: looking back at the making of the video I think it gave me a chance to look at my voice, and what was trying to be said, doing a filmmaking degree is meaning that as soon as I think I've found my voice it's changed once again, which is refreshing but also means that I've not yet found an authority, my voice.

### **MIND-MAPPING: FINDING A ROUTE TO SELF-AUTONOMY**

The examples that follow further illustrate the ways these young people manage their own subjectivities, in order to get away from their association with dysfunctional relationships to food, and in order to construe themselves as making personal progress toward being successful adults. We see that the transformation, from a negative evaluation of the self, to a new, positive one, in the territory of university, is realized through playing into culturally intelligible models of a self-entrepreneurial disposition. To interpret themselves as having a functional relationship to food, as 19 year old students, in their second year of university, they have to show how their self-entrepreneurial disposition is worked out in a form of adult food agency. In this chapter, we see how this self-management is worked out in their mind maps. Discussion of these two

participants continues in the next chapter, within the framework of healthy eating: there, there will be the opportunity to see this self-management extend into their making of further, visual artifacts.

These two participants are in Phase 3 of the fieldwork. The setting is a university in the East Midlands. They are at the beginning of a Graphics Design course, having completed a foundation year. I worked with them on an introductory unit of work to their course, framed as an opportunity to develop, and reflect upon their skills of research. They were asked to identify an aspect of food that was important to them, use research to develop their thoughts and feelings about it, and find a graphic solution to express their stance to the theme they identified. In an early workshop, they used a mind-map to begin the process. They used work journals for their research. They brought their final, visual outcome and work journal to a semi-structured interview, in the university. Both of these participants showed their mind-maps in the interview, as a part of explaining the process they underwent to make the artifact, and as a part of their self-narratives. Key to them is the demonstration of their self-improvement, from youth to adulthood. Associated with this is their performance of being good students.

The mind map is a part of a 'chronotopic' (Bahktin, 1981) strategy, as if to say, 'these negative emotional entanglement with food characterises my past, but my present self is free of those experiences of time and place'. Food is a prism through which a negative self-evaluation is exchanged for a positive one, about their self-possession as resilient, self-autonomous, young women.

### **Charissa**

Charissa's mind map (figure 5.15) shows this interest of self-transformation. The written heading frames the educational purpose of the diagram, but also makes reference to my prompt, in the earlier workshop: to use the diagram's structure of concentric circles as a way of taking stock of personal experience with food, and using the inner circles to locate what mattered most to her. The heading reads: 'Refined inner circles after consideration towards the topic (food for thought)'. The diagram fixes a tension between the positivity of food's

enabling sociality and social belonging, and the negative connotations of a personal history of negative experiences and emotions with food.

There is an interest (Kress, 1996, p.20) to use this diagram as a motor of self-transformation: to explain the negativity, as, first, belonging to her past, and, second, as typical of younger, female hang-ups over food; and to distinguish her present self from the earlier one, constrained by those emotional habits. The negativity is identified, objectified and put in a box. The strength of feeling is fixed, without publically unpacking the detail of personal experience. So, 'EMOTIONAL' is given salience: capitalised, emboldened and placed in the centre of the diagram, but is only specified by the clause 'FEELING PAIN TOWARDS FOOD!!!'. Again the negative affect, 'What we don't want to eat', is given relatively high salience, on the second ring out from the centre, and is linked to 'Hunger' by the two-way arrows and the parenthetic question ('what do you do in that situation?') to explain the negative experience - of dealing with both the anxiety of needing to eat and an aversion to certain foods. The pronoun 'you' is used like the third person 'one', framing the dilemma as typical of female subjects. Again, in the fixing of the 'BAD MEMORY' - a power struggle over not finishing a meal because of aversion to the food - is part of moving on its significance in the present, older person's narrative of herself as being past these personal dead-ends. A retrospective perspective is established: the meaning of the drawing of a tearful girl is extended by the older, knowing comment: 'sweet young girl - sympathy from others' and 'play on people's emotions'. The extension, below it - 'Justifying what we do, or don't eat > Restrictions' - repositions the writer, within a present female inter-subjectivity, with an interest no longer to be constrained through that kind of relationship to food.

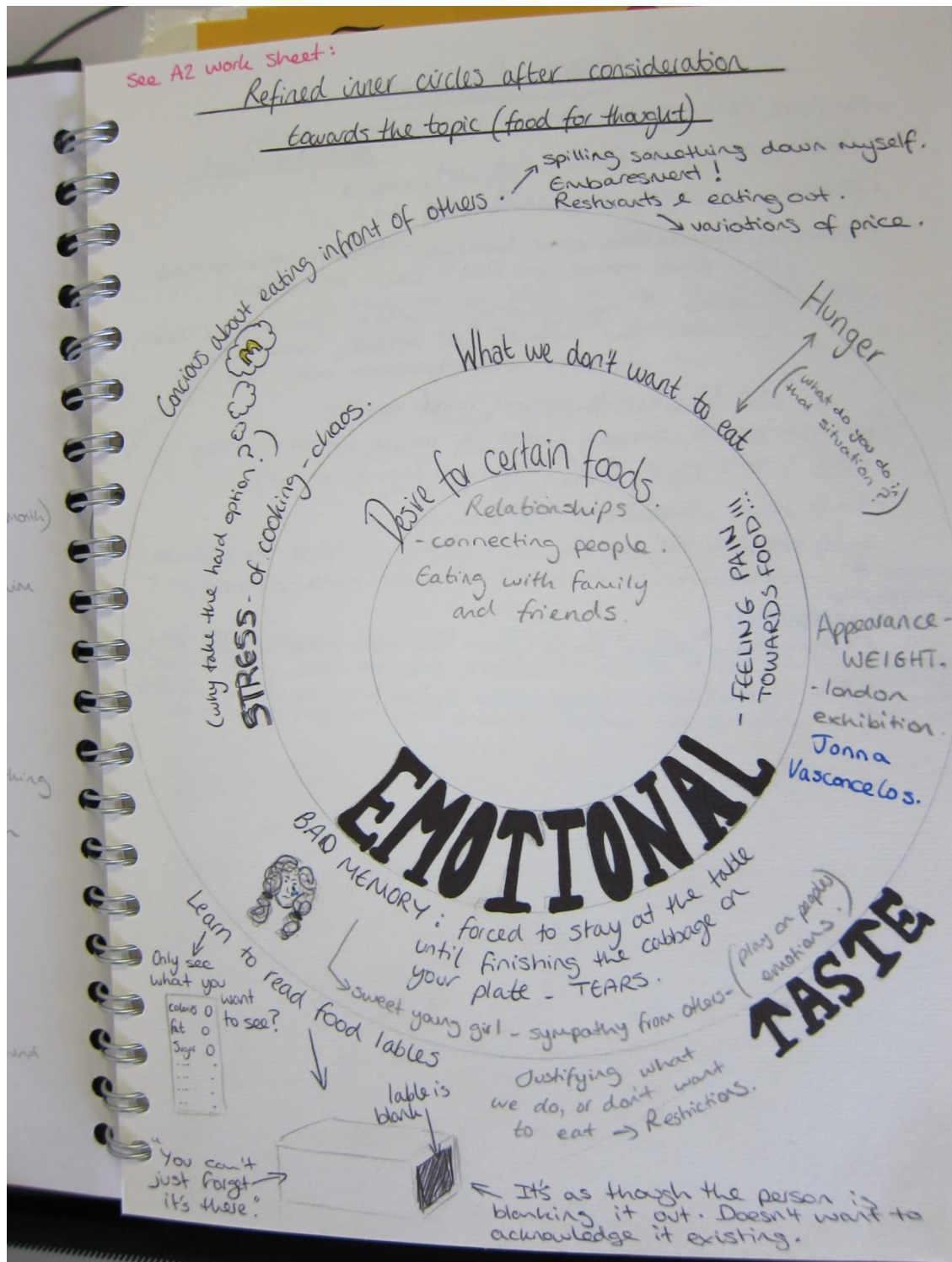


Figure 5.15: Charissa's mind-map

As a part of this transformation of self, she identifies two routes out of the negative personal history to two forms of adult agency. At the same time, she has shown that she has used the genre of the mind map well: using it for individual reflection, as a part of her self-performance in the university, and as

a prompt for the production of new texts about her present adult interest. First, she moves on from naming a female food issue, 'appearance- WEIGHT' by linking it to the name of the conceptual artist, Joanna Vasconcelos, an artist who addresses this issue in her exhibition, 'I Will Survive', and then to her having been to the 'london exhibition'. In this, she shows that she is resourceful in finding an adult answer to former, and younger, anxiety about food: she engages with a discourse of feminism and, does identity politics through an art discourse. Hypothetically, she uses the artist as a role model, in countering the oppression of body image. This exhibition had an oppositional stance to women's so-called obsession with fashion, from the point of view of a physically larger woman. That Vasconcelos is held up as an inspiration is attested to by the on-line link from report of her exhibition (Waters, 2010) to the UK charity Mind. Secondly, Charissa identifies with a more assertive way of being female and adult which is, hypothetically, desired in the territory of university, socially and culturally associated with making personal progress toward adulthood.

There is further self-transformation in the link to the making of her visual artifact of the Heinz baked bean cans (figure 5.16 ) in the bottom, left quadrant of the mind-map, in the instruction, 'Learn to read food labels'. She adopts a second person, imperative voice, in self-management. The links, by arrows, are to a drawing of a food packet or tin, and another to food value information on the side of another. The challenging voice is maintained next to the list of 'calories/ fat/ sugar', just as it is next to the first drawing: 'only see what you want to see?' and 'you can't just forget it's there'. The direct challenge, in the third person voice, 'it's as though the person is blanking it out. Doesn't want to acknowledge it existing', defines a new perspective upon food. It is that of a savvy consumer, to find a way of participating in the dominant myths of consumer culture (Smith Maguire, 2015, p.4) - including 'self- expression', 'individual sovereignty' and the 'democracy of goods'. Here, she is determined to be active in consumption, to be a critical reader and be self- responsible for her own health and wellbeing. This consumer-savvy self is one that has moved on from the younger self who needed the security of home to be confident enough to make personal progress. Even the positive affect in



food identified by reference to the social belonging of home – in ‘eating with family’, at the core of the diagram - is extended to include ‘friends’, and given a significance now, in the new territory of university, of being a resource with which to make wider relationships.

In the interview, she used this mind-map, as part of the story of her research, before showing the images that she had made (e.g. figure 5.16). In those images, she redesigns the labels on tins of Heinz baked beans, so that the nutritional information is included within the brand label, on the front, and again appears on the back, but the font of the lettering is increased. This new punctuation of the meanings of the drawings and written notes on the mind-map (that consumers deliberately ignore nutritional information on food packets and tins; and the challenge to ‘learn to read food labels’) is a transformation of design that gives precedence to a critical reading of food over the communication of its sensorial pleasure. Compositionally, the nutritional information is made salient: it is like a net cast over the whole can, cutting through the famous brand design. Its interactive meaning is that the routine dialogue between producer and consumer has been disrupted, because healthy eating is more important.

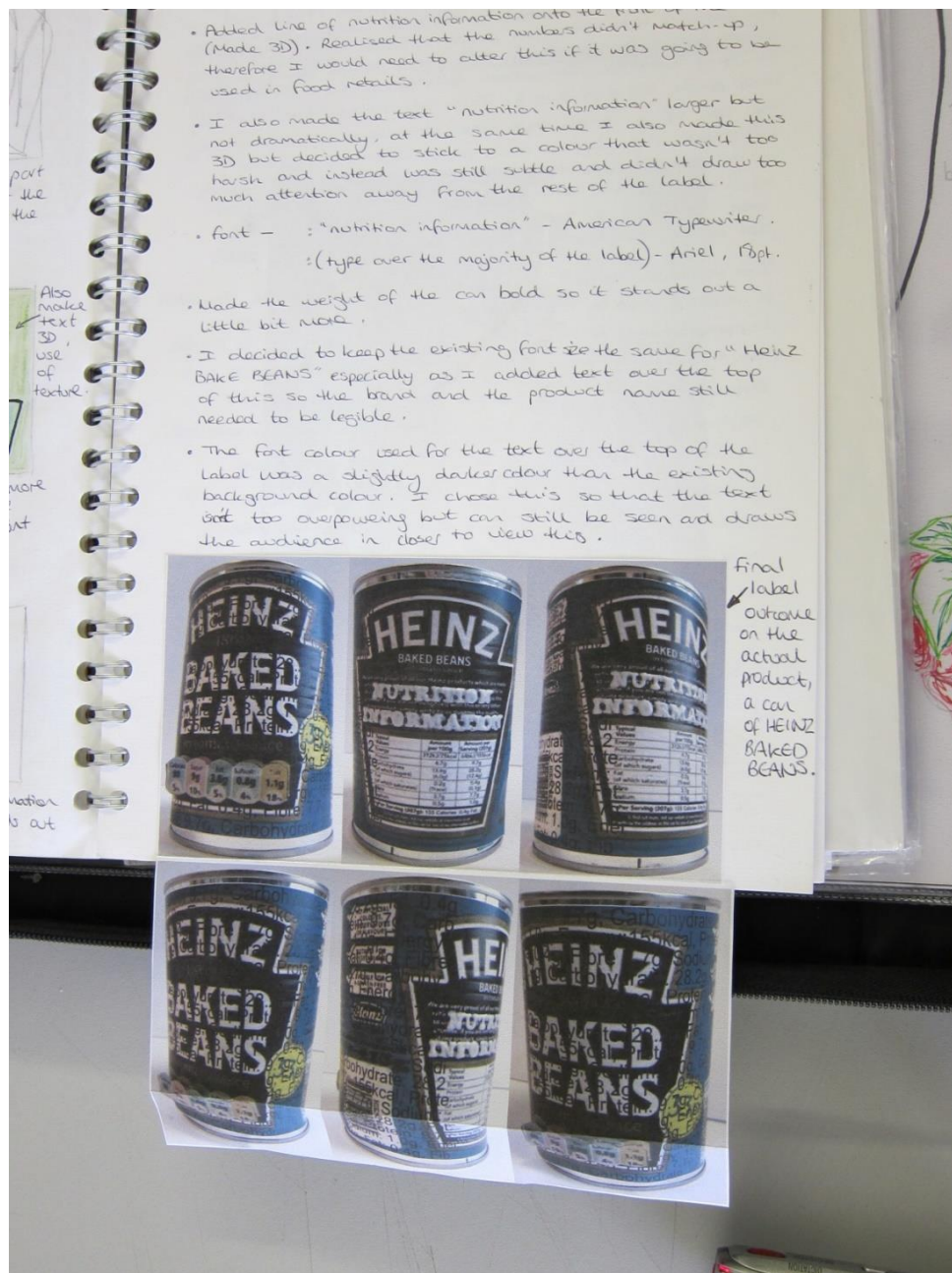


Figure 5.16: Bean cans

In the artifact, she can re-imagine herself in adult public spaces and in adult uses of the semiotic strata of 'discourse, design, production, distribution' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p.4f) and 'interpretation' (Burn, 2015, p.7). The new 'punctuation' of the artifact, in the 'semiotic chain', to use Kress' terms, as used by Stein (Stein, 2003, p.58), constitutes her identity, imaginatively, in the commercial space where food products are traded, and in the educational space of the university, in the 'front region' (Giddens, 1984, p.122f) with her tutor, myself and other students. Using this design in the

interview, she uses the role of food campaigner as a reference to who she is now. In the interview, her negotiation, with the aesthetic of commercial graphics and the imperative of brand identification, is a part of her self-performance, as someone disrupting the conversation between brand and consumer: 'I also made the text 'nutrition information' larger, but not dramatically, at the same time. I also made this 3D but decided to stick to a colour that wasn't too harsh and instead was still subtle and didn't draw too much attention away from the rest of the label.'

She does the work of re-imagining herself, as someone at university, as someone at this stage of a developing biography. She addresses the adults in the research setting, by using the wider social discourses, about food provenance and food security, and those of media food television texts which address these themes, integrating them into her design, production and interpretive work. In her interview, on the theme of food provenance, we can see the motivation to develop a self-narrative of belonging to home, and trust in her mother, into one that is about her own critical reading and trust in herself. Again, transcription is according to Appendix 3, except stress is italicized.

### Extract

C: I definitely like kind of *have* to care about what's in (.) or where (laughs) I'm definitely picky about meats for example (.) like if they're really cheap (.) or (.) especially at hall I'm quite picky if it's quite (.) the texture if its (.) and puts me off instantly (.) I don't know if it's psychological

M: it's about where it comes from (.) and how/ do I know what it is/

C: *exactly* (.) I'm more conscious about that (.) and that's why when I'm at home I know where it's from (.) and if I'm cooking I know exactly the process itself

M: do you think that that connects up with what you chose to do/ (pointing at the image she produced.)

C: I think it partly does (.) because in this sense (.) it shows exactly and clearly what is in the product itself and the process it's gone through (.) and I felt quite strongly that that message needed to come across ...I think we've become accustomed maybe to trust farmers slightly more because factories work in batches and try to produce it the cheapest they can (.) and yet at the same time (.) I think there's still a certainty of untrusting because you still can't physically see where (.) what's going on

M: is there something/ that's happened to make you feel that way/

S: more that some of the products are made from the left-over chicken and the skin and even that Jamie Oliver (.) in the USA (.) I watched that recently as well (.) not good (1) with my mum's food I feel confident because I know she cares a lot about me (.) and about what she feeds me (.) whereas in this case (pointing at the tins of beans in her design) it shows how they try to hide aspects of what's in it (.) whether it's good for you or not

In interpretation, in the combination of speech and visual modes, she has moved on from being the drawer of the mind-map, someone beginning to move out of the old emotional bind of negative responses to food, typical of her gender. Now she has constituted herself, in the new territory of university, as an adult in and adult world, finding in the self-entrepreneurial character of her self-narrative a better way of belonging to that world.

### **Catherine**

This is another example of the interconnection between meaning-making in the mind-map, the artifact and interview that allows the constitution of a self-entrepreneurial identity, engaged with adult food culture. In this chapter, we will focus upon one aspect of the mind-map and its link to the interview as illustration of this process. In the next chapter, we will continue discussion of this participant's identity work, in relation to her artifact, because of the importance of her incorporation of discourses of healthy eating in it.

As with Charissa, the mind-map (figure 5.17) is worked as a 'chronotopic' (Bakhtin, 1981) strategy. It allows the objectification of prior experience, including the representation of past sources of positive affect, in family eating,

and the association with healthy eating, and being open to new foods, and the past source of negativity in her own self. Just as with Charissa, reference to the 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1994, p.36f) of the past prompts the realization of self-resourcefulness, as the key to future success and well-being.

Descriptions of past dysfunction are distributed far from the positive affect of the core: 'fear of being FAT', 'WEIGHT ISSUES' and 'HUNGER like a tiger' (the simile associating danger with an intense appetite); and 'ANOREXIA', the inner dialogue of 'VOICE IN MY HEAD' linked to the specification 'SHOULD I? SHOULDN'T I', and 'BULLYING' and 'FATTY PIG'. The representational genre of the mind-map, as we saw with Charissa, allows for withholding elaboration before the surveillance of the reader, in this institutional setting; rather, the interest is in finding the means out, from a dysfunctional relationship, to an adult-like agentive relationship with food and participation in a consumer culture, whose myths promise the opportunities of self-expression, control, freedom and fun (Smith Maguire, 2015, p.4).

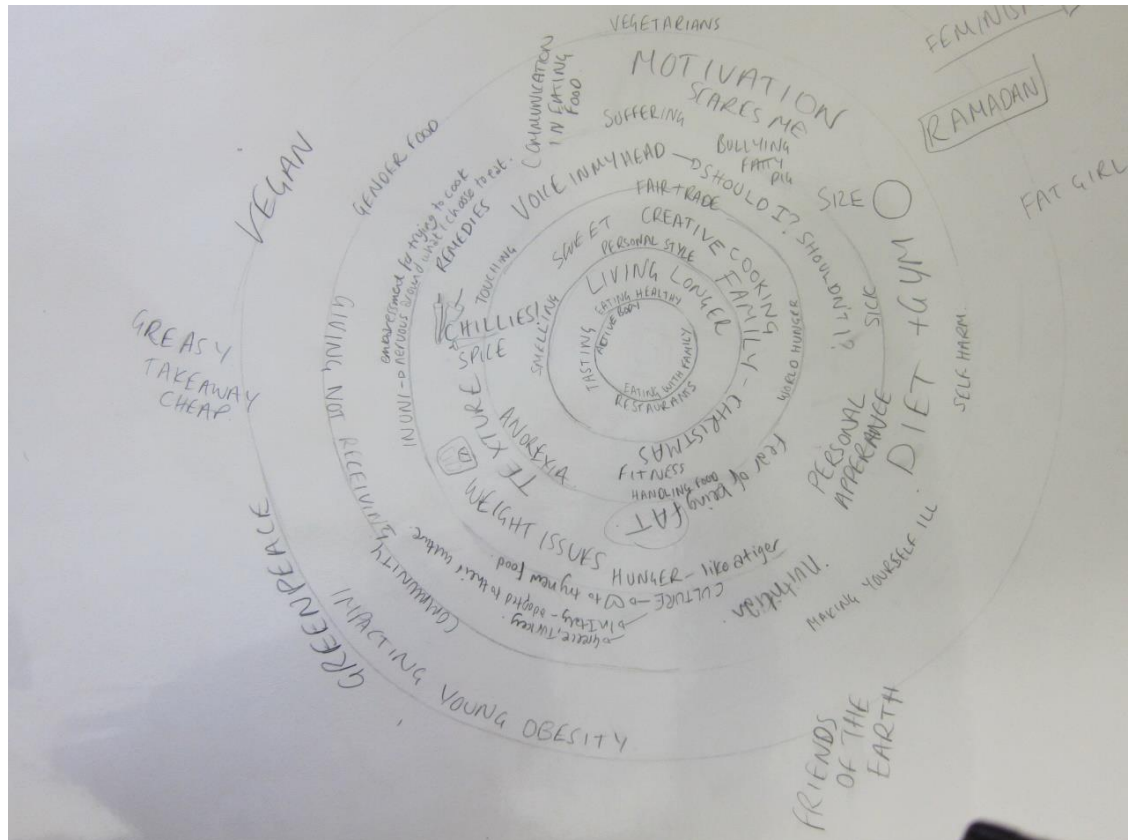


Figure 5.17: Catherine's mind-map

A sense of self, consistent with a self-performance expected in the new territory of university, begins to be constructed on the fourth circle: 'CULTURE' with two links, by arrows, to 'Greece' and 'Turkey', and the elaboration - 'In Italy - adapted to their culture', and the further extension, by complement, to the heart pictogram and 'to my new food'. The last set of elaborations is significant because it references the personal accomplishment of self-adaptation to new territories and engagement with adult food culture. These associations are to the fore in her self-performance in the interview.

Her references to cooking Italian food, even if, in the interview extract below, she can only say that she knows about standard Italian restaurant chain fare, and to working in Italy, establishes her credibility: as someone who knows how to critically read food culture, in order to construct a middle-class identity. They are also a part of a narrative about improving herself at university. In her evaluation of Italian food culture as 'creating community', she addresses the myth of the Mediterranean ideal, not just as it is used in healthy eating discourses, as the ideal diet, but across a whole range of wider social discourses as an ideal lifestyle, associating social integration, rural life, health, longevity and 'Culture' (Appendix 2 viii). She associates her experience of eating with others in Italy with a knowledge about wellbeing. This is a stock association in advertising and foodie texts both in the UK and Italy, typified by Bertolli's television advertisements at this time (2009). Reference to Italian, as opposed, for example, to Spanish, Mediterranean life, also employs a middle-class distinction of taste: the cultural capital of tourist destination, educational cultural capital, and distance from the food practices of a derogated working class (Appendix 2iv), associated with a loss of intergenerational food knowledge and skills, family meals and the so-called obesity crisis of industrialised nations like the UK. We recall, that at this time, Jamie Oliver, in his Ministry of Food campaign (2008), recalling a wartime sense of mission in the current experience of austerity in the UK, recommended Italian 'cucina povera' as the means by which the British working class could escape obesity. In this extract, Catherine's self-performance is addressed to me who, in terms of class, educational capital, and an age, is similar to her parents. Her use of the cultural capital of Italy, as a destination for work or holiday, with which to

construct her social distinction of class, is an example of her consumer savviness, in knowing how to mark her self-entrepreneurial progress and social aspiration in this setting.

### Extract

M: thinking of what you just said there (.) when you come to uni it's when you try things out (.) does food mean something different to you now than what it did when you were fifteen or sixteen/

C: I appreciate it a lot more now (.) cos I realise it costs a bit (.) and the time it takes to prepare (.) and when I go home I'm always wanting to try out what I've learnt at university (.) trying different things (.) quite simply food at halls isn't very good so when I return back home (.) I ought to be able to cook for my family and try out what I've learnt at university

M: have you done that/

C: yeah I *have* done that

M: and what/ did you cook/

C: erm risotto (.) and just lots of pasta dishes really

M: risotto and pasta (.) are you into your Italian food/

C: yes

M: what/ appeals to you in that

C: well I go to Italy every summer (.) and I just love the whole culture of it

M: so when you're cooking this food (.) what/ feelings or ideas come into your head

C: erm it brings back a lot of memories from the work that I've done there (.) and this whole idea of creating a community (.) bringing everyone together for just this one meal (1) in the university we only get together at dinner times (.) and like with family they're in jobs (.) so I feel that creating this meal it's something that everyone can enjoy (.) talk about and relate to in some sort of way

M: so you'd/ like to go back to some of the things you've seen in Italy/

C: yeah (.) to come back over here

M: that would be great/

C: yeah

M; Is/ that a good feeling (.) eating together/

C: yes it is (.) because everyone has their own life and so if you stop for just an hour or so every day (.) and just be with the people you want to be with (.) you reflect (.) and if you know you're going to have that routine (.) it's just nice to know that you *are* going to be with your friends and family at some point in the day

In the next chapter, we will follow this participant further to see how she extends her self-performance, again using a vocabulary of self- entrepreneurship, in her interpretation of the visual artifact which she made.

## **CONCLUSION**

The chapter illustrates how these young women engaged with the social, and institutional, expectation that they should be the best that they can be, by distancing themselves from dysfunctional relationships to food. In so doing, we have seen them orientate themselves toward ideal forms of adult food practice and engagement with food consumer culture.

We saw how these young people used 'chronotopic' (Bahktin, 1981) strategies to manage this positive self-narrative: distancing themselves from negative, emotional entanglements with food, which constrain their freedom to be adult social agents in a consumer culture, and constrain their ability to operate in future settings where they would be expected to think and act as adults.

University would be one such setting. This self-transformation, ethical in its accordance with what is socially esteemed, is a means of generating a sense of trust in themselves, and their ability to make the most of future opportunities in those new settings, and to be recognized as a successful adult.



We have seen how they associate what is culturally valued with possession of a self-entrepreneurial disposition - that is an individual's habituated practice of self-improvement and self-management, aimed at self-autonomy. The social myths of consumer culture (Smith Maguire, 2015), particularly the myths of romantic, self-expression, individual sovereignty and private freedom, the duty to have fun and goods as egalitarian access to the good life, enable this self-autonomy to be imagined by participants. Self-entrepreneurialism is the way that engagement with consumer culture is given the ethical frame of self-improvement. This kind of self-performance addressed the need to adapt to new social settings, and allay anxiety, as in the movement from home to the new territory of university. The outstanding motivation, in their use of mode and material, was to interpret, understand and evaluate themselves as people who had moved past the negative emotional entanglements, in connection with food, which held individuals back from making the most of future opportunities and dealing with future risk. The functional use of food, then, was a social and cultural resource for 'self-actualisation' (Giddens, 1994, p.78). However, what is not caught in that phrase is the gendered complication of female, social subjects: that what may be characterized as a personal disposition of the self, aimed at personal wellbeing, sits alongside an ethical commitment to social belonging and to the wellbeing of others. Alongside their learning to think and act for themselves, as individuals, according to a vocabulary of self-autonomy and self-entrepreneurialism, they are motivated to represent the importance and value of social belonging and interdependence that they know, from family and friendship, underpins and supports individual performance. Further, they know that empathy and openness toward others is needed to build personal and social relationships. Learning to think and act in a self-entrepreneurial way, and learning to be empathetically engaged with others, and make that a cohesive self-identity, reminds us of Harris' description of the 'can-do-girl' (McRobbie, 2012b), as the exemplary neo-liberal subject of great capacity: competitive and compassionate.

Social belonging was central to the interest of the sixteen year old Film students in constructing their morality narratives; in maintaining empathy with

the sufferer of eating disorder was a motivation in their use of melodrama. The putative progress of the eighteen year old video-maker, toward a functional, adult relationship with food, relied upon her conservation of the presence of the older, female role models of how to be self-autonomous *and* generous to others. We saw how the nineteen year old makers of mind-maps were not only motivated to represent themselves as moving into culturally intelligible, adult food agency, but also to show that this was built upon the earlier, self-narrative of personal security in their families, referenced at the core of those diagrams.

This chapter shows that their self-reflexivity, in learning about kinds of adult disposition, can involve their use of media as a social and cultural resource: enabling them to handle, critically read and imaginatively apply ways of thinking and acting upon themselves. We saw how their use of the semiotic properties of media was the means of their adult-like, self-performances. They perform the functionality of their own subjectivities, in relation to theme of the dysfunctional use of a social and cultural resource by others, in their use of mode and material. They disavow the emotional and psychological dispositions of dysfunction, in relation to food, by explaining its problematic nature to us: for example in the 16 year old Film Students' sequencing of a moral tale, in the 18 year old video-maker's montage of contrasting performances of younger and older generations of females, and in the 19 year old university students' written description of negative emotion. They assume culturally recognizable, adult perspectives upon what is problematic in those dysfunctional self-performances: for example, in the 16 year old's organization of adult-like perspectives upon the sufferer, as the victim of media misrepresentation, and in their negotiation of empathy for the sufferer in their use of the interactive functions of melodramatic images; in the 18 year old's use of the voices of the older women as a part of her own therapeutic discourse and self-management; and in the 19 year old students' inscription of portals, in the mind-maps, out to legitimate re-appropriations of food's meaning for them, both in assuming self-responsibility for a healthy diet, and in expanding consumer food knowledge and capability.

In interpreting their self-identities as adult, they address criteria of legitimacy which are culturally shared, and cooperate with a neo-liberal myth of consumption which occludes a view of social cooperation, social injustice, sustainability in food production and consumption.

## **Chapter 6: Being a healthy eater**

### **CONTENTS**

- Introduction
- Getting a grip at university: healthy eating and not being a dupe
- Healthy eating and self-entrepreneurial energy
- Being free of healthy eating
- Healthy eating as a means of protecting the self-entrepreneurial narrative
- Conclusion

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with the theme of healthy eating, a theme that is important for many participants to negotiate with, in order to show that they are managing themselves, that they are self-entrepreneurial, and that they are making progress in becoming successful adults. This theme is addressed by both male and female participants. This chapter will show how healthy eating means more to them than a preference for healthy food with a goal of staying physically healthy; and more than conformity to the healthy eating messages that this generation, in particular, have been bombarded with: that they should be caring for their own health, that they should not be obese, that they should avoid chronic disease by managing their lifestyle, of which healthy eating is a core component, and that they should not be a drain on the NHS which is in crisis. Rather, it is the association of healthy and unhealthy eating with socially and culturally defined dispositions which drives their use of it in their self-narratives: healthy eating with self-autonomy, a sign of legitimate self-management, and exercise of personal responsibility in society; unhealthy eating with social dependency, as a failure of self-management and responsibility to wider society.

These associations are repeatedly represented in popular journalism (Appendix 2iv,v,vi,vii) as further articulations of the meanings of government, medical and charity reports, recommendations and policies. This period is illustrated by the publishing of: The Foresight report on Reducing Obesity (Great Britain. Government Office for Science, 2007); the campaign Turning the Tables: transforming School Food (Great Britain. The School Funds Trust, 2005); the Healthy Weight, Healthy Lives Strategy (Great Britain. Department of Health and Department of Children; Schools and Families, 2008); Healthy Eating in Schools (Great Britain. Ofsted, 2006); Healthy Food For Healthy Outcomes (Great Britain. Department of Education, 2013); the Healthy Child Programme (Great Britain. Department of Health, 2009); the National Child Measuring Regulations (Great Britain. Public Health England, 2008) and the National Child measurement Scheme (Great Britain. Public Health England, 2014); the Change4Life recommendations (Great Britain. Department of Health, 2009); the public health Guidelines for Cardiovascular disease prevention (Great Britain. NICE, 2010); and Ofcom's statement and consultation regarding Television Advertising of Food and Drink Products for Children (Great Britain. OfCom., 2006), final statement (Great Britain. OfCom. 2007) and HFSS advertising restrictions final review (Great Britain. OfCom., 2010).

It is with the association, of esteemed personal disposition and social identity, which these participants' self-narratives work. In attending to their use of this meanings of healthy and unhealthy eating, this chapter extends chapter four's discussion of young people's incorporation of what it is to be functional or dysfunctional, in terms of social and cultural legitimacy. In describing how healthy eating is a part of their learning to manage themselves, and manage others' perception of them, this chapter brings Giddens' (1994) self-identity into a clearer relationship with cultural values.

This chapter also develops last chapter's discussion of a transition to adulthood, in terms of participants' making self-narratives which are grounded in the time, place and social setting in which they make them, and how those settings prompt the self-performance of being more adult. This is to extend Giddens' (1994, p. 53) description of 'the self as reflexively understood by the

person in terms of his or her biography'. The sequence of examples is organised to facilitate this discussion. The chapter begins with six participants drawn from Phase 2 of the fieldwork, 19 year old participants at an East Midlands' university, beginning a Graphics Design degree having already completed a foundation year there. We move to a 21 year old, in his third year at university, who is camping, with two others of his own age, at a holiday resort, frequented over the years by the family of one of them. Then we focus upon a 21 year old who has recently returned from university to live at home, and who has begun paid work.

## **GETTING A GRIP AT UNIVERSITY: HEALTHY EATING AND NOT BEING A DUPE**

### **Juliana**

Juliana was a part of Phase 3 of the fieldwork – one of second year university students, just beginning a Graphic Design course. I had been working with these participants on a unit of work, that was about research and exploring graphic ideas to communicate a position to an aspect of food that mattered to them personally. A workshop was used to elicit personal thoughts and feelings and to nominate that aspect. This work was framed as a private process, and part of it involved the making of a mind-map. Two examples featured in the last chapter. They were asked to find out more about the subject, exploring their ideas and feelings to do with it, and work toward a final, visual artifact that would represent their personal position to the subject. They also used a research notebook to record their process. It was made clear that all of the preparatory materials were for their use, and only if they showed them to me, in the interview, at the end of the process, would they be seen. The visual artifact, of whatever kind they decided upon, would be shown to me. Figure 6.1 shows this participant's artifact.



writing, of a heading, for the rest of the written text. It is about 'student meals' and 'home food'. The body is salient in this composition. It functions, as writing and drawing, as an idiosyncratic frame for the writing which will extend the meaning of the heading, and as a visual extension of the subject itself: what begins externally as food provided, by the university institution or within the family, is incorporated, and its meaning for you resonates in you, as embodied experience.

The 'abstract modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.168) of the drawing - little articulation of detail or relationship to a background, little colour saturation or modulation, little articulation of tonal range - invites interest in the essence of what it depicts. This is working with the social practice of consuming art, and its abstraction prompts a different, embodied exploration. We move around it and manipulate it. Before we do that, our reading of the bodily code, of the thumbs-up, links with the up-beat validation of 'home-food, in the writing, as an extension, by compliment, to use van Leeuwen's (2008, p.230) overview of visual-verbal linking. The inversion of half of the writing further prompts our exploring the artifact by turning it around. As we do so, there is a new extension of meaning. This time, what is now a thumbs-down gesture, warning us that things are not ok, is extended in meaning by the written deprecation of 'student meals'. The motivated use of these signs means that her interest is not just to represent difference, but a stark contrast. As we read, there is a categorical opposition between 'home food' and 'student food': the former is healthy and creates a holistic well-being; the latter is unhealthy and creates profound unhappiness.

The link of extension, from the image of gesture to writing, is rhetorical in affect and ethos as well as logical consistency. This is to recall Burn's (2015, p.9) discussion of rhetoric, in reference to Aristotle's triad of 'ethos, logos and pathos'. As in the analysis of the artifacts in the last chapter, we notice how this participant's identity work is realized, in the multimodal text, by all of those dimensions of rhetoric. First, the ethical dimension, in the tone of big-sisterly encouragement, in the genre of peer advice, in the writing, combined with the informal thumb gestures, is a symbolic organisation of a relationship of



equality between author and reader. This is different to the texts published by this, and other university's Student Support Services, on the theme of healthy eating. In them student voices are incorporated into the university's monologic texts (Bakhtin, 1981) – for example, Student Cooking.TV (University of Loughborough, 2011).

Secondly, as 'logos', knowledge about the situation of the student living away from home, including the difficulties of getting organized and being determined enough to ensure a healthy diet, is communicated in the writing coherently and cohesively. This knowledge is weighed heavily with cultural positions to the legitimacy of proper family meals and food culture, including the obligation to learning from the older generation's food knowledge and skills, the social shame of being dependent upon others, and the duty to self-improve. Knowledge about the difficulties of matching up to these social and cultural expectations is also a part of the ethos of the writing, in establishing her credibility, as someone sharing the problems of her student audience.

Thirdly, as 'pathos', it is the communication of affect: she shares the worry about the expense of buying food; and the worry about the provenance of ingredients used by university mass caterers; and she, too, feels homesick and depressed. The writing communicates a common ethical, and affective stance: toward, on the one hand, the goodness of 'home food', associating love and care with nutritional healthiness and the altruistic motivation of a mother; and, on the other, the badness of the food that a commercial, mass caterer provides, with none of those connotations of care.

How this multimodal text acts as self-performance, centres on its interactive function, to construct her identity as someone who is the hero of her self-narrative – both in being someone who has overcome the forces reigned against her, and as someone who has taken upon herself the role of leader and motivator of others who are like she used to be. In her address to other students, she is a model of self-entrepreneurialism. She is to inspire them to get cooking for themselves, look after their health, show themselves, and those who care about them the most, imaginatively and ritually, that they are using this time at university not to degrade, but to improve themselves. The

logical contrast, in the written text (below), is between self- autonomy and dependence upon others. Her text is summarized and coded:

- (1) Do not be lazy
- (2) Exercise personal choice (including marking off family/social distinction 2b)
- (3) Control your well-being
- (4) Improve your capabilities
- (5) Be responsible for your health\_

In the thumbs-up position, the written text says:

Health. Happier. Yummy. Choose what you want to eat at any time you want to eat at (2). You get to choose (2). You know what is your food (2). You know how healthy it is (5). It reminds you of how proud to say I can cook (4). Time-consuming but cooking as a group can help that. It brings people together in a way (3). Eat what you feel like eating at the time (2) so you'll always be happy (3). Healthier for you (5). Makes you happy (3). You feel at home (3). Miss it less (3) and feel like you have achieved something (3). That you can cook (4). Prove to mum that you will survive food-wise without her cooking (4). Yummy and always content with what you eat (3). And they are your lifestyle too (2b). It would be good as well. You are not lazy (1) and can definitely eat what you want (2).

In the 'thumbs-down' position, the text says:

student meals are not the answer, and are not the way to go about having a nice homely meal. If anything it's the total opposite. You should not be lazy and not cook food! (1) Give it a try and cook whatever you want to (2). No one is stopping you. Student meals are unhealthy and not the way to go (5). You are lazy (1). Cheap too. You don't know what they are putting in your food (5). You just don't know. It could be disgusting and gross. You also have a limited variety of food to eat if you stick with them (2). So don't and change your habits (2). Go shopping and eat proper food (2) (5). You'll be a lot happier (3). At least I was. You won't miss home as much (3). And you can show mum

that you can cook (4). Don't eat cheap food. It shows its side through yourself (3) (5). You don't n (eed lots) of money. (Don't) waste (it on) fast-food. Laziness (1). Unhealthy (5). Fast-food.'

The terms of shaming and rewarding, cajoling and encouraging, are self-entrepreneurial; the discourse marginalises public responsibility and student collective action, against the university's outsourcing to this catering company, for example, a campaign aimed at improving student food for all.

In the interview, this participant re-punctuated her interest in self-autonomy, by combining it with an explanation of how her Chinese, ethnic heritage gave her a social distinction, through food taste, from other students. Chapter 8 of the analysis will deal with the intersection of ethnicity and class construction in food taste.

The mind-map (figure 6.2 below) is from the Phase 3 workshop, described in the last chapter. It shows the same elements of her self-transformation, from dupe to savvy consumer: the binary of 'student food' and 'home food'; the dialogue with the mother, which models her own big sister address to other students; and the organisation of an affective and ethical perspective upon the food provided by the catering company. These all enable her performance as a critical reader of the service provider's claims, a movement past just identifying the goodness of home food and the contrast with the cynical practices of industrial food producers. In savvy consumerism, she can perform her own self-entrepreneurialism, and justify herself, in inner-dialogue with her mother. She can reimagine herself, from being the dependent and unhealthy eating person she had become, in the movement from home to university, to being the self-autonomous and healthy eating person she wanted to be. We recall, in the last chapter, that savvy consumerism was a form of adult food agency which allowed Charissa and Catherine ways of re-imagining themselves, away from association with the constraint and passivity of food hang-ups, and, as making personal progress.

In the mind-map, we see the use of space, in the written mode, to separate contrasting affect: home food at the centre of the diagram (a zone designated as 'stuff I care about' and 'more personal stuff') and 'student food' away from

it. Home food is represented differently to student food: 'HEALTHY FOOD' is made salient by the use of capitals and associated with naturalness (in the drawing of the leaf), pleasure of eating her mother's food ('mummy's cooking!') and the conservation of food tradition (in the use of the old fashioned advertising frame and anchored as the product of love and care by the heart pictogram).

The representation of 'student food' is quite different, in its imagery, and, in the reading trajectory that has been organized to follow it. It is represented as the rails of a train, snaking through, under and around the other text, in the genre of cartoon drawing, such that they seem to be mobile, in the air, and chaotic. The text 'CHRONIC', at the beginning of the track, and, at the end, the fair-ground like invocation to 'hop on the chronic train', are rendered in a similar graphic style. The track begins and ends on the periphery, and passes through capitalized 'STUDENT MEALS' in the same colour. This allows a continuous reading of 'Chronic student meals! Hop on the chronic train!!' This metaphor of train represents the unsettling sense of chaos that the catering company's food brings to what is at the center of the drawing: the learned regime of healthy eating. There is negative affect toward the company: its name double-bracketed ((IMAGO)), as though to contain its toxicity, linked to the comment, at right angles, 'CAN'T BELIEVE HOW BAD IT IS!!'



This first example illustrates the reach of healthy eating discourse into the subjective work of a young person constructing an identity that is autonomous, away in a new territory. We saw this self-transformation, in the re-appropriation of food's meaning, from being a symbol of co-presence, care and social belonging at home, to being a commodity in the marketplace, which the subject has learnt to read critically. This is a part of rewriting a more adult, self-narrative of being a successful negotiator of consumer culture. It is also cooperation with the social differentiation of class which uses the social myth of self-autonomy, as the binary opposite of social dependence as a disposition, associated with the poor and the working class. This occludes view of the individual and collective resourcefulness of low-income consumers (Smith Maguire 2016) and of social inequality. In the university setting, it marginalizes political activity of students as a unified body.

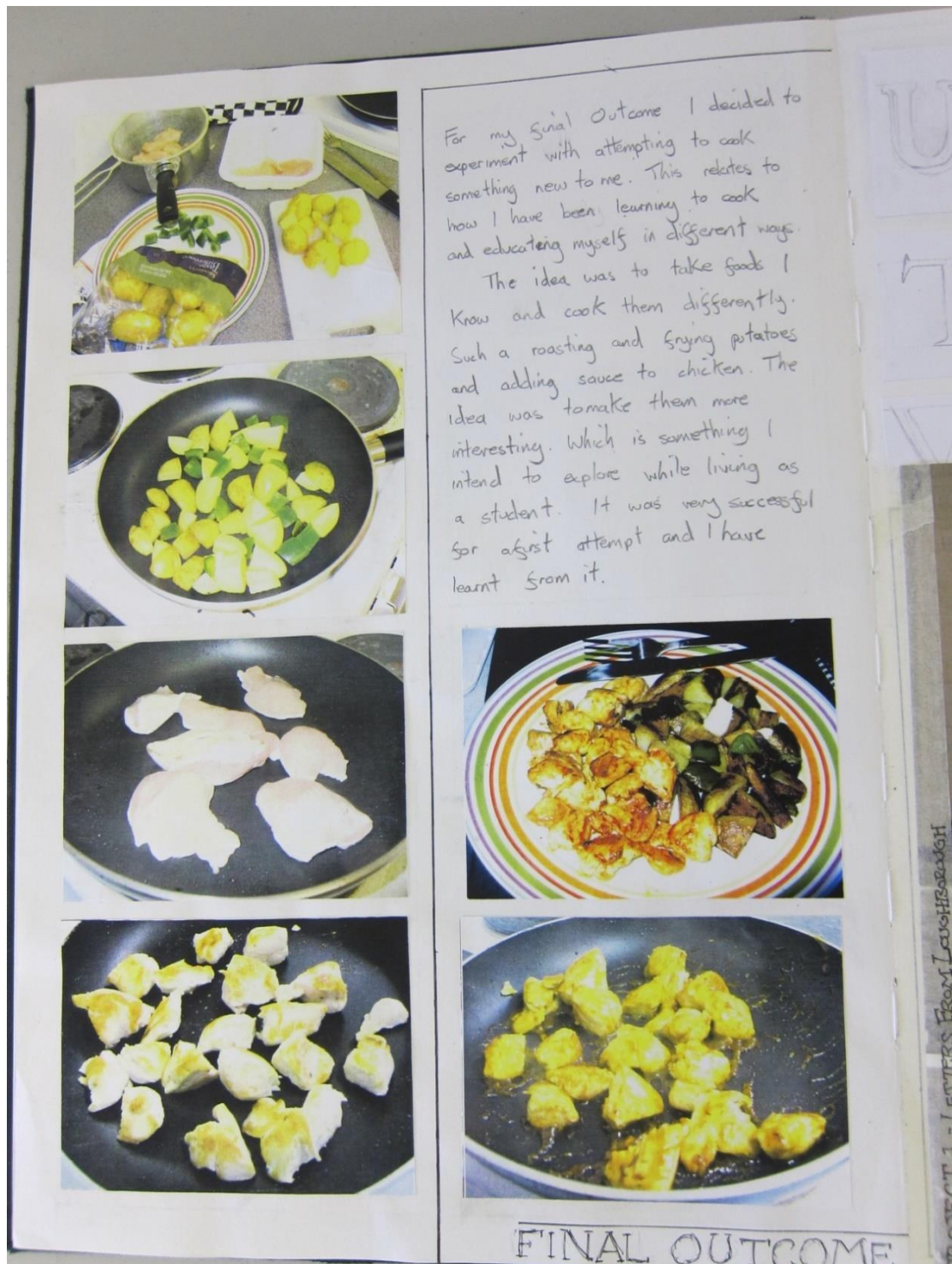
### **Steve**

Steve is also from Phase 3 of the study, a second year student, just beginning the Graphics degree course, at an East Midlands university. He, too, was asked to identify an aspect of food that was important to him, to use research to clarify his stance to the theme, and represent his position to it by visual means.

Like Juliana, Steve's constitution of himself as someone who can cook healthy food for himself, and thereby escape the unhealthiness of the food that would otherwise be the option, is a key interest. For Juliana, this unhealthy food was the provided in halls, by a mass-catering company; for Steve, unhealthy food is the microwavable ready meals that became his staple diet in his first year at university. Like Juliana, the ability to guarantee a healthy diet, by making your own food, from basic ingredients, is associated in Steve's self-narrative, with being a savvy consumer. For Steve, being able to see through the devious tactics of food producers is a part of his reimagining himself, as an older, second year student, in the interview, whose self-narrative is about his resourcefulness, and his self-autonomy. This self-narrative is dialogic, addressed to the researcher and other adults in the university setting. Healthy eating is a means of distancing the self from a

social identity in which a lack of food knowledge and capability is associated with a toxic media and political representation of a failing disposition in the UK's poor, that of dependency culture (Appendix 2iv). Steve's use of photographs of his own cooking, in the artifact (figure 6.3) is a part of a self-performance which addresses this cultural binary of meaning: they show that he is someone who is not dependent upon industrially prepared, ready meals, but can cook from raw ingredients. As with Juliana and Charissa, reference to the goodness of home food, in the interview, is made as a part of the new self-narrative, of being self-autonomous and of having trust in self, and not as a part of a narrative about social belonging and trust in others at home. In the present narrative, the affect of social belonging, at home, is transformed into values, which clarify an independent, ethical stance to what is good and bad in food.





**Figure 6.3:** Learning to cook

First, the interest in this participant's use of the semiotic strata, of design and production (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2000), is to show himself as someone who is self-entrepreneurial - improving himself by learning to cook his own food - and as someone who is authentic, allowing his honest attempts to be photographed. He works with the interactive meanings of cookery texts. The



photographs are organized as a narrative, guiding the reading, according to the linking of visual information (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.229), as a sequence of temporal extension, and, for the most part, along a vertical vector, or reading path (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.57ff), following the information giving of procedure, and stages of action, in the resource of a recipe. In the first image, the ingredients necessary are shown; in the second, the cooking of vegetables - potatoes and courgettes – is shown; in the third, fourth and fifth, the cooking of chicken pieces; and in the final image, the cooked items are combined and shown as a plated-up dish. The salience of the food on the plate, bowl, chopping board and knife, then food in the pan, and finally food on plate, with knife and fork alongside, correspond to the stages of action; and the point of view, and distance from the food objects, is organized for the purpose of showing someone who is learning to cook the food. Playing into this genre of text, which showcases the exemplary skills of the expert food practitioner, allows him to celebrate his progress in learning to cook by imagining that expertise is his.

The written text, in the top right quadrant of the page, according to the genre of a report, requires him to withdraw from that imaginative play. As a student, self-reflexive text, it transforms the meanings of the role play, to an evaluation of a task done, in an address to a tutor or researcher, in the educational setting. He has an interest, in the writing, to transform the imaginative play, of cooking and photographing his work, into a formal self-declaration of his work of self-improvement. In it, he extends the information of the images, verbally, by compliment (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.230) as being representations of his initiative, experimentation and long-term goal setting: 'learning to cook and educating myself in a different way'; 'to take foods ...and cook them differently'); he intends to 'explore' new possibilities.

In the interview, he re-makes this meaning of the artifact, as a part of a narrative about his self-improvement: how he has become a healthy-eater, through learning to cook for himself; how he has become a better person through leaving behind former passivity, laziness, which was characterized by his dependency upon microwavable meals, in the first year of being at university; and how he has learned to be discriminating in his judgment of

proper food and industrially made ready meals. His characterization of his present self, as resourceful, is shown in his use of his mother's tuition. This reference to the goodness of home food is not the resumption of an earlier narrative, of being looked after at home, residing in a trust in care-givers; rather, it is a part of a self-narrative of self-autonomy, and growing trust in himself. Perhaps because he is motivated to develop this picture of himself, as self-autonomous, he obscures the dependency of his own food practices, in the first year of university. He begins by othering this dependency in the observation of his flat-mates; but, later, after securing his performance of being someone who has made this progress, he describes that dependence to me as being his own. The characterization, of a present new, forward-looking focus, and of a self-improving disposition, in comparison to a first year dissipation and hedonism, was common in Phase 3 participants.

#### Extract

S: so that's what I look at really (opens his research workbook and starts to turn the pages)

M: talk me through that (.) make your answer through what you're showing me

S: so I first look at what my flat-mates were eating (.) and a lot of them were eating like microwaveable food (.) where you stick it in an oven or a microwave (.) and I thought that was quite difficult so I tried not to (.) because I'd never cooked before (.) so it was about me learning to cook (1) so I tried to learn to cook various things (.) so these are pictures of them (pointing at fig.3, and then to pencil drawings and diary entries in his workbook) and drawings of it (.) and there is like a food diary (.) comparing microwaveable stuff to proper cooked stuff

M: you're saying proper cooked stuff and it would seem that on your journey of picking up cooking and doing it for yourself you could see what other people were having and you decided that you wanted something better for yourself

S: yeah (.) I tried to cook a lot of things I had at home (1) so I bought some microwaveable meals like these (pointing at photographs, in his workbook, of

images used on the front of microwave meal boxes) and just how long it takes to heat them (.) comparing

M: what/ was it you noticed when you compared them to your idea of a better meal/

S: even though they're quicker they're not so nice (.) and healthier (1) they may be cheaper but they're unhealthy because they're full of like salt and sugar (.) and flavours I guess (.) I just don't like them at all (.) It's always been a personal preference to me so I tried to do something different (1) I like compared to what my flat-mates are eating (1) I used to have them if there was no-one in and I would have to cook for myself I'd just put something in the microwave (1) it's something I never really like (.) it's kind of like (1) I asked my mum to teach me before I left (.) then I tried to (.) tried to cook proper meals since I've been back

M: yeah (.) what/ are the ideas that come into your mind when you think about microwave meals/

S: curries and *this* (points to photograph, in his workbook, of an actual microwaved meal that he had cooked; and laughs in a derisory way)

M: and the feelings/ you get/

His aversion to processed food is in the association of its unhealthiness with the feeling of dependency it brings with it: twice he links the laziness of just sticking the meal packet into the oven with his aversion, of not wanting to be like that anymore.

His departure from the 'sensory', visual modality (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.170) of food marketing, accentuating colour saturation or tone, for example, to make it more visually desirable, preferring the use of a 'naturalistic modality' (ibid p.169), making the image resemble the food as we would see it, is a part of his self-performance of authenticity and of self-improvement in no longer being a dupe. He parodies commercial advertising: why does food in those texts not look like the food we make?

In the subsequent interview, he extends those meanings of self-entrepreneurialism in the narrative about his research. It is, in a way, a salvation narrative, set in the transitional space of university. First, there is shame in his laziness and dependency upon microwavable meals; then the impulse to change his life; a turning to a source of knowledge, in learning from his mother how to cook from ingredients; then revelation about the awfulness of processed food and his working at a better life.

His aversion to processed food is in the association of its unhealthiness with the sense of dependency it brings with it: twice he links the laziness of just sticking the meal packet into the oven with his aversion, of not wanting to be like that anymore. He counters that sense of dependency in himself by developing a critical reading of the tactics of food marketing. He does this by identifying those practices, by reference to photographic knowledge.

His ability to do this, and to distinguish the quality of industrially produced, and home produced food, and to evaluate them in terms of their healthiness and the degree of humanitarian investment is, like Juliana's, a part of his performance of self-autonomy. His contrasts between 'microwavable stuff' and 'proper cooked stuff' match Juliana's contrasts between 'student food' and 'home food'. He applies the specification of unhealthy food, as that which is high in fat, salt, sugar, matching the HFSS term of official, nutritional advice, political debate, campaigning and pressure upon food manufacturers. We recall the advocacy of the health lobby, resistance by food producers, and media debate about the role of individual, personal responsibility in tackling an obesity crisis (Appendix 2v,vi,vii). The story of government framing of a response to obesity in terms of regulation of advertising and consumer self-management, rather than regulation of food production, has been told in the Literature Review. Alongside HFSS foods, Steve adds artificial flavours to the list. Associated, like Juliana's, with a commitment to change his situation for the better, this is a performance of a self-managing, self-entrepreneurial self.

Repeatedly, comparison is made, between the commercial photographs of ready meals and what the food really looks like after it is cooked. Reference is made in the transcript to his pointing to the photographs he took, and put in

his workbook, of those meals after he cooked them, and to the images on the boxes of the microwavable meals. We can see his combination of diegetic gesture, words of derision, mocking laugh, pausing, and spoken description of photographic technique, as a further link in the semiotic chain (Stein, 2003, p.58) that began with his interest in using a naturalistic, visual modality in the photographs of his own food preparation, to make the image resemble the food as it really is (figure 20). His departure from the sensory, visual modality (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.170) of food marketing and his use of speech and gesture in the interview, are part of his performance of authentic, self-improvement.

### Extract

M: and the feelings/ you get/

S: when you look at the meal *there* (pointing at the photograph of on the front of the 'ready meal' packet in the workbook) compared to *that* (photograph of the actual microwaved meal that he cooked) it's not (.) the same

M: (pointing at the same photograph) so what does that look like to you/

S: err (laughs in self-censorship as though he had been about to say "shit") it just looks a mess really (.) it looks cheap I guess (.) it looks even worse when you taste it (.) I think that's that one (pointing between photograph of cooked meal and photographs on the front of the packets of microwave meals, identifying the bought meal that he had cooked), or perhaps *that* one (.) and you just look at the *colour* of the meat (disgusted tone) and all the spaghetti and the sauce (.) obviously that's been (1) you know (.) they've changed the filters (.) and *that's* (pointing at the photograph of the microwave meal after it had been cooked) *completely* different

M: so what/ are you saying (.) that they've changed the filters and that kind of thing (.) so is/ it a rip-off/

S: ah (.) I watched this Youtube clip of how they take about three hours to take a picture of a microwaveable meal (.) and it takes six minutes to cook (.) and it takes that long to make it look decent

M: mm

S: *this* (pointing at the photo of the cooked meal) is the actual food (.) but they've just made it look better

M: so is part of what you don't like about it the con/

S: yeah

M: somebody's making a load of money out of something that's pretty crap

S: yeah it's just company trading (.) it never looks like what you get on the front of the packet (.) it's like at Mcdonald's (.) you always look at the pictures (.) but when you get the burger (.) it just looks nothing like the burger you get in the picture

M; you just shove it down to feel full

S: yeah

M: what does your mum's food look like/

S: not like (cresc.) *that*

(He guides me through the workbook, repeating the headings. He points at a photographic comparison, repeating the heading 'microwaveable and cooked' meals; he points to lists he made of the ingredients of microwavable meals that are marketed as healthy options, under another heading 'so-called healthier meals')

S: it's still not great (Then he points to the photographs of figure 6.3) and that was me trying to cook something I've never cooked before

In Steve, as in Juliana, the incorporation of healthy eating, alongside a critical reading of consumer culture, in personal food practice, is a means of getting a self-narrative, about becoming adult, back on track again. For both, having a self-entrepreneurial disposition addresses the need to rewrite a former narrative, which was about dependence upon home, with a new one about a trust in self. This is a self who is actively participating in consumer culture, by

interpreting the dominant myths, in particular those of 'stylistic self-expression' and 'individual sovereignty' which underpin it (Smith Maguire, 2015, p.4).

### Extract

S: when I phoned my parents last night and I said I just made a curry (.) and they said did you make it yourself/ they both asked that (.) which kind of annoyed me (1) I think they were just trying to encourage me

M: it's that old idea isn't it that all students eat processed food/

S: but I try to break away from the stereotype you see (.) and this (pointing to figure 6.3) shows it

### **Leona**

Once more, this participant is from Phase 3 of the fieldwork, and, like the other Graphics students at university, was asked to identify an aspect of food that mattered to her, to clarify her stance to the theme through research, and represent it through visual means.

This example again shows how healthy eating is a means of producing a self-narrative about being self-autonomous and improving the self. Again, as in the examples of Juliana and Steve, and Charissa in the last chapter, self-autonomy is associated with incorporating healthy eating and being someone who is seen to make better consumer choices than those who are consumer dupes. Again, there is a 'chronotopic' (Bakhtin, 1981) strategy in the self-narrative: the disclosure that she was an unhealthy eater when she was first at university, is compared with what she once was and what she will again be. As with those other participants, healthy eating is a discursive means of extricating herself from a self-narrative of dependency, being stuck in negative emotional habits, and orientating herself to an optimistic future. A discursive formation, as Foucault describes it, (Storey, 2006) from the domains of medicine, therapy, government, broadcast media, and advertising, amongst others, healthy eating is incitement to talk about self-management.

For this participant, a healthy eating discourse provides the means of critically reading the misrepresentation of unhealthy food by food producers and

advertisers. It enables statements of 'high modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.162) to be made - that is evaluation of what the producers and advertisers of unhealthy food are up to - with a high claim to authority. In this example, suture to healthy eating is also about female identity, and, in association with weight loss, healthy eating is also a technique of recovering the experience of ideal female embodiment. As in the self-narratives of Juliana and Steve, reference to the past is not returning to it, but is an engine with which to generate a self-renewal, by better managing herself.

Further, her use of the semiotic strata of discourse, design, production (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2000) and interpretation (Burn, 2005), in the visual artifact (figure 6.4 below), serve the interest of self-management, in critically reading the misrepresentation of unhealthy food, made by its producers and advertisers, that this is food that is desirable.





**Figure 6.4:** Traffic lights

In her poster, she uses the simple conceptual structure of traffic lights - three large circles, coded by colour - red, amber and green, each, in turn, signifying the states of danger, caution and safety. The traffic light code is thoroughly embedded in everyday practice, interactively prompting compliance: to stop,

to prepare and then to go. Its intertextuality connotes the massive institutional authority of those other uses. It is often used in public information texts, in institutional spaces, and where a health message is being made, in hospitals and doctors' surgeries, and in official, regulatory messaging, for example in communicating nutritional information on food packaging. It is the Food Standards Agency's official recommendation for communicating the level of fat, saturated fat, sugar and salt (Great Britain. Department of Health, Food Standards Agency, Welsh Government, Food Standards Scotland, 2007). Behind this recommendation lies three years of British government, E.C., WHO, advertisers' and producers' lobbying of interest, report, review and counter-review, and media coverage, about what is framed as an obesity epidemic (Lunt, 2011).

The key, at the bottom of the page, specifies, according to van Leeuwen's overview of visual-verbal linking (van Leeuwen, 2008), what the representational meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) of the sequence is: in turn, what is 'unhealthy', 'okay' and 'healthy' to eat. Each traffic light is a frame, within which the meaning is illustrated with a found image. For green, an image of slices of cucumber and one of a slice of pink watermelon are used; for amber, steak on a flaming barbecue grill and two loaves of bread; and for red, a KFC logo and an image of multi-coloured balloons are used - classifying all of the food associated with that logo as unhealthy. The authority of healthy eating discourses is transformed, in the evaluation of these foods, and the output of this food producer, to the high modality, that is the intense assertion of truth, in the traffic lights' representational function. There is an interest to get real about the responsibilities of the food consumer, and to call out this food producer.

The juxtaposition of the balloons and the KFC brand logo, and their location within the frame of the red light, problematizes the fast-food company's marketing strategies to children and families. In this way, a critical, ethical perspective upon them is established. As a part of this participant's performance, she shows that in her use of what, in van Leeuwen's discussion of modality, we may call an 'abstract truth criterion' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.168), she is ironizing the 'sensory modality' of KFC advertising, with its

colour signification of pleasure: saturated colour, strong colour palette, sharp articulation of detail, and so on. By locating the icon of Colonel Sanders, the American company's founder, in the red frame, she makes a logical extension of contrast, according to van Leeuwen's overview of visual linking (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.229). She further undermines the advertiser's use of the icon of Colonel Sanders, in an interdiscursive reference to the genre of horror film, in the sinister association of a smiling, avuncular image of the man with the image of a collection of multi-coloured balloons. Really, this is harmful food; and fast-food producers dissemble in their address to younger consumers.

The following extract of the interview follows on from her explanation of her intention to make an advertisement that could be put up in a doctor's surgery, and the meaning of the traffic light code. She extends the meanings of the poster by adding information about herself, in a narrative about her dissatisfaction with what she had become, through unhealthy eating, her desire to take charge of herself, recover what she remembered as an attractive body in her recent past, and raise her self-esteem in being around others. In this self-narrative, she uses a 'chronotopic' (Bakhtin, 1981) strategy as a means of driving a narrative of self-improvement: in the other place, and the other time of the Dubai beach, surrounded by other young, body-confident people, she was free of the debilitating, emotional habits of that Foundation year at university, associated with unhealthy eating. This focuses her desire for change, re-presents herself as potentially fit, healthy and in control, and dissociates herself from the person who put 'all the crap into my body'.

She then links to her interest in the design, a logical extension of purpose, as van Leeuwen (2008) describes it, in his overview of verbal linking: from 'so they look good' to 'so I wanted to portray a really clean and easy message'. Just as we saw in Juliana's design, the transformation of herself into the designer, producer and distributor of this poster, is a means of rethinking a sense of her own agency. In alliance with the healthy eating discourse, there is imaginative alignment with an individual, rational control over the consumption of food: a 'really clean and easy message' uncomplicated by emotional attachment, and student eating culture.

### Extract

L: I lived in Dubai for two years and it's very healthy eating and living over there (.) so when I came back here (.) from eating all the fat and everything (.) and doing Foundation and putting all the crap into my body I think it started to dawn upon me that I needed to start eating healthy again

M: and has it given you nice/ feelings/ does it remind/ you of Dubai all over again/

L: yeah it does yeah (.) eating healthy and exercising (.) with Dubai (.) I don't know really how to explain it but it's very body-conscious over there (.) the image (.) it's always on the beach (.) you're always like around people (.) people have all got a lot of money over there (.) so they look good (.) so I wanted to portray a really clean and easy message (.) that with everybody (.) traffic lights (.) everybody knows what the colours mean (.) red's always dangerous and green's always good to go for

In this narrative, she makes an aesthetic, and affective opposition, between being fat, embodying 'crap', and being 'beautiful', being rich and eating healthily. The association of individual, female work of perfecting the body and individual, economic advancement, resonates with McRobbie's (2012b) description of the remaking of young womanhood, and the post-feminist, female, individualistic subjective work, of shaping up within multiple spheres of self-improvement. Leona addresses slimness, fitness and beauty as the aesthetic symbols of hard work and self-improvement. The negative version of this cluster is the association of obesity and dependency (Appendix 2iv,v). As in the identity work of Juliana and Steve, the interest to address healthy eating is to build a self-narrative about yourself as someone capable of being successful by your own, individual efforts. For all three, their self-narratives repair a sense of themselves not having become sufficiently self-autonomous or self-entrepreneurial in the movement, in time and place, to the new territory of university, associated with the social and cultural expectation of becoming adult, and successful.

## HEALTHY EATING AND SELF ENTREPRENEURIAL ENERGY

### Catherine

We return to Catherine from chapter five, to extend this sense of how healthy eating serves the self-narrative of having a self-entrepreneurial disposition, by inviting a focus upon the individual's energy. Being energetic is key to a dominant, cultural representation of entrepreneurialism per se, both in the specification of dynamism, risk-taking, creativity and initiative in celebratory accounts of the entrepreneur, and in celebratory description of the role of entrepreneurialism in future, national, economic life. Personal energy is also key to the self who successfully engages with consumer culture, according to the dominant myths which underpin it, such as the stylistic self-expression, autonomous creativity, and commitment to having fun by the consumer (Smith Maguire 2015). In these participants' appropriation of healthy eating, they distance themselves from the characteristics of dependency and stasis, in dominant cultural representations of the poor and resonate with popular, dominant association of self-responsibility, will power and self-improvement (Appendix2 vi, vii).

We recall that Catherine is in Phase 3 of the fieldwork, and was asked to identify an aspect of food that mattered to her, to clarify her stance to the theme through research, and represent that through visual means. We recall how, as a part of the preparation for the artifact, she made a mind-map. In that, and in the subsequent interview, she identified a Mediterranean food culture, as a culturally intelligible form of having a functional, adult-like relation to food - one which she incorporated in her own self-performance as someone making progress. We note that this enabled her to make a route out of self-narratives to do with female eating disorder and body dissatisfaction. We might say that one issue, associated with negative feeling in the diagram, the surveillance of her own eating and food preparation, is not left behind, but rather transformed in the visual artifact (figure 6.5) and at the point we now re-enter the interview, in her self-performance as a champion of healthy eating.

Figure 6.5, below, shows one of two pages of tee-shirt designs. These designs, she explains in the interview, are a part of her healthy eating

campaign, aimed at students new to university, as part of freshers' week events. Her use of the semiotic strata of discourse, design and production (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2000) and interpretation (Burn, 2005), like Juliana, in her 'thumbs-up' poster, serves her self-transformation: imaginatively, in her communicative role, she assumes responsibility for the improvement of other, young people's lives. She incorporates the discourse of healthy eating. She creates the designs of the tee-shirts, using visual and written modes, and produces the campaign materials, in their rhetoric address to young people at university. She interprets the tee-shirt, in previous production, as a cultural resource used in the social interaction of meeting new people and establishing acquaintance and friendship. This is the tee-shirt as a semiotic resource for signifying personal identity. This usage has a long cultural history, in youth, fan, and political identification. It often speaks of personal allegiance and attitudinal stance.

She plays into two key affordances of the tee shirt, that is, its potential uses (van Leeuwen, 2008), in terms of being a semiotic resource of identity: as a garment, which is a part of an embodied performance, the meanings made by gesture, posture, movement and speech, and as a carrier of a printed, written message. She combines both aspects of the tee-shirt, imagining how the social interaction of students could serve her rhetorical purposes – of associating the healthy eating message with positive affect, and of encouraging more students to cook their own, healthy food.

The design ensures that the distribution of the written messages, that on the front of the tee-shirt, and that on the back, combine with the semiotic uses of the front and back of the body (van Leeuwen, 2008) and the 'front' and 'back' social regions (Giddens, 1984, p.122). This is to combine the 'reading path' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.218) with the social negotiation of bodies. The reader/person of social encounter must manoeuvre around the person wearing the tee-shirt to read the completion of the message on the back of the other person. The written text also plays into the break between speech acts, after one 'initial move' and 'response' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.249), and before the next, the punch line, in genres such as storytelling, joke-telling and banter. The double-entendre of the written messages accompanies the progress from

public-front to private-back (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.211). In figure 6.5, they read: 'LOOKS GOOD...**SMELLS GOOD**...TASTES GOOD...' then 'THAT'S MY DINNER'; 'HAD YOUR **fruit** TODAY?' then '**I have**'; and '**I'm A MAGNET**' then 'because I **COOK**' This is about a cheekiness in social interaction, and is a part of Catherine's transformation of the stern ethos of healthy eating discourse, associated with the authority of powerful, public institutions. This is a key part of the strategy of giving the healthy eating message credibility, for a generation of young people weary of its hectoring: avoiding a top-down communication, and associating the message with positive affect. The punch-lines, on the back, use a high 'objective modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.162), that is, they assert their truthfulness, but they use a personal voice to carry them. The wearer of the tee-shirt is an ambassador of healthy eating, as that role has been interpreted in such educational institutions. The tee-shirt structures further discussion about the cause.



**Figure 6.5:** Tee-shirts

Catherine also designed posters on the same theme. Just as in the tee-shirt designs, the creative process of making the posters is part of a 'chronotopic' (Bakhtin, 1981) strategy of self-performance: distancing herself from a younger identity, by aligning herself with other, adult food campaigners, in the logical consistency of her message with their campaigns. In her use of five-a-day campaigns, she addresses those which followed the publication of 'Healthy Weight, Healthy Lives' (Great Britain. Department of Health, 2008). In her advocacy for learning to cook from basic ingredients, to prevent obesity, she addresses healthy eating campaigns such as Jamie Oliver at TED, 2010, Jamie's School Dinners, 2005, Jamie's Ministry of Food, 2008, Jamie Oliver's Food Revolution, 2011, University Student Cooking TV, The Design Education Trust, 2009. In her ethical address to her student audience, and in her assumption of the roles of designer, producer and distributor (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2000), in her campaign, she constructs the identity of moral entrepreneur (Hollows and Jones, 2010), which resonates with Jamie Oliver's.

In the interview, she described how she listened to Radio 1 interviews, noted student confessions in the student magazine about their diets at university, and their lack of cooking skills, did a survey of student cooking facilities available on campus, and went through other students' food cupboards, to see what food items they actually used. This comment, showing me items from her workbook, is typical:

C: *this* is quite interesting (.) this is in our student magazine (.) and it was only on the third or fourth page (.) and it made me realise that there was a big issue with the student diet (.) and it was being talked about (.) but nothing was being done about it (.)

The extract that follows shows her self-performance as a creative person, explaining her design to me. She uses a genre of speech which moves between tutorial and the pitch of ideas for a food campaign. Her combination of outstretched hand gesture toward the design and speech fitted these purposes. She uses a can-do, entrepreneurial ethos to sell me her ideas. She moves the register in its informality, then formality, to secure the negotiation. She uses a knowledge of young people to explain her tactics to someone of



my age and gender, but, in her entrepreneurial role, she is beyond them. She uses a lexis of people management (students are to 'feel a part' of the initiative), and one of campaign launch ('spark off'; 'get energy flowing').

### Extract

C: mm (.) I wanted the students to feel that they wanted to be a part of it (.) and they could look attractive as well

M: so belonging to something and attractive at the same time

C: yeah (.) and cos (.) I don't know (.) blokes are different (.) but girls like someone who can cook for them (.) and vice-versa (.) so it could spark off a conversation and get energy flowing about this whole process of cooking

M: so it's like an invitation (.) and you're saying something nice about cooking (.) that if you met someone who wanted to cook for you that would be good

C: yeah (.) *first* off you wear the tee-shirt (.) and then you start saying "so you can cook/" and "yeah, I can" (.) and then "so you *prove* it to me"

M: so you feel positive/ about that

C: yeah

M: about someone who can cook

C: *yeah* (.) and I wanted students to feel that they could just try things out (.) like at home (.) I know from my research that not many people have tried out cooking (.) and that their parents have done it for them all of their lives so that when they got to university they just weren't aware of how to do things (.) so that by promoting it I think that I will make them just go out and want to try it out for themselves

On the one hand, in her self-performance, this participant associates healthy eating with a can-do energy and creativity; on the other, in her othering of students, in order to imagine being in control of a healthy eating campaign, she associates healthy eating with compliance to an adult perspective and to adult attempts to manage young people's ways of thinking and acting. In

negotiation with both of these connotations, suture to healthy eating has enabled her performance of a self-entrepreneurial identity, and of being a 'can-do girl' (McRobbie, 2012b): a contemporary version of young womanhood, counted for her adaptability in negotiating the conflicting roles of care for others and individualistic, self-promotion.

## **BEING FREE OF HEALTHY EATING**

The next two participants illustrate how a resistance to the healthy eating message was handled by some participants. In different ways, both show negotiations with their being both consumer subjects, incited by consumer market discourse to consume what they like, and young people who have been the target of the healthy eating message all of their lives, a message which calls upon them to regulate their eating, and their pleasure in it.

Goffman's distinction (Giddens, 1984, p.126), between 'front' and 'back regions', is helpful in discussion of their negotiations of 'meaning, norms and power', in their address to healthy eating, in the artifact and interview. This is not about an inauthentic public performance contrasted to a more real self behind the scenes. Unlike Charissa, Juliana and Leona, these participants seek to maintain the performance of being self-autonomous, of being self-improving and of making progress in being more adult without suture to healthy eating. The different ways that Bess and Jed do this show how conservation of consumer freedom intersects with a performance of gendered identity. Both of these participants are Graphic Design students in Phase 3 of the fieldwork. We recall that they were asked to identify an aspect of food that mattered to them, clarify their stance to the theme through research, and represent that through visual means.

### **Bess**

Bess typifies a strand of the work of female participants, representing the importance of keeping the pleasure of eating, against the grain of the healthy eating message. Here, as in those other examples, self-performance is negotiating with the surveillance of female eating, female pleasure and female bodies, and the social expectation that they should manage and control them.

This participant's visual artifact consisted of two textile objects, representing, in turn, a partially unwrapped chocolate bar, that is also a bed (figure 6.6), and a strawberry (figure 6.7). They are presented on two facing pages. There is writing in the top left and bottom right corners of the chocolate/ bed page, and the top left and bottom of the strawberry page. Discussion will focus primarily upon the chocolate/ bed artifact, which asserts the importance of her pleasure in eating what some would call unhealthy food.

Representationally, the chocolate/bed, like the strawberry, is primarily a conceptual structure. The bed is recognisably a modern art piece, its meaning-making driven by an art practice of creative innovation. Both objects are made, for the most part, from textiles - on closer inspection, items of clothing. The chocolate bar/ bed has a 'sensory modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.170), that is its truth is based on the visual prompting of thoughts and feelings of pleasure (or displeasure), by the amplification of the means of visual expression. This amplification includes: the detail of the image, every crease, fold and button sown; the high colour saturation and high colour modulation and differentiation; and high articulation of light and shadow range. In the use of the material, we need to add a high articulation of tactile affordances, such as texture in the different materials used. The artifact associates the meanings and pleasures of both objects - bed and chocolate - and the material used – clothes - in a metaphorical relay.

The artifact articulates the pleasure of anticipating and consuming chocolate, transforming it into the qualities of tactile pleasure. As a synchronic syntagm (Burn, 2005), or freeze-frame of a narrative, it offers the reader both the affective and intellectual pleasure of filling out the image's meaning, in reference to memory and imagination, and the pleasure of engaging with a story, predictively, or deductively: who was here, and what follows the unfurling of the purple Cadbury's wrapper around the chocolate? What occurred before the rolling back of the duvet? Its composition has particular reference to Conceptual Art, and female bricolage (Fennetaux, 2009), in its playful assemblage of domestic objects, within personal, domestic spaces. Most obviously, there is hypothetical reference to Tracey Emin's *My Bed*,

1998 (Tate Modern, 2018), featuring an unmade bed, a piece which sets out the terms in which personal identity is being negotiated in a public setting.



**Figure 6.6:** chocolate bed

In its representational functions, the artifact transforms (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.110) media discourses which routinely problematize unhealthy eating, young and poor people's eating practices (Appendix 2i,ii,iii,iv, v), and obese bodies and visually investigate them (Hollows and Jones, 2010). It does this by excluding the prime object of surveillance: the actor who consumes unhealthy food. Further, in its use of visual metaphor, it substitutes the concrete food object of unhealthy eating with the qualities of positive, sensory pleasure.

In its interactive function, as a conceptual art object, it also has a positive status, and may refer to positive, sensorial experiences of living. Making these transformations is the self-performance of a creative artist, culturally identified as someone with a function to challenge social assumptions. In the 'back region' of social performance, this self-disclosure and meaning making about so-called comfort food changes the power relationship between herself and those metaphorically present with her. As author, she is empowered to prompt spectators' self-reflexivity, rather than be, herself, the object of surveillance.

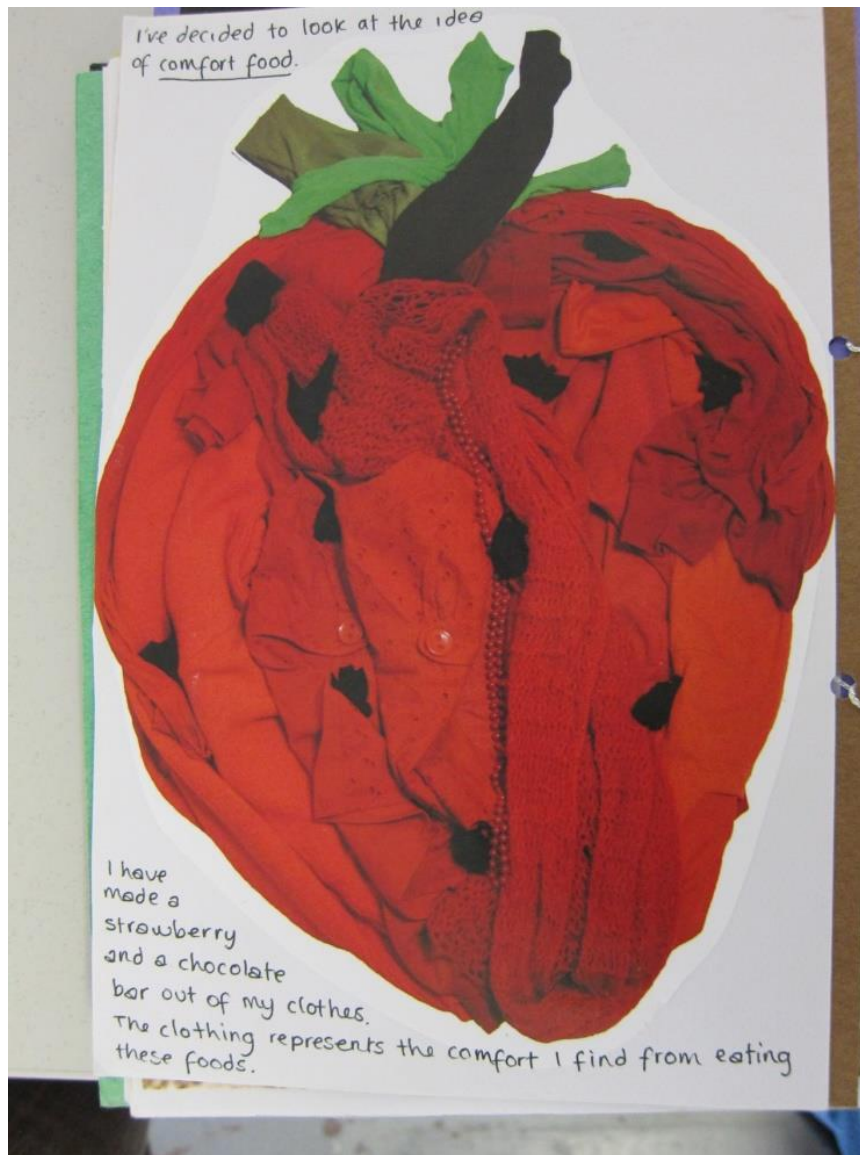
In the front region, of co-presence with researcher and tutor, her creative work, is a further means of empowerment in the university setting, evidence of someone who, as a student, is self-autonomous and self-improving. The attitudinal statements, written captions in a workbook, are cohesive, as explanation of the visual information (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.230), but further, discursively construct an adult, female identity, by assertion of the right to enjoy food for herself. She positions herself amongst other adult women who talk about making a settlement with food (Coward, 1985) in which constant, female self-policing is relieved by personal pleasure.

In the interview, she extends the meaning of the visual artifact, by adding further information about how she manages her emotional life, to further her self-identity as a person in control. She continues to transform the discourse, from being about unhealthy eating, and the association with failing to successfully manage yourself, to its opposite: the need for comfort food as a part of successful self-management and participation in the 'stylistic self-expression', 'individual sovereignty' and 'duty to have fun' of consumer culture (Smith Maguire, 2015). In this front region, she shows herself to be someone who confounds the association of unhealthy eating, obesity and social dependency, by being sufficiently in control and empowered to be ironic in her exchange with me.

### Extract

B: I just (.) well like (.) there's a thing between what I eat and what I wear sort of thing (.) with what I wear (.) if I'm going out somewhere I'll want to look good and I'll dress in smart clothes and stuff that will help me think better and

things like that (.) but if I'm not in a very good mood or if I'm angry (.) with someone I'll wear like wooly clothes and stuff like that (.) just to make myself feel better (.) and I'll do the same with food as well (.) like if I'm feeling very positive and I've got lots of ambition and everything like that I'll suddenly start eating a lot healthier (.) and if I'm in a bad mood (laughs) I'll just go back and eat my chocolate (laughs)



**Figure 6.7:** Strawberry

## Jed

This participant's resistance to healthy eating is more strident; but, like Bess, he legitimizes his distance from healthy eating by discursive transformation,

as described by van Leeuwen (2008), in the artifact and interview. We will see that this self-performance intersects with the performance of masculinity.

Jed constructs a kind of traditional, masculine identity for himself by distancing himself from the investment that women make in thinking about the healthiness of food, either as a part of a regime of personal bodily self-management, or as the management of others' wellbeing, in traditional family, female food work. He does this by taking two food items which, for him, epitomize healthy food, and he transforms their meanings: the vegetable, broccoli, into an oppressor, and the fruit, banana, into the victim in a horror film. The discursive transformations made are specified, by van Leeuwen (2008, p.110), as 'exclusion, rearrangement, addition and substitution'.

First, as exclusion, he leaves out representation of, or reference to all female, social actors and to all whose actions situate these food items as a part of social life – family and other socialities. Secondly, in rearrangement, he de-temporalises the food items from the stages of sourcing, making, serving, eating and sharing, which realise that investment in social wellbeing. Further, he locates food in outside, undomesticated space. In the experiments he conducts, these are unnamed, outside places. Thirdly, in addition, his incorporation of elements from a bull fight and a street protest, gives these spaces the identities of a city street and a bull ring. Fourthly, as substitution, he abstracts the qualities from the food items as enemy, and, in the metaphor of the bull for the vegetable, the quality of ritual victim. This undermines the symbolism of healthy food in its reference to caring for the self, and others, by nourishment and by controlling intake. Consumption of the food is substituted by acts of violence upon the food items – spearing and burning. In a sense, this transformation of careful handling of food is at the extremity of a masculinization of movement and action in a kitchen which has been a part of the transformation of domestic, kitchen space into the professional workplace of the male chef (Brownlie and Hower, 2007). In these transformations, his self-performance is of someone free of the ways of thinking and feeling that use healthy eating to manage his own consumption of food, to provide evaluation, purpose or legitimation; and free of any self-management that incorporates care of others through food practice.

In the artifact, his self-performance is realized in two aspects of a self-narrative: one of self-expression, in his stance to healthy eating, involving his attack upon the broccoli (figure 6.8), like that on the banana (figure 6.9); the other, in his narrative as a Graphic Design student, explaining the visual images as stages of experimentation. As a conceptual structure (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) both food objects are rendered as symbols of what he hates: the imposition of a social and cultural expectation to eat healthy food. Discussion will focus upon figure 6.8. As a symbol of oppression, the head of broccoli is speared, made to bleed and falls to its death; the narrative function of the wooden kebab sticks, as vectors of movement (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996), indicate the actions of an unseen assailant. The organization of distance and point of view positions the reader of the image as either a witness to, or a perpetrator of the violence, the gaze being sadistic. The sequence of the narrative follows that of the killing of a bull in the Spanish corrida: lancing, bleeding, more lancing, and death. The icons of the cocktail sticks and paint then signify the pics and blood.

The page layout is consistent with the performance of the Design student, his writing functioning to explain the images, in caption spaces. However, the register, tone and lexis of the writing actually extends the sadistic meaning of the visual images. His interest is in re-imagining the freeze frame as a sequence in which, the vegetable as an animal, is sacrificed, as a symbol of all other vegetables, and, in being killed, allows his cathartic pleasure: 'killing the broccoli - expressing the hatred toward it and other vegetables'. His explanation of the use of paint is about the pleasure of this sadistic play: 'through the use of red paint (blood) I made it seem as if the vegetable was a living animal'. The reporting function has the interest of explaining personal affect: - 'clearly an anti-veg statement has been made' ... 'expressing the hatred towards it'. On the right hand side of the page, further images act as logical extensions of the same interest, to substitute the concrete element of the vegetable, associated with the abstract quality of health, with the abstract quality of oppression. He does this by adding the discourse and imagery of street protest, including the ritual of burning a hated symbol. This meaning is anchored by the written text: 'Fire is something which is commonly found at



protests + rebellions, burning flags, documents, money etc' and the purpose described as 'how I could visually denounce broccoli'.



**Figure 6.8:** Broccoli



**Figure 6.9:** Banana

In interview, he continues this discursive substitution. In this extract, he extends the meaning of the artifact and the other images in his research workbook (e.g. figure 6.10). In the front region of the interview, he is motivated to sustain a distancing from the normative position to healthy eating, backed as it is by massive institutional power, by adding information which attempts to legitimize the stance he adopts in the artifact. The legitimation involves snippets of self-disclosure: the memory of being forced to eat greens as a child, and the experience of being pathologised, as an unhealthy eater, because of the food he likes to eat, according to media healthy eating campaigns. Both are associated with a feeling of powerlessness. The credibility of what he says rests upon a democratic ethos, apt in this university setting, a means to persuade me that he is motivated by an interest to represent the silent majority who, like himself, want to be free to consume what they like. The legitimation combines the vocabulary of protest with persuasion of me, associated with the university in my research, by showing that he is moderate and reasonable.

### Extract

J: (turning the pages of his notebook, and pointing to figure 6.10 and other pages) basically what I was going for was a protest against greens and saying how err throughout our life(.) like when you're a kid you're always forced to eat greens (.) I'm going against that really (.) protesting against that whole thing

M: what (.) endless people saying what you should and shouldn't eat/

J: yeah (.) it has become very trendy to say what diets and food they're eating (.) and I think most people would say that they dislike greens and vegetables and that kind of thing (.) so I was working with that (.) creating a protest against it

M: you know some of the design choices you made (.) how/ does that fit in with what you've been trying to say (M. looking over figure 6.10, the spaghetti letters saying 'STAND UP' and 'FUCK THE SYSTEM' and reading out the last) (.) that's quite a strong message isn't it (.) is that part of what you're trying to say about food/ it's about institutions as well/

J: yeah (.) that's the revolt really (.) going against it and its media image (.) and people like

M: people like/

J: people that obviously like that kind of food but "it's artificial" like (.) "it's bad" (.) "unhealthy food" (.) I'm just trying to promote this anti-green message (.) through (.) through the use of food you really like



Figure 6.10: Spaghetti letters

The image of the banana (figure 6.9) has the same interest: of organizing a sadistic gaze upon the fruit, as symbol of healthy eating, transformed into the victim of a horror film. According to Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) analysis of visual narrative, the vectors of action, in the slits in the skin, showing the glistening dark brown of the fruit within, 'making it into an object of unfamiliarity', similarly organise the reader's sadistic gaze. Again, the written report extends the meaning of the images, by 'compliment', in terms of van Leeuwen's overview of visual-verbal linking (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.230), and shares the same motivation. The writing invites the reader to share the point of view of the perpetrator, who 'physically distorted it...bruising' the banana, making what is 'familiar ... unrecognisable'. The method of bruising the banana is evaluated, with menace, as 'a technique which could be used again'.

His interpretation of horror visual style has an interest to undermine the design and production of visual texts, such as food advertising, food magazines, online and telly-chef television, which promote healthy eating by associating the social aspiration for it with the visual desirability of the food. He refuses the



‘sensory modality’ (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.170) of those images, and, replaces conventional narrative of food preparation, with sequences of images that have the logical extension of similarity, as van Leeuwen’s (2008) overview of visual linking describes, of representing the degradation of the healthy food symbol.

Jed’s displacement of healthy food from domestic space, and his self-performance, as the perpetrator of revenge in narratives about popular street protest and horror, is his means of both masculinising his self-performance and distancing himself as free from compliance to healthy eating.

Both Bess and Jed are able to incorporate the marginalization of healthy eating into their self-performances of being creative people. The meanings they give to food, in the territory of the university, are suitable for defining highly individualized, consumer selves, unencumbered by the compromises that have to be made in caring for another person, for example a child, a dependent adult, or a long-term partner. Although, this is a conservation of youth, both are motivated to incorporate self-entrepreneurial attributes of resourcefulness, inventiveness and risk taking, in the use of ‘discourse, design, production’ (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2000, p.4) and ‘interpretation’ (Burn, 2005, p.7) when they negotiate with the surveillance of adults. As such, they show their possession of the qualities highlighted in wider social discourses about successful, adult performance in the marketplace, and their distance from the association, in wider social discourses (Appendix 2 iv, v), of unhealthy eating, obesity, passivity, poor social skills and social dependency.

## **HEALTHY EATING AS A MEANS OF PROTECTING THE SELF-ENTREPRENEURIAL, SELF-NARRATIVE**

The next two participants illustrate the importance of healthy eating in self-narratives motivated to stress the progress that the individual is making toward being a self-autonomous adult. Both young adults are, according to biographies of education, work and housing, at later stages than Bess, Jed and other Phase 3 participants. The first, Liam, is 21 years old and is about to start his final year at university. He has been on a lengthy work placement, in

London, a 100 miles from home. The second, Faye is also 21 years old, has finished university, is living back at her family home and now works as a learning support tutor in a secondary school, having applied for a university PGCE course. Both are participants from Phase 1 of the fieldwork, and, as such were asked to use a video camera, in whatever way they wished, to address an aspect of food that mattered to them. Both participants make videos which are in social settings which signify an earlier stage of their lives – Liam back with old friends of his own age, a friend's family, in a traditional holiday setting and his own home; and Faye back home with her family. However, the interest, for both, is in the orientation of themselves to the future.

Unlike Bess and Jed, who marginalize healthy eating, as not the way to understand their self-autonomy, Liam and Faye negotiate with it differently, in order to protect themselves, in their videos, from possible, negative, social judgment. Liam does this by using the video camera to align himself with the official health message, and to be seen to judge unhealthy eating accordingly. This is to repair his appearance in the video, as someone enjoying unhealthy eating with his friends. Faye uses the video camera to constrain the judgments which others might make about the healthiness of the food she is seen to prepare, according to the official health message. For both, the camera is a powerful tool of social judgement, a technology grounded more in popular television's inspection of other people's social practices, including the surveillance of others' food practices, than in Chalfen's description of 'home mode' (Buckingham, Pini and Willett, 2009, p.71).

### **Liam**

This chapter uses two chapters of a video, filmed by Liam. It also uses an extract of the subsequent interview in which he links a narrative about himself to the video's final chapter.

The video features three 21 year old male friends, and the parents of one of them. The friends are at different universities, and meet up for a weekend away, camping near a seaside town in Norfolk, a traditional holiday resort for the working, and lower-middle class population of their home city in the English Midlands. They camp near to the tent of one of the friends, Alan's,

parents. This place has a long history as a place of holiday for that friend and his family. The video documents the friends' consumption of food during the weekend, and their conversation during the preparation, serving, buying and eating of different foods. It is divided into six chapters, each a moment of consumption. There are four settings in the video: the campsite, sharing breakfast on two occasions, then, later, preparing and eating a barbecue; the promenade of the seaside resort, buying and eating traditional seaside holiday food; the pub, choosing and eating food; and, in a coda to the film, the home of one of the friends, choosing and eating breakfast, then, later, showing the food that was prepared by his mother for an evening meal. The pub scene involves the young men together; in the other scenes, there are moments when a parent makes an appearance, but the majority of all scenes focuses upon the young men.

These two chapters are videoed by this participant, Liam; elsewhere, some videoing is done by another friend, Adrian. However, all three of the friends actively contribute to the video in their performances. Their use of video works away from what is, at the time of the fieldwork, a popular genre of domestically situated camcorder use, at this time: that of 'home-mode' (Buckingham, Pini and Willett, 2009, p.24, Pini, 2009, p.71f). This is the recording of relatively banal, familial events, often in domestic settings, constructing family identity, as a photo-album does. Together, the friends make this video a youthful spoof (Willett, 2009b) in which the friends are seen to be managing the contradictions of healthy eating and its culturally sanctioned deregulation, in eating holiday food (Williams, 1997) and in enjoying friendship. In addition, we see how Liam uses the camera to play into fly-on-the-wall techniques of popular television documentary: using it to observe the family's and friends' food practices and make verbal comment, like the synchronised voice-over of documentary. Throughout the video, he is focused upon identifying the unhealthiness of the family's food practices and the holiday food which he and his friends voluntarily eat, in the promenade and pub scenes.

What is clear, not just in Liam's interpretative work, but in the self-positioning of all in the video, is the socially toxic nature of unhealthy eating, and the motivation to be seen as a healthy eater. This includes Alan's mother's

guiding the young men through the contradictions of treats and healthy eating, and Alan's defence of his family food culture. The presence of a video camera in domestic space was here, as in all videos in the fieldwork which featured an adult, a prompt for the adult to show that they were responsible gatekeepers of healthy eating in the family. Similarly, there was a strong interest in participants, across the study, to represent their own family's good food culture, by showing that they ate healthily, and ate 'proper meals' and 'family meals' (Murcott, 1997). The surveillance of other people's unhealthy eating practices and bodies, according to an obesity agenda, is modeled in the genres of contemporary food television (Appendix 4): in 'social investigation' programmes (for example, Channel 4's *Jamie's Ministry of Food*, 2008); in 'body horror' programmes (for example, *Supersize Teens: Can't Stop Eating*, 2009; *Fat Families*, 2010); the development of the 'self-improvement' programme (for example, *Supersize v Superskinny*, 2010); and in the hybrid 'celebrity chef', 'cooking demonstration' and 'campaign' programmes (for example, *Jamie's American Food Revolution*, 2011).

In this first extract of the first chapter, we see Liam's interest to make a critical reading of the healthiness of the host family's food. He uses the affordances of the camera to do this: using camera movement, framing, use of zoom, and use of the inbuilt mic to ironise the claims of healthy eating that are being made, particularly by the mother. The occasion is breakfast, outside of the parents' caravan, on the campsite. Before this moment, Liam has been filming the friends sitting around, having a conversation about the events of the previous evening – cinema, fish and chips and beer - as they wait for breakfast to be served. Breakfast is being prepared by Alan's mother in a caravan out of shot.

At the beginning of this extract, the mother is filmed standing in the doorway of the caravan, presenting eggs frying in a pan to the waiting friends (figure 6.11). The theatricality of the gesture is her self-presentation as host, and the pleasure of food that is offered as a treat, part of holiday food. Liam and Adrian's engagement with this pleasure includes Liam's use of emphasis, Adrian's and Liam's hyperbole, Adrian's mimicking of a cymbal and Liam's reactive shot of the mother in the doorway, then his zooming in to the pan of



eggs. However, this extract shows the beginning of a distantiation by Liam, which becomes a firmer position in his use of the video over the weekend. The logical extension, by contrast, according to van Leeuwen's (2008) overview of visual linking, developed in the movement from fried eggs to a held shot, in which a bowl of fruit is salient (fig 6.12), and then back to the plate of fried food, is motivated to point at a contradiction in the mother's self-performance as guardian of healthy eating. This is anchored in the voice-over: 'Love the juxtaposition of the healthy fruit and the lovely fried'.



**Figure 6.11:** Fried eggs



**Figure 6.12:** Fruit bowl

The camera allows for this ‘back region’ (Giddens, 1984, p.122f) negotiation of Liam’s, individualized identity, whilst, in the ‘front region’ he plays with his friends in a different, spoof meaning-making. In that, he participates in equal power relations and performs the identity of friend. Savvy about how the camera is organizing an inspection of the food - zooming-in and holding the camera above the food – the friends comically play into roles of instructional documentary. On the inspection of the plate of fried food, the friends position themselves to the normative expectation of healthy eating, and Alan, is playfully cast in the role of unhealthy eater. The comic effect, for them, is in the playful transformation of food they want to eat into the serious object of inspection by a camera. The use of emphasis upon ‘healthy’, linked to deictic language, is key to their play with the objectivity of the healthy eating message.

Nb. The pdvd references belong to the image-grabs in the thematisation (Appendix1).

Again transcription is according to Appendix 3, except stress shown by italicisation.

**Table 6.1** Fried breakfast

<b>Sound</b>	<b>Visual</b>
	l/s of Alan’s mother, in doorway of caravan, holding pan of eggs toward camera
Alan: oh yes (.) the <i>eggs</i> are ready	
Alan’s mother: you’ve got to show us how this is done	zoom into c/u of pan of eggs (figure 6.11;pdvd 000)
Narrator Liam: that’s brilliant (.) that’s very good/ (.) thank you very much	zoom out form Alan’s mother and pans to Adrian, scratching his throat
Adrian: a breakfast of kings (dim) as it is said	m/s of Adrian; foreground bowl of

Sound	Visual
Narrator: the best start to the day (.) definitely	oranges and bananas (figure 6.12; pdvd 001)
Sound of Alan mimicking symbol played with a wire brush, producing rhythmic swishing sound	
Narrator Liam: love/the err juxtaposition of the healthy fruit and the lovely fried	
Narrator Liam: oh my word (cresc) (1)	pan across to l/s of Alan's mother handing out a plate of cooked breakfast follow shot of plate being swung into full view
Alan: look at <i>that</i>	
Narrator Liam: look at <i>that</i> that's beautiful (.) so what/ have we got there	c/u of plate of bacon, sausage, egg, beans, fried bread (pdvd 003)
Alan: well (.) that's Narrator Liam: sausage, bacon (.) what's / that fried bread/	
Alan: that's fried bread (.) that's healthy <i>brown</i> bread there	
Adrian: healthy <i>brown</i> fried bread	

Sound	Visual
Alan: (laughing) yeah <i>healthy</i> (all laughing) fried bread (.) <i>these</i> are baked beans and <i>this</i> is an egg and <i>this</i> is a strip of bacon	
Narrator Liam: mmm I've been trying to stick to poached eggs since January	m/s of Alan looking at this plate of food, pensive with hand to chin

Similarly, in the promenade scene, Liam uses the camera to develop the self-reflexivity of being a healthy eater, and of being separate from the unhealthy eating around him. He repeats the same cinematographic strategy. He combines voice-over, which describes the unhealthiness of the food on offer, with pan shots across stalls selling donut, hot-dog and ice-cream. He cuts to close-ups and mid-shots of his friends (figure 6.13), to inspect their decision making. As in the earlier breakfast sequence, his representation undermines the performance of Alan's mother, who seeks to be an ambassador of healthy eating, helping the young men to negotiate with holiday food, and maintain a balance between enjoyment in novelty and health.

In the barbecue scene, he juxtaposed shots of healthy salads and fruits, displayed on the table, with close-ups of steak on the barbecue, and a mid-shot of Alan's father attending to them, to extend logical links of contrast (van Leeuwen, 2008). On both occasions, he has an interest to negotiate the identity of being a critical reader of these traditional food practices, from a healthy eating position. Meantime, in the 'front region', in the co-presence of friends, he participates in the banter about the pleasure in these foods, and constructs an identity as friend. The role of food in constituting social

belonging is the focus of the next chapter, which will include further discussion of this group.



**Figure 6.13:** Decisions

At the end of the video, Liam added a coda to the video - three brief video diary scenes filmed on returning home: him eating breakfast; presenting his evening meal to camera; and eating a further breakfast. No longer needing to negotiate the two regions of co-presence, he now focuses upon the dialogue with the surveillance of healthy eating. In the breakfast scenes, visual information from the camera which accompanies his eating his breakfast and his gaze around food cupboards, is combined with a spoken commentary about the contrast between the unhealthy food he had eaten on holiday and his own eating practices. This is also repair work for being seen to have enjoyed eating unhealthily with his friends.

He interprets the weekend away and return home as a survival narrative. Adopting a tone of exhaustion, and using hesitation to communicate coming to terms with trauma, he speaks to camera, framed in a simple m/s (figure 6.14) as he eats his healthy cereal: 'I'm trying to just er get back to some sort of healthy routine after the er terrible onslaught of food I've put my body under over the last three days.' Similarly, the final scene shows him, early morning,

sorting through packets of cereal, bran and muesli, discarding waffles, in an attempt, as his commentary says, 'not to eat too much rubbish'. An agitated hand-held camera pans across the packets as he reads aloud salient ingredients for the health-conscious person, such as vitamin and salt content.



**Figure 6.14:** Liam's coda

In the second sequence of the coda, he presents the food that his mother has cooked to camera. By combining the inspection of the food, in close-up, with the verbal specification by his mother, he organises its appreciation, according to cooking competition and telly-chef, food television genres. Her naming of food, in the lexical field of the foodie, is a part of her self-performance, which includes being a gatekeeper of food standards. As a part of his text, it serves Liam's interest, in constructing a middle-class family identity for himself which is differentiated from the other family on holiday, in the traditional, working class holiday resort. In this association of meaning, he cooperates with the social myths which underpin consumer culture, of 'stylistic self-expression', 'individual sovereignty and the privatization of freedom' and the 'democracy of goods which promises egalitarian access to the good life' (Smith Maguire, 2015). For him healthy food is associated with engagement with foodie culture, and extends the meaning of belonging to a socially aspirant family.

**Table 6.2:** the special food of Liam's mother

Sound	Visual
Liam: what's for dinner tonight mum/	m/s of Liam's mother, looking down toward an unseen plate
Liam's mother: roasted tomatoes and peppers in the oven (.) with fresh broccoli and sauted potatoes and garlic with chicken	camera pans down to food
Liam: you've got some chicken in there	
Liam's mother: with pancetta	
Liam: you've got some pancetta in there as well with bacon and mushrooms	

In interview, he uses this scene, on-screen, to extend the meaning of her resourcefulness and commitment to a high standard, to a self-disclosure about his own ambition. This extension is in the next extract, below. In it, healthy eating, cosmopolitan food style, geographical mobility, and upward social mobility cohere as the self-entrepreneurial disposition he wants to be read by.

L: a bit of a change from barbecue and relish

M: 'creme fraiche, white wine sauce'

L: she likes that (.) the whole process and she's very eager to describe every aspect of the meal and she only (.) she likes to give us good food and she's almost proud that she's made this meal so she'll be quite proud about the way she speaks about it (.) if we didn't like it she'd be quite offended by it

M; really

L: yeah

M: would she make food like that quite regularly/

L: yeah (.) probably say we'd eat to that standard at least three times a week (.) she loves to watch food television (.) cookery books Nigella Lawson Jamie Oliver in America (.) she watches it all the time so I guess it's just kind of that culture having a bit of pride in what you cook

What follows from this, in the interview, is a self-narrative which develops a contrast between dispositions and future success. He uses a 'chronotopic' (Bahktin 1981) strategy to contrast his younger self, limited to local, geographical and social settings, with his present self, free of them. He produces a contrast in cultural capital, between former friends who never went to university and himself. He associates unhealthy eating with being stuck in a rut; and healthy eating is associated with all kinds of positive mobility, and the ability to be successful anywhere. This orientation to the future was extended, as a part of his self-disclosure, after this extract, when he talked about his applications for work in this, his final year at university, and his hope that an earlier work placement with a London advertising agency might turn into a real job. His self-performance is tuned to a norm of self-entrepreneurialism, an orientation of his self-narrative to the future, our being together in the interview setting of a city-centre tapas restaurant, and an imaginative co-existence in the territory of cosmopolitan, adult life.

L: a lot of friends that have gone to uni (.) they start to look at themselves as they (.) they start to think about what they're eating and they're cooking and bringing it together (.) a lot of friends that are still at home and working (.) they're not really bothered (.) they work all day and they're not really bothered and food is an afterthought (.) and they'll eat as they go along (.) lots of trips to KFC in the evening

M: just picking stuff up

L: yeah (.) just picking stuff up

M: but the priority's with doing stuff (.) with friends or whatever/

L: yeah (.) and exercise isn't probably a priority (.) it's just going out in the evening and socialising and food is what tastes nice and is easy



M: so do/ you say that the agenda changes when personally people start to notice that something is happening to their body

L: definitely yeah (.) I definitely think so (.) yeah (.) I have a lot of friends who put weight on (.) not because of metabolism but because they're fit and healthy (.) they're really not bothered, you know (1) five fried breakfasts a week, Greggs for lunchtime (.) fish and chips for evening (.) people like myself are probably a couple of years ago begin to put a little bit of weight on (.) will feel guilty if they start to eat that way erm and will start to make more of an effort to have home-cooked food (.) because you can see every aspect that's gone into that (.) (He gestures toward the video screen i.e. his mother's cooked food.)

L: ...food says about you that you're in the know (.) you're in the new, nice posh place to be and the food's similar (.) something different (.) it (.) yeah you're definitely making a comment about yourself

M: and there are a lot of blokes getting into it now/

L: yeah (.) it's very cosmopolitan now (.) very new age don't you think (.) to care about what you eat

M: it's quite acceptable now to see a bloke into food/

L: yeah (.) definitely (.) it's almost seen as cooler as it were for a guy to care about food and people would say (.) at uni (.) if you're eating frozen food all the time people will make comments like (.) 'all he eats is frozen food god (.) geeez he eats bad doesn't he?' (.) yeah definitely it's regarded as cooler in young people's eyes to eat well (.) definitely and yet again you get that lad culture where it doesn't matter because it's about the whole experience and just having a good time and a few beers

## **Faye**

This participant is twenty one years old, and has recently returned home to live, after university. She now works as a learning support tutor in a secondary school, in the nearby city. She is waiting to hear if her application for a place on a university PGCE course has been successful. This example further

illustrates how healthy eating is a part of adult self-reflexivity, and how participants associate it with being under adult surveillance. Returning to a former setting, associated with an earlier phase of the personal biography, here to the family home, after university - in Liam's example to the setting of a family holiday with old school friends - is a further prompt to construct a self-entrepreneurial, personal identity: of someone who is not stuck in the present setting, and not still dependent upon trust in the care-givers of earlier life.

Being seen to be a healthy eater does not contribute the most to this participant's narrative of personal progress. Most traction to that narrative is given by showing how she is disposed to improving her knowledge of food. In the video, it is mostly about engaging with the world of food, looking forward to travelling the world and improving her experience of food and food cultures. In the interview, it is a narrative about her authenticity. On the one hand, she shows that she is resourceful, as shown in her having coped on £10 a week for food at university, and that she is becoming more knowledgeable about food and is improving her abilities with food. On the other, she is a critical reader of the mediation of food's meanings, in foodie and healthy eating discourses, for example: the latter because it encourages obsessive attitudes to food, rather than the development of a healthy attitude to food. In this extract, her interpretation of her grandmother's stories is a part of her historicising healthy eating as a movement of the moment.

#### Extract

F: it's been this kind of massive movement that as far as I'm aware has happened very recently and wasn't really (.) happening some years ago (.) and people are much more aware of what they should eat (.) whether they do or not they are aware that they *should* do and especially now that you've got GM foods and counting calories (.) it's become almost like an obsession now (.) people are much more aware of what they're eating and what goes into their food than probably they were

M: but does/ that become a pain in the neck/

F: (cresc.) yes (laughs as though in response to the force of her reply) (1) I don't really think about it (.) but I have friends who say I've had this many calories today (.) and usually if you go out for dinner (.) they will only have certain things because they don't want to go above a certain amount of calories (1) sometimes you've got to let go a little bit (.) don't go mental obviously (.) don't go and eat nothing but chocolate food

M: it seems very controlled

F: it's quite repressive

M: I think so

F: all the time

M: takes a lot of living with doesn't/ it

F: yeah (2) my grandma's attitude to food (.) she (1) I mean she was quite young during world war two but she still grew up with ration books and things (1) when suddenly you could (.) you could just have what you want when you want it (.) she still has that mentality because she can remember when she wasn't allowed to do that and when you could have what you want she didn't want people to do that (1) but now it seems to have gone through that (.) and now it's 'you *can* have what you want (.) but you *shouldn't*' (.) there's this real thing (2) I dunno (.) there's this constant (.) back to tv again (.) all these diet programmes and stuff you read about these celebrities who think they are not too fat or whatever and then there's all these cookery programmes around about making good food and it just seems to be a strange combination (1) they want you to cook nice food but they don't want you to eat too much of it (laughs)

The contrast between this self-performance, which feels like a 'back region' (Giddens, 1984, p.122f) negotiation of a distance from the official norm of healthy eating, and that in the video, is important. In the video, although she persists with the self-performance of being authentic and a critical reader of social discourses, she pays particular attention to healthy eating, by guarding against a spectator's view of her as an unhealthy eater. This shows how toxic

that judgement is to a self-narrative about personal progress, and how the objectification by a video camera is a dangerous tool of social judgement. Reference was made, in the introduction to this section, of how the camera, in the television of social investigation, has been a technology which exposes the actors, in the obesity narrative, as hopeless and socially dependent. The example of Liam showed how the camera enabled his self-distantiation from the unhealthy eating of others.

As a participant in Phase 1 of the fieldwork, she was asked to use a video camera to address an aspect of food that mattered to her. She made a video of three scenes, which show her, at home in the family kitchen, preparing breakfast, lunch and then a packed lunch for work the next day. The technology transforms personal practice, in the relatively private, kitchen space at home, into a public performance in a 'front region' (Giddens, 1984, p.122f) available to all. She negotiates the disclosure and enclosure of herself in a number of ways.

First, she controls what is seen: she holds the camera in her hand, as she prepares food, which means that her actions and resources are in focus. She uses the affordances of the camera as part of her self-performance as self-autonomous, in the power relationship with her spectators. She is not filmed by someone else; she does not show her face and the frontal zone of her body.

She uses the camera's lightness as a part of her energetic movement in the kitchen. She sometimes uses shot selection to point out the healthy food resources that she uses, are in her kitchen and thereby a part of her habitus. She uses the panning technique to integrate that information with the ceaseless activity of her preparation. Secondly, she uses the in-camera mic, in combination with the visual information, to extend positive meanings about herself – her autonomy, the busyness of her life and the cultural capital that she possesses – and the healthiness of her food.

In this extract, she is preparing a packed lunch to take to work. Although, camera movement is often a part of her physical movement, the held shot of the fruit interrupts her movement across the kitchen, and is followed by a

further panning across other fruit items. The visual information about her healthy diet is extended, by compliment, according to van Leeuwen's (2008) overview of visual-verbal linking, by saying how much she likes and eats fruit, and depicting her family as fruit-eaters. She repairs any damage done by referring to her food grazing, at odds with the structured eating of the proper meal, in healthy eating discourse, by foregrounding her busy schedule of work and leisure activities. As a part of extra-curricular, self-improvement, cutting corners and using convenience food is a part of a middle-class identity (James, Curtis, Ellis, 2009).

Nb. The pdvd references belong to the image-grabs in the thematisation (Appendix1).

Speech is notated according to the code in Appendix 3, except stress which is italicised.

**Table 6.3:** Faye's busy food preparation 1

Sound	Visual
Faye: normally I just graze throughout the day	a canted shot of her hand just having released microwave control, in her left hand side of the fridge, to the right a basket of letters, messages and bills (pdvd 012)
toast and fruit (.) and things (.)	rapid pan left across food processor, recycled bottles and glass, then back right across microwave, letter rack and fruit bowl to unopened bag of pears leant against tiled wall and spaghetti container
I love fruit	
we haven't got much at the moment (.) I love apples	pan across packet of bananas and opened bag of apples

**Sound**

and plums (.) plums are my favourite  
(1) mmm we have loads of kiwi fruit  
but I'm allergic to that (.) so I can't  
have that

mm I eat loads of fruit every day and  
(.) and toast and things (1) my mum  
calls me a grazer er (.)

I eat little and often (1) now that  
I'm working

I do take lunch to work because I only  
have twenty minutes to  
eat in the day so obviously I err (2)  
have to

err (2) have to eat then (1) but  
normally (.) mm I don't bother every  
weekend I'm out (.) normally every  
weekend I'm out with the horses (.) at  
competitions where you (.) eat when  
you have time really

**Visual**

Slow pan across apples and packet  
of plums and packet of kiwi fruit in  
bowl

pan left across all of the foods back to  
the microwave and to bread bin and  
rolls on surface in front of it

big pan across the room in a blur of  
images to the room adjoining, then  
door of a tall fridge that is opened,  
revealing

an array of foods in jars, packets, tubs  
etc., brightly lit (pdvd 013)

camera moves into fridge as her hand  
extends into it to reach for the spread;  
then various boxes are uncovered  
and inspected:

camera moves down to a lower shelf;  
then rapid, blurred pan

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Her use of 'proper' is interdiscursive, addressing the association of proper meals with healthy eating. She negotiates the danger of being misjudged by her audience in her stress and ironic tone. In speech, she explains the busyness of her life, signifying her energy and self-autonomy. Her critical response to possible criticism constructs her identity as a critical thinker: grazing is not necessarily unhealthy. The anaphoric reference 'I don't actually thinks that's unhealthy' refers back to 'snacking'. She stresses the family identity of healthy eating in the repeated use of 'we'.

**Table 6.4** Faye's busy food preparation 2

Sound	Visual
all the time there aren't really moments where you could allocate	Rapid pan across kettle to door frame; tracking shot to fridge
having a <i>proper</i> lunch (.) it was the same at uni really (.) we didn't really have time a lot of days to have lunch (.)	m/s of contents of fridge  fridge door closes; tracking shot past door frame to work surface and bread bin
we have lectures around lunch so I just snack	pan across sink, food processor, microwave and letter/photo rack
throughout the day (.) usually erm (.)	tracking shot to breadboard and roll and salad
a lot of my family are just the same (.) people in my family tend to eat in the day whenever the mood takes them (.) they don't really have a sit down meal (.) this is my lunch for tomorrow and Friday (.) it's only in the last couple of weeks that I've found myself a proper job that I've started to eat properly in the middle of the day (.)	pan back to food processor, microwave and letter rack; tracking shot to bread board, roll and salad  c/u of cut roll being spread

## Sound

## Visual

I think I prefer snacking to be perfectly honest (.) because if I get hungry in the middle of the day I've just got to stay hungry until my *allocated* dinner time (1) I don't actually think that's unhealthy if I'm particularly honest (.) because I eat fairly healthy things (.) we don't have (.) we've never had loads of sweets in the house or fizzy drinks (.) and when I went to uni I never bought these things either

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## CONCLUSION

This chapter has added to what was said, in chapter five, about healthy eating being an important discursive framework within which these young people measure their ability to manage themselves independently. They have learnt from the official, state-sponsored healthy eating messages, and their mediation by institutions of mass communication and by family and friends, that there is a normative, social expectation that they will increasingly take charge of the health of their bodies as they become more adult. Being a healthy eater is a sign of the greater personal independence expected of adults. As such, healthy eating is a technology for being a self-reliant individual, as young people adapt to movements from home to university, and from university to home and places of work.

Healthy eating provides a means of making a self-narrative about personal progression outside of the family. For some participants, demonstrating that they were now managing to be healthy eaters, was a way of getting a self-entrepreneurial narrative back on track, and a means of self-esteem after self-disappointment: for example, Juliana, Leona and Steve, after a first year of unhealthy eating at university, Catherine after living a negative association of food and body-dissatisfaction a means of self-esteem. Healthy eating, as self-



management, is a means for young people to show others that they had a self-entrepreneurial disposition characterised by independence, resourcefulness and self-improvement. The analysis has shown that this disposition has ethical and affective depth.

This chapter has shown that these young people have learnt that healthy eating is a vocabulary which they can use to negotiate with the consumer market of food, and extend their sense of themselves as performing more adult identities, as savvy consumers: on the one hand, experiencing the increased freedom of choice, and the new roles of food sourcing and preparation, in new territories; and, on the other, being critical readers of food producers, caterers and advertisers – of interpreting their representation of food and their motivation, and making contrast between the interest to make a profit and the care and sustenance of home food. Juliana and Steve illustrated that well.

Relocation to university may prompt the interpretation of habitus, of taken for granted home food practices, into values which can serve a self-entrepreneurial self-narrative: investing work in improving capabilities, learning to be self-sufficient and improving wellbeing. Healthy eating, along with consumer savviness is, then, in the movement across time and place, a means of generating a trust in the self. As in chapter five, we have seen that settings, symbolic of earlier biographical stage, such as the family holiday, for Liam, and the family kitchen, for Faye, - prompt the interest in participants to assert themes of self-autonomy and self-improvement in their self-narratives.

This chapter has also shown that in incorporating or resisting healthy eating in the self-narrative, these young people are negotiating with how they have learnt to think and feel as gendered subjects. Bess illustrated a female interest in maintaining personal space from the social and cultural expectations that women are available to the gaze of others, and that women should police their eating. Jed illustrated a male interest in distancing himself from food work which women have traditionally invested in, and in forceful, self-assertion. Both Bess and Jed assert the right to constrain healthy eating by exercising consumer freedom to choose. In Bess's case, this is also an engagement

with a wider social, female settlement to deregulate self-policing in food consumption. In Jed's case, this is also an engagement with a wider, social resistance of men to engage with food work.

All participants illustrate the power that a healthy eating discourse has to shame them. The examples of Liam and Faye show how even those not committed to a healthy eating message know that it is so associated with successful self-management, that each needs to police their distance from it carefully, extending the visual representations of their food practice, in the videos, with speech that is sufficiently on message. As in chapter five, we saw how the artefacts were an important part of their self-narratives of personal progress – instances of their personal resourcefulness, creativity, and critical ability - combined in the interviews, to position themselves to the healthy eating message.

## **Chapter 7: Making sociality through food**

### **CONTENTS**

- Introduction
- Marrakesh dreams: the pleasure of forgetting about female food work
- Stepping outside she is free: trusting the self to make a go of it at university
- Self-entrepreneurialism and bringing people together at university
- Making a virtue of necessity: returning home and redefining family
- Conclusion

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with the theme of food being used to make ideal forms of adult sociality. It will show that the young people in this study have an interest to show that they are making progress in using food to bring themselves and others together in ways which support a self-entrepreneurial, self-narrative, unencumbered by kinds of adult food agency they perceive to be negative.

Although the theme is addressed by both male and female participants (Appendix 1), it is addressed differently. The last two chapters have prepared us for the fact that being good with food has a more profound reach in female subjectivity.

Chapter five's focus upon female participants showed that construing an adult, female self who would be able to function well in the future meant young women learning to manage the self at many levels: managing desire for a so-called ideal female embodiment; investing in the support of others' healthy eating; conserving social belonging; and managing new versions of themselves, free of negative, emotional connotations of eating and being subjected to the surveillance and damaging judgments of others. Engagement with the consumer culture of food, and the social myths which underpin it, was a way of figuring a more adult and positive orientation toward food and eating.

Chapter six showed that, for female participants, all aspects of self-management, through healthy eating – controlling the healthiness of the food, the production of personal body shape, and emotional well-being – were internalized as ethical self-judgments, associated with their being the objects of routine surveillance and judgment by others. Echoing chapter five, chapter six also showed that looking out for others, as big-sisters or the like, was an expectation that a number of young women stitched into their self-performances.

In this chapter, this complexity is developed. It will show that a female address to what is ideal in sociality and food, involves a complex range of negotiations between self-autonomy and the cultural expectations about female food work that constrain female agency. To deal with that range, the chapter has a higher representation of female participants. Across the fieldwork, most male participants situate ideal sociality and food outside of the family, distancing masculine self-identity from the obligation to care for others, and from domestic settings. The example of Jed, in the last chapter, illustrated a masculine, discursive transformation of female food: masculinising the handling of food and removing it from domestic food spaces. Male identity through consumption, and not food work, has also featured in the example of the group of friends on holiday, in chapter six. In the next chapter, the theme of the making of male sociality, through food consumption, will be developed, in reference to that group of friends, in its intersection with class identity. That chapter will also feature the masculinization of food work, through the professional identity of the ‘telly-chef’ (Richmond, 2008), as a part of a construction of class identity.

This chapter continues the organization of putting younger participants first, followed by older ones, in order to prompt discussion of how their self-narratives are grounded in the experience, or the imagination, of moving in time and place - from home to university and in the return, from university to home. It begins with 16 year olds at school, then nineteen and twenty year olds at university, then a twenty three year old who has returned home.

## **MARRAKESH DREAMS: THE PLEASURE OF FORGETTING ABOUT FEMALE FOOD WORK**

The two participants featured in this section are from Phase 2 of the fieldwork. We recall, from chapter five, that they are 16 year old, Film Studies students, based in a 14-18 community college. Chapter five featured their designing a documentary film about eating disorders. Reference to them, here, is based upon individual interviews about their interpretation of extracts of contemporary food television. This task and the interview had no connection to the Film Studies course or assessment of any kind. Participants volunteered to take part.

The task was to view three extracts of contemporary food television programmes, in turn, 10 minutes in duration. They were *Come Dine With Me* (2 May, 2010), *Jamie Does Marrakesh* (16 April, 2010) and *Supersize v Superskinny* (24 March, 2010). After viewing each extract, each participant was asked to select five or six still image cards, from about twenty for each programme. They were asked to choose according to what interested them the most in the programme. These images are in Appendix 5. The interview, following each sorting, began by my asking why the participant had selected these shots. Analysis is of the first and second participants' interpretation of *Jamie Does Marrakesh*; the second participant makes some reference back to her reading of *Come Dine With Me*.

*Jamie Does Marrakesh* is a text that has an interest to change UK food culture, by encouraging its audience to be more resourceful in sourcing and making, healthier food, and to be more responsible and connected to other people by doing that. Even though some of the food, shown in this programme, has been made by Moroccan women, such as the bread dough which features in a sequence referred to below, it shows a diversity of social actors involved in food work: in the case of the bread, a young boy, then the older man who works the communal bread oven, and, Jamie Oliver as observer and mediator of the food culture for us. As buyer of food in the market, and maker of food, inspired by what he experiences in Marrakesh, he is an example of enthusiastic and capable male, food preparation and

consumption. He is also a professional, telly-chef and campaigner. However, this freeing of the association of gender and adult food agency is important for both female participants, but particularly the second participant. In addition, the programme's exotic, Marrakesh settings, a feature of this kind of programme's combination of telly-chef and travel genres, frees the social practices of food sourcing, preparation and sharing from the gendered, domestic settings of UK food culture. This transformation of the spaces of food practices is important for both participants featured, but particularly the first. Both participants engage with the programme's freeing of the social actor and the settings of food practice from those of mundane, female food work, in their evaluation of what is an ideal form of food work, and an ideal social purpose achieved by it. As such, suture to these values are a part of their self-performances, as young women orientating themselves to what they want for themselves in their future adult lives, and turning away from what they do not want. The obligation of traditional, female food work which serves the family is what they do not want. That kind of food work does not fit with their performances as self-improving selves

In interpretation of *Jamie Does Marrakesh*, both participants use the text to transform the social and cultural expectation that women should invest themselves in food work for the family. Both do this by abstracting the value of artisanal food work, and food products, and the value of generosity. I use generosity in the way that Diprose (2002) does, to mean giving to others, and being open to others who are different to you, outside of the terms of an exchange economy. In addition, the first participant, Imogen, attaches the purpose to artisanal food work and generosity, of producing an ideal community. The second participant, Kim, attaches a purpose of building 'pure relationships' (Giddens, 1994, p.87ff), that is social relationships that depend on the pleasure and reward that come from them, far away from an association with patriarchal authority. In seeing food as a resource for these ends, and in distinguishing the extra value of artisanal food, both are motivated to engage with consumer culture, as a means of becoming the kind of modern, female adults they want to be.

## Imogen

As the title denotes, in *Jamie Does Marrakesh*, Jamie Oliver is in the city of Marrakesh, Morocco. It is the first of a series of six episodes, shown in 2010, which show him apparently immersing himself in a local, authentic food culture, sourcing ingredients personally, meeting local people, learning about aspects of their food preparation and demonstrating his preparation of key dishes. Following episodes see him in Andalucia, Stockholm, Venice, the French Pyrenees and Athens.

In *Jamie Does Marrakesh*, there is interdiscursivity with his earlier advocacy. He urges British adults to learn how to prepare nutritious, home-cooking, as a national duty, a renewal of family life and community food-ways - the 'pass-it-on' (Oliver, 2008, p.9) of food knowledge within and between generations. He advocates authentic, pre-industrial food traditions, as an answer to obesity at a time of austerity in the UK, as he does in *Ministry of Food* (2008). In *Jamie Does Marrakesh*, Jamie shows us, again, that healthy, good food can be made from inexpensive ingredients within a knowledgeable, Moroccan food culture. He models the self-entrepreneurialism he wants for his audience: his learning from other food cultures, his adaptation to new ways of thinking and doing, as he did in *Jamie's American Road Trip* (2009); and his commitment to learn, transcending the constraints of being a white, working class, young man, as he did from *Naked Chef* (1999) onwards.

His passionate performance of food preparation - including his physical gestures and masculinisation of domestic space, emotive expressions, and delivery of verbal argument is all consistent with the public persona of Jamie Oliver the campaigning tele-chef, attempting to renew British food culture. As a campaigning telly-chef, he exemplifies the nexus of interests, of television production and broadcast institutions positioning themselves to their PSB roles, of Oliver's celebrity differentiation and the identity work of consumers of food and television (Richmond 2008).

A part of the latter is participation in the social myths of self-expression, self-creativity, the 'duty to have fun' and the democratization of goods which underpin consumer culture (Smith Maguire, 2015, p.4). Oliver models how to

engage with a new food culture, to learn from it and to incorporate it into your own food practice regardless of gender and class. The meaning of the visual presentation of the Marrakesh market, particularly the array of fruits, vegetables and spices (figure 7.1) as objects of desire, is anchored by Jamie's display of excitement, verbal response to this positive affect, and active understanding of the possibilities that these foodstuffs have as ingredients (figure 7.2). The narrative is structured in terms of the sequence of food work (sourcing, preparing, sharing and eating) but with a 'goal' (Kress and van Leeuwen, p.61ff) of desire, at two levels: toward the pleasure of consuming food like this, and the pedagogic role of engaging viewers to do this kind of food work.

The narrative of the extract of the Marrakesh episode, shown to participants, presents us with: the market as a desirable location, where there is an abundance of beautiful and healthy, cheap ingredients (figure 7.1); then, Oliver's pleasure in handling the ingredients and the clay pot in which the meal will be cooked (figure 7.2), linked to his professional chef instruction of how to prepare a lamb tagine; his accompanying a young boy to the communal bake house (figure 7.3) with the family's bread dough; then the wonder at the cooking process at the communal oven (figure 7.4 and figure 7.5); then his presentation of the cooked dish (figure 7.6) and sensorial pleasure in consumption of it on a Marrakesh rooftop (figure 7.7). Oliver's description of pleasure in eating the food is linked, by spoken extension of contrast (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.230) to the impoverished, unhealthy eating of the UK: "this is what a single bloke on his own would eat here; what's a single guy at home eating at the moment? Donner kebab or micro-waved meal. So what's that all about?!"





**Figure 7.1:** Marrakesh market



**Figure 7.2:** Tagine pot

**Figure 7.3:** To the bakehouse



**Figure 7.4:** Communal oven

**Figure 7.5:** Ecstasy

**Figure 7.6:** Tagine

**Figure 7.7:** Pleasurable consumption

In Imogen's selection of images from the programme, and her interpretation of them, she engages with the ethos of renewing UK food culture, but transforms the discourse (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.111) by abstracting the quality of artisanal food work and linking it to an ideal of cooperative community. She excludes the central actor of the televisual text, Jamie Oliver, and the narrative goals which put him at the centre. What is 'criterial' (Kress, 2010, p.37), for Imogen, in her interpretation, is the legitimation (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.105) she gives for artisanal food: making the connection between how the food is made (cooperatively and with hands-on skill) and what is achieved by doing it this way - a decent community. In the following interview extract, she extends the meaning of the visual images of Jamie and the boy at the bakery (figure 7.4), as evidence of a community that cooperates, and cares for its members.



**Figure 7.4** Communal oven

Her communication of positive affect is aligned with the ethos and argument of her speech: emphasising the desirability of sharing food work across the community, and across gender and age; giving ‘slow-food’ (Slow Food in the UK, 2006) and artisanal work an aesthetic and ethical resonance, not unlike that of the food movement, established by Petrini and internationalized. She evaluates this kind of food work as symbolising an ideal quality of human interrelationship. As she points to figure 7.4, ‘I like’ initiates and concludes each pulse of making sense of this affective orientation, in the conditions of a tutorial. Conjunctions, like ‘so’ and ‘because’, are used to make logical extensions of meaning (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.225), between personal investment in food preparation and ideal community: ‘they’re all participants in making food so it’s kind of getting the sense that they’re all looking after each other’. Similarly, the adversative ‘but’ is used to give time to express the link more clearly: ‘it is talking about food but it’s just a reflection of that culture and that community’. Her use of emphasis – in ‘all’, in anaphoric reference to ‘child, ‘mums’ and ‘men’, ‘families’ and ‘bakers’ -expresses the positive affect of the cooperative ideal for her. She extends the meaning of the image of the clay pot in the communal oven (figure 7.8), and the display of the finished meal plated up (figure 7.6), in terms of a virtuous chain: the slowness of the process, signifying the investment of care, in turn, is communicated to those who receive it, in the quality of food. As a departure from the transcription code used for speech (Appendix 3), stress is marked by italics.

### Extract

I: what I liked about this (pointing to figure 7.4) was that they were all (.) he kept mentioning about community and you know about the families and stuff and I like that (.) because it is talking about the food but it's just (.) a reflection of that culture and that community and I like how they all just (.) they're all part participants in making food so it's kind of getting the sense that they're all looking after each other in the community (.) I mean the child like takes it to the bakers before school and their mums make them before and (.) the men are cooking it kind of thing (.) so they're *all* they're *all* participants in it and they all eat it together (.) so I like that sense of community about it (2) with this (pointing to figure 39, showing the tagine pot sitting in the hot embers of another communal oven) I like how he said it was slow burning and it cooks slowly and it takes about four hours (.) I like that because it shows again the *care* that goes into their preparation of their food sort of thing and *here* (pointing at figure 7.8) you see the end products of it

**Figure 7.8:** Claypot

**Figure 7.6:** Tagine

In the extract, below, she engages with two parts of Oliver's campaigning, spoken message which he combines with his presentation of the prepared lamb tagine (figure 7.6) and of his tasting it (figure 7.7). We recall this invocation, to turn away from fast food, to acquire food skills as a part of eating healthier and being responsible, as adults, to use food with others to make society: 'what's a single guy at home eating at the moment? Donner kebab or micro-wave meal. So what's that all about?!' (Oliver). In her interpretation, she selects two aspects of his message – the loss of food skill and social atomization. She amplifies the connection between self-improvement and altruism, and, again, specifies the role of the artisanal process in realizing the ideal quality of generosity in social life. As part of her explanation as to what makes the two images appealing to her (figure 7.2 – Oliver putting the ingredients for the tagine in the clay pot, at the market - and figure 7.9– Oliver smashing garlic as part of preparing the tagine), she makes the hands salient to the purpose of food preparation. She then specifies two goals for this, hands-on work: personal wellbeing *and* caring for others. The emphasis she gives to 'and' is about clarifying that moral dimension of food work: it is not just about self-advantage. In 'that kind of thing', she diminishes Oliver's too familiar healthy eating message so that what is crucial, for her, is

not missed. In this way, she transforms the discourse of this moment of the programme by exclusion and substitution (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.110f): exclusion, in allowing Jamie Oliver, the media celebrity, to fall away, and substitution, in abstracting the quality of artisanal food work and its role in making social life better.

I: the one above (pointing to figure 7.9) is him like making it (.) and the one above that as well (pointing to figure 7.2) (.) it's all about his hands and how he's skilled in what he does kind of thing (.) he's showing how you don't need to just whack something in the microwave and press a button kind of thing (.) again (.) I keep saying it (.) but the process of making it with your own hands (.) preparing it for someone or for yourself (.) that kind of is you know (.) all about looking after yourself and that kind of thing *and* caring for others

**Figure 7.9** Smashing garlic



**Figure 7.2** Tagine pot

The setting of the Marrakesh food market prompts positive affect, because the attraction of the food, and interest in it, is not mediated by discourses associated with mundane, female food work. Her interpretation of the images of the food market allows further self-performance, as a savvy consumer: knowing about the evaluation of personally sourcing seasonal, primary food ingredients, from specialist markets and suppliers, on a daily basis, within foodie discourse. Nigel Slater's invocation to follow him, in shopping at 'small, local shops, farmers' markets, proper butchers, fishmongers, delicatessens and cheese shops', on a daily basis, 'rather than ... a weekly trip to a supermarket ... to take time to shop, to treat it as a pleasure rather than a chore' (Slater, 2005, p.viii) is typical of this figuring of connoisseurship and social differentiation of class. The positionality in Imogen's self-narrative is outside of the interpellations of female adults, shopping for family, made by supermarket retailers. Her narrative constructs a kind of shared position which she judges she could share with someone like me, whose social identities, particularly age and class, with probable foodie interest. Her self-performance is of a consumer tuned into a 'qualification' of food quality (Smith Maguire, University of Leicester, 2011) which associates food with the ideal values of sociality and self-entrepreneurialism outside of everyday, mundane food shopping in the UK, mostly done by women. In this next extract of the



interview, she performs this positionality in a pleasurable appreciation of the images of food as though food has been encountered within a holiday experience.

She makes an extension of compliment, according to van Leeuwen's (2008, p.230) overview of visual-verbal linking, adding to the images of the Marrakesh market words that register her positive engagement (for example, 'exciting'). She describes the vitality of the market (for example, 'alive', 'humming'). The contrast, in quality of experiences, between buying food in a Marakesh market and a UK supermarket is between what is 'exciting and new' and how 'we kind of trudge around a supermarket'. Her description of the market as 'alive' is a collocation with the response of 'dead' which I made to her description of a UK supermarket. Then she extends the contrast between the two kinds of experience, in 'frozen' and 'humming'.

Her anaphoric reference, in 'the process' and 'the whole thing', connects this contrast back to her earlier explanation of what attracted her to the kind of food culture depicted: the virtuous chain, from artisanal food work and investment of care to a better community. Predicated upon the familiar drabness of much female food work, this is the pleasure of fantasy (Ang, 1985). These images of a food culture do not prompt feelings or thoughts about being constrained within a narrowly defined gendered, food role and the construction of family; instead, it prompts feelings and thoughts about widening personal horizons at this point in her transition to adulthood: of learning new things, of being in new territories, of enjoying the appropriation of food's meanings as a consumer, and defining for herself the kind of social relationship she wants. A freely given, gender neutral investment in others, and in community, supplants female obligation to family.

### Extract

I: the shots of the market were just unbelievable (.) I mean it was just showing all of the fresh produce and things (.) I mean you can get *this* (pointing at figure 7.1)

M: it was exciting

I: it *was* (.) it *really* was (.) even from (.) even from the beginning of preparing food and as we go through the process (.) the whole thing is exciting and new (.) whereas we kind of trudge around a supermarket (.) but they have these markets which is just like a different way

M: supermarkets and supermarket shelves now seems kind of dead compared to that

I: yeah it *does* (.) and frozen because that was *alive* in there (.) it was humming in there



**Figure 7.1** Marrakesh market

## **Kim**

This second participant also abstracts the qualities of artisanal food preparation and generosity, in an interpretation of Jamie Does Marrakesh. Unlike the last participant, who bracketed off Jamie Oliver the media personality, this participant maintains his salience, so that she can orientate her self-performance to the purposes he identifies for food work. In the extract below, she begins to explain her selection of image cards. She justifies using the opening shot of Jamie Oliver, in the programme, against the cynicism of

my banter, by defining those purposes. First, he serves a legitimization that food preparation is for everyone. That includes 'a working class lad' as much as any female: she says, 'he proves literally that anyone can cook'. Her sponsoring of that purpose is re-articulated, later, in the third extract of this section, in her appreciation of his characteristic, masculinized, enthusiastic performance with food, a part of his aiming to reach a younger, male audience. Secondly, as key actor in the narrative, he mediates a new food culture to her, which legitimizes alternatives to the food practices she has become inured to; she says, that he shows 'what's actually going on in the world', when 'you forget to think'. Again, this is the pleasure of fantasy (Ang, 1985).

### Extract

She points to the first selected image (figure 7.10), an establishing shot of Jamie looking to camera; in the background is old Marrakesh.)

K: Jamie Oliver

M: looking natural (both laugh)

K: exactly (laughs) and again how you said he looks *natural* (.) it makes it more (.) the thing with Jamie Oliver is ah what's/ the word (.) you can really put yourself in his position (.) because he's obviously a working class lad and you know (.) yeah yeah yeah (sing-song) Jamie Oliver (.) he proves that literally anyone can cook (.) which is great and again I love the background here (.) kind of like how it shows a different culture (.) and how they eat and everything like that (.) and you just get an insight into it because sometimes you get so absorbed in your own life (.) you forget to think about what's actually going on outside in the world

**Figure 7.10** Jamie in Marrakesh

The next extract of the interview follows straight on from the last. In it, she adds a third purpose for Jamie Oliver's mediation of foods' meanings: that he legitimizes the investment of time and effort in making food, which is, in her words, to 'make it perfect'. In this, she begins an association of meaning, about a person's investment in food preparation and investment in her relationship with others. She does this in extending the visual meaning of Oliver's pointing at the bread (figure 7.12 below) and his being with the boy in the communal bakery (figure 7.4) by saying that this is about the beneficial, relational effects of food personally invested in. We can recognize the pleasure in her contemplation of the image of the boy smiling and the positive relationship between man and boy.

As in the last extract, there is pleasure in contemplating another world, in which food preparation has a contrasting purpose to the one she lives in, in the UK, where food is often driven by the need for short-cuts and convenience. Her reading of these images reminds us of the possibilities of the synchronic syntagm, described by Burn (2015, p.29), and fits a definition of pleasurable 'escape' from 'reality' (Ang, 1985, p.135), in her contemplation of another world of possibilities and imaginary solutions for real life

contradictions, and her forgetting about a less satisfactory, present experience. There is a knowing tone of regret in expressing how 'you forget about everyone when you're still in your own life'.

K: you forget how food is made you know (.) so often you take for granted you know (.) and just eat ready-made meals and everything (.) you forget the kind of effort that's put into it

M: yes that's the bread moment (.) when he goes with the little boy

K: yeah

M: and I think he's here talking about erm how the mums or something (.) I think it is the mums who make the bread in the morning here put a little mark on to distinguish which is theirs

K: yeah (.) exactly (.) shows how personal the food is to them (.) and how fresh it is

M: fresh and personal

K: yes (.) *exactly* (2) (pointing at figure 7.4, showing Jamie explaining how the bread is made and how the oven is used by the community; standing behind him is the baker; standing beside him is the boy that Jamie accompanied to the baker):

this one (.) again I just liked how it gave an insight into different cultures (.) again the time and effort they have put into it and everything (.) and you don't (.) you don't really (.) you can see how they're really trying to make it perfect and everything (.) you've got the little lad there smiling and it just (.) you forget about everyone when you're still in your own life



**Figure 7.4** Communal oven

At this point, she moves toward an image which she had selected from the Come Dine With Me set earlier. It, too, is an image of a tray of hand-made bread dough, but from a UK setting (figure 7.11). It was made by a male contestant. She realizes her mistake, and quickly substitutes it with an image from Jamie Does Marrakesh (figure 7.12). The displacement of the image from Come Dine With Me, in the earlier part of the interview, and in reference to a UK setting, was made possible because it, too, was used to associate artisanal food work with a gender-unspecific, generous disposition to others.

**Figure 7.11** Come dine with me



**Figure 7.12** Jamie and bread dough

Following the reselection of the image from Jamie Does Marrakesh, of Oliver pointing to the bread dough in the Marrakesh communal bakery (figure 7.12), she extends the visual meaning of the image by abstracting the ideal values of 'love and care'. Although these are familiar traditional ideals for female food work - nourishing and building family - expressed, for example, by the older generation of women in Jane's video, in chapter one, this participant's pleasure is in the recognition that these ideal values do not have to be grounded in female food work. Jamie Oliver's performance, just like that of the contestant Colin in the Come Dine With Me episode, refreshes the ideal association of food work as a means of 'love and care' for her.

Then, in her moving across the image, with her hands, of Oliver smashing garlic in his hands (figure 7.9), back to him pointing at the bread dough (figure 7.12), her interest is not to dwell upon the signature marks on the bread - which could connote the traditional, female food role of the women who prepared the dough; rather, her interest is to extend the visual information, by compliment (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.230), of Jamie Oliver's masculine performance with food, and his address to men. There is pleasure, for this participant, in extracting food work from a female world. She matches the description about the investment of 'love and care' in the making of bread with

another lexical choice from an affective field of language, 'passionate', for Jamie Oliver's masculine investment.

(K gestures toward figure 7.12, of Jamie pointing at the bread doughs, marked with the signatures of the maker, again.)

K: again the love and care that is going into making it (.) and just like how passionate he is about making the bread (.) and it's how y'know it's Jamie Oliver (.) he's fully appreciating that (.) and I thought that (pointing to figure 7.9, of Jamie smashing garlic in his hands) was quite a nice shot (2) and again I was going to talk about Jamie Oliver and how passionate he is about his cooking (.) and again how he appeals to the male audience (.) he puts a completely different spin on cooking as well (.) like I said (.) you've got Gordon Ramsey Marco Pierre White and all those (.) then you've got the ones that appeal to women like Nigella Lawson (laughs) (cresc.) yeah and you've got Jamie Oliver who is just completely fresh and new and has got a completely different turn on cooking.

For both Imogen and Kim, the 'qualification' (Smith Maguire, Leicester University, 2011) of artisanal food - the hands-on nature of food production - in Jamie Does Marrakesh, prompted the identification of an ideal value for food: ideal in its channeling a positive relational flow between people. For both, the exotic cultural setting of that programme prompted contrasts between this ideal and its lack in the food culture that they were familiar with in the UK. Kim included reference to her own food work, in earlier interpretation of images from Come Dine With Me, as the competitor, Colin, attempted, in her words, to 'give a part of himself' to others in making food from scratch and investing 'love and care' in his hands on preparation. She identified with the disappointment involved in this investment, in real life, when the ideal of bringing people together is not realised.

Both Imogen and Kim show themselves to be savvy consumers by selecting artisanal food as an ideal quality in food, and by associating it with a way of investing in personal and social relations. They are addressing an important theme in the discourses of food producers, marketers and cultural



intermediaries, as a form of 'qualification' (Smith Maguire, Leicester University, 2011) by which value is added to food products. The category of artisanal is associated with discourses that enclose the natural as well as the human social world: discourses about sustainability and responsible production, nutrition and food security, provenance and narratives of individual/family producers, seasonality and locality, and a transparency between food producers and consumers. It is a means of distancing self from dependency on standardised commodities, and establish imagined re-connection between producer and consumer, or channel emotional flow toward other people, to place, and to the environment or nature, within an ethic of care. Making consumer choice, on this basis, is also a means of social distinction and middle-class identification. In this, Imogen and Kim mark out an aspirational disposition to the future, without snobbery. Rather, they imagine their use of the cultural resource of food, free of the tedious social practices of female food work in the family, and fit for imagined, relational settings of university and beyond, free of patriarchal restraint.

## **STEPPING OUTSIDE SHE IS FREE': TRUSTING THE SELF TO MAKE A GO OF IT AT UNIVERSITY**

### **Maddie**

The following participant illustrates how young people, adapting to the experience of being away from home, for example at university, tackle the lack of security felt by developing a self-narrative in which a sense of trust in the self is recognised: trust in her capacity to embrace the opportunities of using food differently, to make different, voluntary relationships with others, rather than to sustain family belonging; and trust, too, in her capacity to manage her personal health. Both aspects of self-management are intertwined, as they are both about taking control of outcomes, so that anxieties are quelled, and an orientation to future success is maintained.

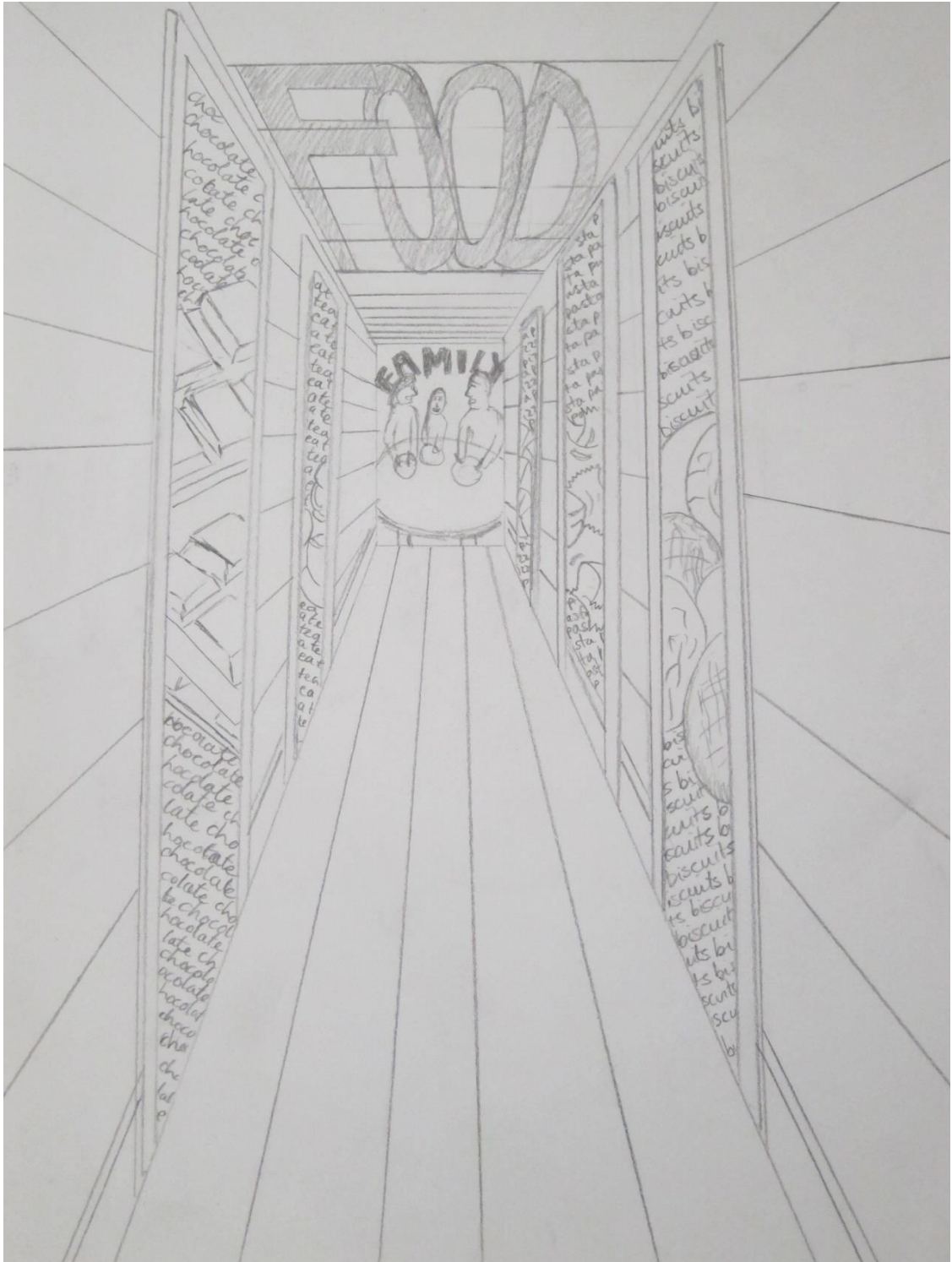
Maddie's drawings (figures 7.13, 7.14, 7.15) are part of that self-narrative about taking control. As a participant in Phase 3 of the fieldwork, we recall that these drawings are a response to the prompt to explore an aspect of food that

was important to her, and to make a visual artifact that represented her position to it.

This drawing (figure 7.13) objectifies her difficult experience of transition and enables her to make a critical reading of it. It establishes a visual relationship between the sense of loss, in no longer being enclosed by the family, in which eating together sustained a sense of security, and her use of what is popularly termed comfort food. The drawing enables her to see the latter as a coping strategy, which leaves her stuck in negative emotion which does not open up a route of personal progression.

The drawing uses the circle, in the arrangement of the family around a circular table, to suggest the quality of enclosure, and the offer of security and belonging. However, the representation of a young girl, seated between two parents, hypothetically places this in her past. Her use of exaggerated lines of perspective, a conventional tool for relating objects in visual planes since the Renaissance in Western Art, further transforms her presence within the family into an abstract idea about a place, a social setting and a use of food which belongs to the past: it is distant from the present place and time at university. The use of the lines, in the drawing of a corridor, which extend from the point of observation toward the family, telescopes the family group back from the viewer's position. As vectors (Kress and van Leeuwen, p.57ff), they serve her observation of the family as the key action in a narrative about rethinking the situation and taking control.

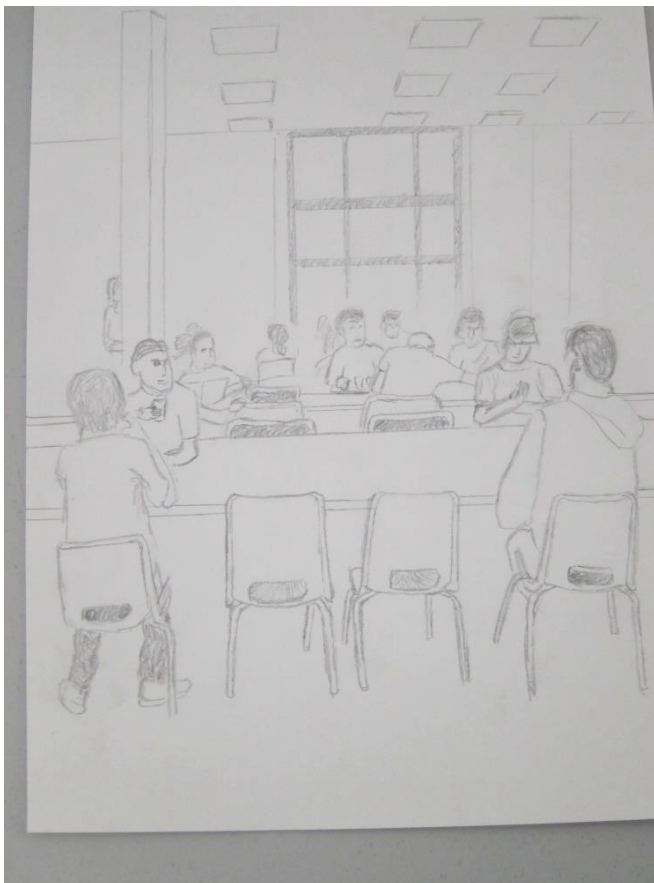
The verticals in the corridor calibrate the distance and time from the family; and act as frames of further information about what has been in the interval between family and the present. This information is drawn, as partial images of larger than life chocolate bars (left) and biscuits (right); around them handwritten words repeat their names. The drawing plays into surrealism, with its articulation of depth, exaggerated perspective, distortion of scale for everyday food objects, and juxtaposition of figures and objects. Its 'sensory modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.170) gestures toward the intense feeling of being in limbo, between being a part of a family narrative and an independent, self-identity.



**Figure 7.13** Corridor

As a triptych, the three drawings (figures 7.13, 14, 15) represent a narrative about her progress. Salient in the composition of the second and third drawings are the groupings of figures eating food and talking to each other.

The second drawing (figure 7.14) includes a wider view of a student dining hall, in which there are empty seats between the figures in the foreground, perhaps inviting imaginative occupation for the drawer. The half-hidden figure, standing behind a column, hypothetically symbolizes her observation of a sociality she has yet to join. In the next drawing (figure 7.15), the viewer/drawer is more closely integrated in the sociality. The naturalistic modality of the last two drawings roots them in the real, lived spaces of present life at university, according to the artistic practice of observing and sketching with pencil and paper. This contrasts with the surrealism of the first, and its conceptual work about isolation and the lost presence of others. As a biographical, narrative sequence, the interest is to represent progress: the retrospection of the first conceptual drawing, linked, as a logical extension (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.229), to the life-drawings in the new, present social setting, in the second and third.



**Figure 7.14** Dining hall 1



**Figure 7.15 Dining hall 2**

The sequence of the three drawings serves a self-narrative in which she develops a trust in her own capacity to deal with the present problem and to orientate herself to future relocation to new places and new socialities. This is a self-reflexivity cohesive with the ethos of the institutional setting in which she makes the images, in which the individual is expected to shape the situation and determine the outcomes.

Her explanation of the drawings develops a self-narrative about her progress. It is not that she does not continue to miss eating as a part of her family, but it is not the goal of her action at university. In comment upon the family group in figure 7.13, she says that 'I almost strive for this', meaning that there is another goal for the self-performance she wishes now. The other two drawings (figures 7.14 and 7.15) are about her adaptation to new sociality and 'a completely different environment'. She appropriates the value, of enjoying

food and the opportunity for social contact, in the present time and place of university. She extends the contrasts of time and place, producing a sense of her agency in being able to abstract a value: in the past ('when I was younger') she was a passive participant, unappreciative of her mum's cooking and mealtime; 'now' she appreciates eating with friends.

### Extract

Maddie: At the end of the corridor is a picture of my family eating round a dining table (.) this is something I almost strive for as I miss eating with my family whilst I'm at uni (.) the drawing deals with some of my personal feelings towards eating socially (.) which was the theme I chose to focus on for the project (.) the other two drawings of the people eating in a dining hall reflect this focus of people eating in a social way (.) they also reflect my new experiences of eating now I am at university (.) I have different feelings to food now I am at university as I eat in a completely different environment now (.) when I was younger I think I perhaps took food for granted, and didn't appreciate as much where it had come from (.) my mum cooking it for me (.) now I am at uni and living in a catered hall I appreciate eating with friends but I miss home cooking and being with my family (.) I now realise how meal times at home were a chance to catch up with my family and I miss being able to do that however I do enjoy eating socially with friends now I am at uni (.) which is something I didn't used to do very often at home (.) but is now how I eat everyday

## **SELF-ENTREPRENEURIALISM AND BRINGING PEOPLE TOGETHER AT UNIVERSITY**

### **Firoze**

This example again illustrates participants' transformation of the meaning of food work, from that which signifies family, and traditional female, social role, to being something which signifies a self-entrepreneurial disposition: the self, focused upon self-improvement by being adaptable to new territory, to its rules of how to go on, to its sociality, and by replacing the 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1994, p. 44f, p54f) of home with a new sense of social belonging

and trust in the self. This example again shows the abstraction of the quality of generosity, which we recall was important in Imogen and Kim's transformation of the processes of food preparation and sharing, away from the constraints of traditional, female food work. In this case, that transformation is suitable to this participant's self-identity in a number of ways. First, it serves his performance of a masculine identity, disconnected from a female role, as he brings together a group of students to enjoy his, and his friends' cooking in their student house. In generosity, food is given to others, free of family obligation. Second, it serves his performance of being someone astutely tuned into the territory of university, by being tuned into an ideal of egalitarian, social relationship.

Firoze is a 19 year old student, who belongs to Phase 3 of the fieldwork. We recall that participants in this phase were first year Graphic Design students, but in their second year at university. They were asked to focus upon an aspect of food that was important to them, and to represent a stance to it in a visual artifact. As part of an introductory semester about research, I had worked with them in two workshops, the last prompting them to research their interest, and to decide upon a suitable, visual expression.

Firoze, together with his male housemates at university, offers weekly dinner parties at their student house, for free, for friends and friends of friends.

Firoze is a British student with Pakistani heritage. One of his, two housemates is from Egypt, the other is a white British student. Each of the three take it in turns to come up with the idea for the weekly meal; all help in preparing the food, but each week's leader takes a stronger role in conducting the preparation.

In the visual artifact of a poster (figure 7.16), and in the interview, Firoze distances food preparation and sharing from family food practice, in a number of ways, according to van Leeuwen's (2008, p.104f) discussion of the transformation of discourse. In the following extract of the interview, he describes its purpose in bringing people together, and his legitimation of it is to build a multicultural society. The attention Firoze gives, in the visual artifact, and in interview, to himself as the central actor in the event, to the manner in which he and his guests interact, to the resources (of shisha as well as food)



and spaces around the house used, as well as to its weekly timing, show how he is transforming the social food event, far from discourses of family mealtimes.

This verbal exchange between Firoze and myself, in the interview, begins as he shows me a series of photographs he took of the first of these events, which he calls 'the cooking club'. The photographs are on his laptop. He has told me that he is going to use these in the final composition. A few days after, he emails it to me. I refer to the photographs as you see them in the final artifact (figure 7.16).



**Figure 7.16** Curry night



He points to the photographs of the guests (those you see on the bottom row of figure 7.16) and extends the information they give, by adding an explanation of his purpose, in cooking the meal: 'to bring all of these together'. 'These' is cataphoric reference to the different national, ethnic and regional identities he later specifies. He next points to the bottom right image of a friend - again extending the meaning of the photograph with a positive evaluation of his friend's generous contribution of the shisha pipes and how they were enjoyed by everyone: 'he brought shisha for us afterwards, and we continued the dinner that way'. The physical pointing out reinforces the selection of a detail that evaluates the generous actions, and their manner, and the involvement of the friends as actors in the event. In that sense, 'and we continued the dinner that way' acts as a summary, of the purpose, as much as a temporal extension, of what happened next. A lexis of inclusivity - 'we', 'everyone', 'together' - serves the legitimation at the opening and close of this extract, that this kind of cooking produces a positive form of sociality ('bringing people together').

His expression of laughing, first, attempts to repair the damage of my critical question about gender exclusion, and, then, extends the evaluation of the diversity of those taking part as pleasurable. He builds a legitimation with reference to multiculturalism and integration at university, off the back of potential criticism about sexism in the 'front region' (Giddens, 1984, p.122f) of a tutorial like interview in the university. However, in the following extract, this legitimation is re-made, taking me through his workbook, as an ideal of his which is realized in this kind of food preparation and sharing. As a departure from the transcription code (Appendix 3), emphasis is marked by italics.

Extract:

F: that's my idea for the final piece (.) to bring all of these together (3)  
(pointing at photos of friends smoking a shisha pipe) oh yeah (.) he (pointing at one of the friends shown) brought shisha afterwards (.) and we continued the dinner that way

M: which is traditional after you've eaten yeah/

F: in some cultures yeah

M: just men/

F: mostly (.) yeah (.) the ladies didn't want to try it (laughs) I tried it (.) I thought it was all right (pointing to a photo of female friend refusing the shisha) (cresc, mimicking a female) 'No (.) I'm not trying it'

M: you've got err like err

F: a multicultural group (smiling) *yeah* (laughing) there's black there's white there's like Indian (.) there's Iraqi

M: that feels right yeah/ at university/

F: yes it *is* (.) we're supposed to mingle (5) (pointing at another photo) that's my friend

M: everybody's really up for it

F: yeah

M: and you didn't do it just do this once yeah/ because you said

F: every Thursday (.) this was last week on the day we got the project (.) on the fourteenth we've got another one after (.) and so on

M: is this landing you all year with the job of cooking/

F: yes it is (.) but I *enjoy* that (.) I love cooking

M: you're going to get a name for yourself aren't you/

F: I've (cresc.) already got a name for myself

(Firoze continues to explain how they organise the buying of the food (including cash contribution from the four of them), the decision making (each week one takes a lead) and invitations to others (each invites friends and girlfriends); and he describes everyone in the photographs once more.)

M: does this (gesturing to the photographs of the cookery club evening) give you a good feeling/

F: it does (.) I love cooking (.) eating together (1) I think that we're all very close (.) sort of (.) considering that we only knew everybody since the beginning of October

M: it's *still* October now (.) and people have come from all over the place

F: all over the country (.) there's Andrew from Newcastle (.) there's James from Surrey (.) I'm from Wolverhampton (.) near there (.) then err (name obscure) is from Birmingham (.) Helen is from Hertfordshire Ali is from central London (3.00) so everyone's come together (.) yeah (2.00) also our other housemates (.) one is from Essex and one is from Egypt (.) so it's all like a mix of cultures and backgrounds

M: is it always going to be this style of food/

F: I think yeah (.) who knows/ (Note: at this point F explains how, because of a trip away, there will be a break in the club's cooking for one week)

F: I wanted to focus on the concept that food brings people together

After this extract, he took me through the workbook he had used to record the research he had done, before deciding upon the cooking club and the photographs for the poster (figure 7.16). This included pages of magazine advertisements he had collected, featuring people eating together, usually family groups, with women doing the serving of food. They prompted him to comment that he was irritated by advertisers' focus upon what was special about the food, rather than the relationship that food could establish between people. The verbal extension of contrast (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.230) that he makes with those magazine images is that, 'I wanted to focus on the concept that food brings people together', that is, his interest to define an alternative purpose and legitimation for cooking, to that seen in commercial advertising, which he can stitch into his self-performance at university. As he pointed out some straplines that he had prepared for use in his poster, he shows that the position he expressed earlier in the interview, was the remaking of one formulated in the workbook: a transformation of food's meaning within

commercial interpellation, of women's food work in families, to liberal discourses of multiculturalism and internationalism.

### Extract

F: these are quotes

M (begins to read what he pointed to): food is international (.) food brings people together (.)

F: food is beautiful and food is love

M: where did you get the quotes from/

F: (laughs) my (cresc.) head

The visual artifact that he sent through to me used the same photographs of friends that he had showed to me earlier. The interest of the design is consistent with his position in the interview: to show the use of food as a social resource, in the territory of university, to bring young adults, from diverse backgrounds, together. The re-siting of the purpose and legitimation of food practice, from commercial advertising, to the social life of university, is expressed in the genre of the photography. The images are typical of the social use of small, portable, so-called point and press, cameras of the time: capturing fleeting moments and events, and often featuring friends striking ironic poses. The spontaneous nature of this kind of photography is associated with personal, pleasurable experience and events, but, as Willett (2009c, p.224) has commented, as 'personal documentary', its informality belies its importance in building a sense of personal history.

Representationally, the photographs are organised into a visual narrative, with a strong conceptual element (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.117) about social bonding: following the temporal structure of preparing, sharing and eating a meal, and the accompanying movement of the social actors, of cook and guests, across the relevant domestic spaces, of kitchen, dining room and places of relaxation. They are sequenced according to the convention of left-right and top-down reading of a text: from the cooking of food in kitchen

space, to the serving/ plating up in dining space, the eating and enjoyment of the food by guests at table, and then the smoking of shisha, after the eating, in a lounge space. The organization of the visual text also represents a narrative of the achievement of the social actor, Firoze's 'goals' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.44f).

In its interactive meanings, his importance to the action is expressed in his salience in the images: in the most formal of the images, of him preparing food; then in the rear view of him in the kitchen, next to images of pans of food; then, in the bottom row of images, his smoking the after dinner shisha. His role is central in initiating the virtuous cycle of generosity: he prepares the food that prompts further sharing and happiness, amongst participants. This goal is represented in the central image, its informational meaning relayed by the footer slogan, as 'food brings people together'. The visual narrative is also a record of a creative person, using a resource appropriate to the territory he finds himself in.

In the design and the interview, Firoze constructs a self-narrative of being entrepreneurial, in his initiation of a project, his adaptability to new spaces, to new people and to new institutional settings. He shows that he can motivate and organise others and achieve his goal. He also shows his resourcefulness in transforming the discourse of eating together, in terms of evaluation, purpose and legitimation, in accordance with the new setting. He shows initiative in transforming the female food work of family maintenance, represented in the magazine images he collected, with an ideal, of multicultural integration. He applies the idea of professional kitchen culture, often represented by food television, to re-signify the domestic kitchen space as a place of a male team work. He transforms the meaning of food, from being a signifier of family, dependence upon, and trust in, others, to being a signifier of trust in himself and his capacity to 'colonise' (Giddens, 1994,p.129) future settings.

He exploits a culinary field of personal expertise, and a 'qualification' of food authenticity (Smith Maguire, Leicester University, 2011) in the marketplace, knowing how to make a proper curry, and he uses the identity of that food as a

cultural meeting point of different ethnicities in British food culture, to assist his goal. He uses his active role in cooking, not as an expression of a growing competence in preparing food, as other, male and female participants had done, to show their growing self-sufficiency, but as an expression of his power of interpretation: reading the setting of the university institution, and its rhetoric of integration, internationalism, multiculturalism and teamwork, and integrating them into his self-narrative.

This is a self-narrative of a student identity, but not according to the social myth of student food, working against the grain of adulthood, in its unhealthy consumption, hedonism and lack of self-management; rather, this is a student identity as an early phase of adulthood, learning to be someone who is open to change, and relocation in new territories, and maximising opportunities there. This is to be part of making a transition to a successful adulthood, according to a neo-liberal vocabulary.

## **MAKING A VIRTUE OF NECESSITY: RETURNING HOME AND REDEFINING FAMILY**

### **Noemi**

This example illustrates the subjective work done to conserve an ideal meaning for food, of holding people together, within the experience of social and spatial dislocation, this time, primarily, from university to home. Again, what makes this meaning ideal for this participant is that it can become a part of a self-narrative of self-management and self-entrepreneurialism, in the transition to different spaces and social relations and addresses the social expectation of becoming adult.

Again, this is a self-performance which must negotiate with the social and institutional setting, and the discourses which permeate it. The contrasts with Firoze and the university setting are immense: home is obviously not university, the latter being a setting which has an identity of being, to an extent, away from the constraints and expectations of home and of being a place for incorporating new ideas and dispositions. Furthermore, the home setting of this participant is permeated by the culturally dominant idea that the

primary purpose of women's food work is to care for others and to make family. This example extends the sense that young, adult female self-governability (McRobbie, 2012a), as seen in this participant's negotiation with food culture, involves squaring a circle: to fend off the constraint of traditional, female family work so that a sense of self-autonomy, personal authenticity, and agentive participation in the consumer market is realized; and to be seen to invest in food work which is about freely giving to others. The latter, of course, resonates with the traditional female food role. This participant's settlement has echoes with those constructed by Imogen and Kim earlier in the chapter: to construe personal food work as generosity, distanced from patriarchal power and family structure based on male wage earning, and investment in 'pure relationships' (Giddens, 1994, p.87f), based on the satisfaction that the relation itself gives, and the pleasure of discerning consumption.

This participant, Noemi, is 23 years of age. She returned home from university, two years ago. Like many young adults, she aspires to have somewhere to live with her partner as soon as that is economically possible. She lives with her mother and younger brother, working full time, in the nearby city, and sharing the family food work with her mother. As part of Phase 1 of the fieldwork, she was asked to make a video about an aspect of food that was important to her. She made a video diary about the food that she eat and prepared in a week. Following this, she took part in a semi-structured interview. This section will focus upon three extracts of the interview.

The first extract of the interview, below, focuses upon Noemi's re-articulation of the meaning of family as an ideal quality of interrelationship, which is adaptable to the new territory of university, and which is realizable through the sharing of food preparation and eating together. This evaluation of food is predicated upon its being freed from the constraint of a gendered division of labour at home, and of food becoming an adult object of consumer culture. As such, food is a means of participating in the social myths which underpin consumer culture: particularly, self-expression, 'individual sovereignty', the 'duty to have fun' and participation in the 'democracy of goods' (Smith Maguire, 2015, p.4). For her, food's legitimation is also of enabling human

contact and pleasure, and being a part of self-improvement by learning about other people and their different cultures. The second and third extracts of the interview focus upon how, in returning to the old territory of home, after university, Noemi's engagement with foodie culture allows her to re-evaluate food further. Appropriating the notion of good taste, she is able to transform its purpose within a self-narrative of social aspiration, demonstrating personal freedom in being an adult, savvy consumer and progressing in building a personal relationship. As such, there is close relationship between the kinds of evaluation of food and the territory in which these evaluations are made. In all three extracts, she abstracts qualities for food which exclude the narrow association of food and traditional female, domestic work.

In the first extract of the interview, part of her self-performance is to make a retrospective narrative about how, at university, she had learned to do family differently. Part of its ideal nature resided in the appropriation of the meaning of food work, from being women's service of others' needs, to being free of gender and supporting pleasurable, egalitarian relationships; part resided in its providing a sense of social belonging and an 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1994, p.36f) outside of the given relationships of home and habituated social practices. In this way, the value of doing family at university resides in its having served her sense of wellbeing, integral to making progress there.

In the extract, she identifies three points in time at university as significant in changing her sense of herself. Each involves a contrast with what came before, and drives a self-narrative of personal progress. First, she lived alone and she cooked for herself: the purpose was survival. This is an explanation of a rudimentary state of existence and the first part of an argument about how she improved things for herself. In the second phase, she lived with other students in a house, but they each cooked for themselves. This is an explanation of a change of no great magnitude: 'just' is her word of deprecation before the adversative conjunction, 'but', moves the argument about improvement to its conclusion. In the third phase, and the last year at university, their cooking for each other is evaluated positively: they became close, like being a part of a family.



The narrative is about personal progress through acquiring new habits of self-reflexivity: of transforming family food sharing into a means of moving from solitude to social interaction. This is a means of further learning and self-improvement: learning the social use of food to get on with others, learning about different people and diverse cultures, learning how to move across territories and maintain a sense of personal wellbeing, and learning how altruism can be a part of egalitarian relationship. Time markers define the phases - 'before', 'when'. Food work and generosity toward others is not defined with respect to gender; after the initial description, housemates are described as 'people' and 'friends'.

### Extract

N: cooking was important in the way that I thought about myself because (.) because that's the first time you're away from everything (1) you've not got your mum there and you've got to start thinking about how you're going to survive (.) pretty much (2) before you've only got you to think about (1) when I moved into a house with three other friends it changed again (.) because you had other people to think about (1) in the first year we all just cooked for ourselves (.) but in the final year we decided to take it in turns to cook for each other and we became much closer (.) there was me two girls and a boy and the boy was Indian and he used to make lots of curries and I was never a big fan until going to uni (1) so that was quite nice because different people introduce you to different things and they each did things that their mum had done or they had at home (.) so I would generally do (.) things like sausage casserole cottage pie and the Indian boy always used to say I made good English food (laughs)

M: do you remember that first time you put something on the table for everybody/

N: that was *really* good because that's pretty much a part of you really (2) there's a time when you're living with people that you don't know (.) and you've got to get to know them and they sort of become your family away from your family (.) especially when you live in a house (1) we pretty much did everything together (.) I was with these people from the minute I woke up to

the minute I went asleep (mimics exasperation and laughs) so you did sort of get that connection (2) it's funny though because even though you move back home and you probably won't see each other for long periods of time I *still* consider them as my best friends

In a similar way to the example of Faye, in chapter six, returning home prompted the assertion of a more independent, resourceful self, distinguished from the earlier dependency of being a younger person, living at home. In the interview, she explained that she had not wanted to return to the way things were: with getting a job, she wanted to make a substantial contribution to the family, sharing the load of buying and preparing the food. She explained, however, that this assertion brought conflict, with her mother when she wanted to assert her preferences, and with her younger brother, in insisting that he eat healthily. She also described the resistance she encountered when she wanted to practice what she had learnt about doing family differently at university: here, insisting that her mother, brother and her partner eat together.

This interest, to maintain a self-narrative of being someone who is improving herself, is evident in her contrast between herself, and her partner, with her younger brother, in the following extract. On the one hand, she excuses her brother because of his age; on the other, she contrasts his habituated and traditional, patriarchal disposition toward food with the more cultured taste of her partner. Reference to being older is about having learnt to be more self-reflexive away from home; but it also about having learnt to use food to invest in an egalitarian relationship between the genders. This is the focus of the third extract, but in her weariness at the close of this one, about her brother's disinterest in food culture and food work, we can hear an evaluation of a habituated male attitude which constrains this woman's pleasure in food.

The lexical fields that she uses to evaluate her brother's lack of appreciation of food, define a lack of self-cultivation, aspiration, and forward momentum, in self-improvement: his food is just a 'means to an end'; it is 'junk food'; he eats with a lack of appreciation like a 'pig'. The terms of contrast with her partner are about discernment: 'he likes to really think about what he eats'. The high,

linguistic modality (van Leeuwen, 2008, p162f), in her assertion of the truth of the connection between leaving home, learning to stand on your own two feet and developing an interest in food work, remakes the earlier biographical meaning of having learned how to move on with food, at university.

N: obviously your tastes change (.) when you're sixteen it's all about Mcdonalds and Burger King

M: was it really for you/ do you remember all/ of the time going to Mcdonalds/

N: I think so (.) I remember going every Friday night for a Happy Meal (.) and that was a *treat*

M: but you weren't there Monday and Tuesday (.) it was a treat

N: yeah

M: and what's your younger brother like/

N: I don't think he really thinks about food (1) it's really a means to an end really (1) he's got to eat so he'll eat and he tends to eat quite a lot of junk food

M: so volume of food he tends to eat/

N: yeah (.) he tends to pig out but when I think about Don (.) he's *really* into his food (1) he likes cooking (.) he *loves* going out for meals (.) he likes to really think about what he eats

M: and likes talking about it

N: mm (asserts) (.) so maybe we're not so different

M: so is/ it more about age/ (.) as you develop and become more independent (.) as you start to think about yourself as a separate person

N: *yeah* I think so (.) because as you get older you normally have to make your own decisions don't/ you (.) you've not got someone there to do it for you (.) so once you move out and start to cook for yourself (.) then thinking about food might change (.) but at the moment (.) it's put in front of him

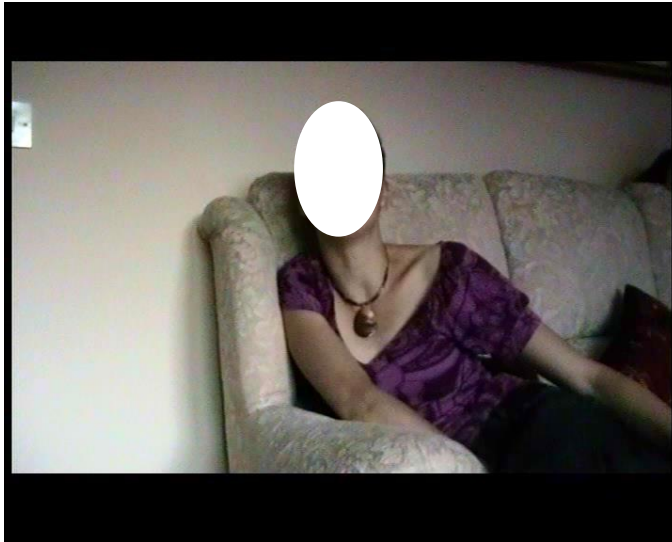
(She describes how every Friday, her mother and herself do the shopping at Morrisons, and how her younger brother, Stephen, does not help.)

N: he doesn't think it involves him (1) he's only interested in what, (.) something he can get out of it (1) by going to Morrisons (.) it *doesn't* appeal (.) there's nothing for him to get out of it

M: it's going to be done anyway

N: exactly (.) whether he goes or not (.) it will\_ be\_ done

The video diary that she made, about food in one week of her life, remade the contrast between the pleasure of thinking of food as a resource for the 'pure relationship' (Giddens, 1994, p.87f) with her partner, and the constraint of the daily reproduction of traditional, female food work. The former is represented by reference to the adventures of eating out in restaurants with her partner - her participating in the social myths of self-expression, 'individual sovereignty', the 'duty to have fun' and the 'democracy of goods', which underpin consumer culture (Smith Maguire, 2015, p.4). She describes a weekend break away, and the pleasure she and her partner have in eating out every day. She incorporates the language of restaurant/ chef discourse to evaluate the specialness of the food and the specialness of eating out. Eating out like this is a means of enjoying a relationship of equality and a control, far away from the social negotiations involving food at home: 'I chose slow-cooked shoulder of lamb (.) and it came in a sauce (1) it was like a red wine reduction (.) it was very nice and it came with dauphinoise potatoes with cheese'.



**Figure 7.17** Noemi's story

The contrasting sense of constraint is realized in her disappointed descriptions of the food that she prepares for work each day, and in the scrutiny of her mother, who is present as she filmed this entry after the evening meal. The participant's physical posture and flattened tone of voice communicates exhaustion and resignation, after a day of work and in the face of her mother's intrusion into the personal space of her video diary (figure 7.17). Her mother disrupts, and deflates, the pleasure of recounting the weekend adventure with her partner, a self-narrative of social aspiration and freedom of participating in consumer culture. The mother does it by enforcing an agenda, according to the 'antimony' of 'thrift and extravagance' (Warde, 1997, p.97ff), of women's everyday negotiation of food consumption.

N: we sort of decided in the day what we wanted (.) and I had sort of decided I wanted steak (1) Don said he wanted fish but he didn't get fish in the end (laughs) because we ended up in the pub

Mother: was your preference the pub or the restaurant/

N: err I think I preferred the pub because erm the food was nice (.) erm and although it was a pub (.) it wasn't really what I wanted cos we wanted a restaurant (.) er the food was nice and it was reasonably priced as well and I got a good atmosphere as well and er whereas the restaurant (.) it was (.)

there wasn't many people (.) the food was trying to be something it wasn't really (.) it was quite expensive for what it was

Mother: so the pub was better value for money/

N: yeah

Mother: and the pub was where you would go back to/

N: I think so (.) yeah

This participant offers further illustration of the production of alternative kinds of self-reflexivity to those learned, as a part of a habitus. Her self-narrative is of someone who has learned to use food to build socialities, in new places and social settings, associated with the opportunity for self-improvement. She has learned to rearticulate the meaning of food, from its past association with a traditional, female family role, to a present one of offering a means of building socialities based on egalitarian principles, which have a liberal, open disposition to difference and change. The twin interest of her self-narrative, in having learnt to find 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1994, p.40) and a sense of an opening up of future possibility, through attaching value to consumption, marks out a female self-entrepreneurialism, in transforming the values and attitudes attached to traditional female food work.

## **CONCLUSION**

As we saw in earlier chapters, the research settings of school and university are learned contexts of surveillance, are taken into account by participants, and contribute to their commitment to 'self-actualisation' (Giddens, 1994, p.78) in the self-narratives. Key to this self-performance is their demonstration of key attributes of a self-entrepreneurial disposition: tuning themselves into the way their world is changing, including the movement to new territories, being improvisational, revising the cultural resource of food for present and future use by engaging with the social myths of consumer culture, and accepting individual exposure to risk and focusing upon future reward.

For female participants, self-improvement is, on the one hand, about being free of the constraint of traditional female food work, oriented to supporting the wellbeing and development of partners and family, and, on the other, being imaginatively engaged with an adult, consumer culture. As such, self-improvement is about accentuating consumer savviness and using food to make and sustain friendship or partnership based on an ideal of 'pure relationship' (Giddens, 1994, p.87f). We saw that these two orientations to the future are brought together, in the ideal value of food generosity. In Imogen and Kim, this ideal is invested in by men and women, in artisanal food, and contributes to relationships of equality and sustains a healthy community. In Noemi, this ideal is a basis upon which to do family differently, by an openness toward, and inclusion of, people other than biological relations. There is homology between this food generosity and the social myths of personal freedom, 'individual sovereignty', the 'duty to have fun' and 'democracy of goods' (Smith Maguire, 2015, p.4) underpinning consumer culture, in food being seen as a resource for building sociality: sharing new kinds of food, and sharing an investment in food of distinction, not as snobbery but as a symbol of a shared disposition to self-improvement and ever broadening horizons.

It is apparent, however, that these self-performances, involving the selection of these ideal values, are also tuned to the normative, social expectation that women are responsible for using food as a means of their giving to others, channeling care and making sociality, particularly family. There is a settlement, then, between present, pragmatic orientation to the social and institutional settings which are imminent for them, and a virtual orientation toward the kinds of sociality, such as family, which they could be involved in, in the future. For Imogen and Kim, the present, pragmatic orientation is to university and the social relationship with other students, friends and partners there. They have selected values which would make those relationships, in the near future and the more distant future, meaningful in ways which preserve scope for their 'self-actualisations' (Giddens, 1994, p.78). For Noemi, the present, pragmatic orientation is to a negotiation with habitus, the gendered food practices and attitudes of home, according to her attachment

of ideal relational and consumer values to food, and, to a future relationship of equality with her partner.

In their future orientation to the teleology of relationship, in food practice, female participants identify the work of establishing social belonging as their work, and integrate it as a part of their self-improvement. Maddie addresses the immediate demand of filling the absence, at university, of the security felt within the family, and of transforming the means of social belonging from family to fellow university students. Finding this solution is a part of her, self-entrepreneurial work of adaptation and resourcefulness, in seeking new forms of social belonging through food sharing, and in upping her game in self-maintenance – leaving behind the unhealthy eating of comfort food for the adult use of making contact with new people in new territories. For Noemi, the earlier setting of a student house, at university, and then the home setting are stages upon which she reconfigures the biographical family, and constructs a sense of herself outside of it, in terms of her consumer savviness, but committed to ensuring the means of using food to conserve the sense of social belonging.

Matching their participation in foodie culture with their personal trajectory contributes to a self-narrative of social aspiration. The younger participants, Imogen and Kim, still at school and home, when engaged with the prompt of the exotic food culture and setting of Jamie Oliver's programme, identify the value of doing food to make a supportive, social environment for the individual, in a way that is outside of the terms of their home habitus – 'community' – and operable in the virtual setting of university. They integrate this identification of a means of social belonging in ways that are cohesive with their performance as savvy consumers: matching food of high qualification in the market (artisanal food) with the valuable function of caring sociality.

Although Firoze does provide an experience of social belonging to his friends, in the Cooking Club, and the ideal of integration and equality is one that can inform present and future social belonging, in his self-narrative, more than anything it tells the story of his entrepreneurial skills, adapted to the setting of



university, and his self-entrepreneurial disposition. His self-performance, in the artifact and in the interview, is more about his ability to make these events happen rather than his identification of a value which answers any sense of responsibility for caring for others, in food work, in the future: his adaptation of the rhetoric of multiculturalism, at university, and his chef-like performance, removed from a discourse of family, is to the fore. In showcasing skills that are transposable to future settings, his self-narrative is about his potential for success, in employment rather than personal relationship. In the following chapter, there is further illustration of the chef performance removing the connotation of female food work, and investment in the 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1994, p.36f) of others. Across the phases of the fieldwork, the self-narratives of male participants, even when about sharing food with others, did not show an investment in using food for the wellbeing of others.

These negotiations, with social and cultural expectations about gendered social role and about how young people like this, with educational achievement, should be incorporating that intersection of gendered identity and social aspiration to make the most of themselves, are ways of understanding the process that Giddens terms the 'colonisation of the future' (Giddens, 1994, p.125).

The distinction between female and male responsibility, for envisaging how food is to be used to establish forms of sociality which have the end of others' wellbeing, demonstrates how the process of self-identity addresses cultural meanings of the legitimacy of gendered, social roles.

The appropriation of ideal value for food, in enabling positive kinds of sociality to be realised, is an important part of these participants' self-performance of a self-entrepreneurial disposition, orientated to future transition to geographical place, sociality and value systems in adult life. They show that they are able to move anywhere, outside of habitus, be resourceful and self-sufficient. As such, the appropriation of food's meaning is a means of generating trust in self, away from the trust in family.

## **Chapter 8: Learning to use the cultural capital of food**

### **CONTENTS**

- Introduction
- The Supremos:
- The Apprentices:
- The Democrats:
- Conclusion

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter focuses upon one of the most robust themes of participant identity work, outlined in the summary of theme identification (Appendix 1): how participants' taste in food - their specification of ideal value in food types and food practices – signal the kind of adult, social identity they aspire to. This is, according to the theme identification (Appendix 1), an important aspect of being consumer-savvy with food.

This chapter will also show that the strands of self-management identified in the first three chapters, as ideals for food practice by these young people, – of healthy eating, of building and maintaining forms of sociality - are stitched into these participants' self-performance of taste. They are all cohesive with their signification of being self-entrepreneurial. The social distinctions they are motivated to make for themselves differ, but all have an interest to show that their taste is meritocratic: the expression of their hard work, resourcefulness and capability.

By inspecting the kinds of social distinction that are produced by participants, this chapter shares territory with Bourdieu (1986). In Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1986), the construction of social identity is both through the perpetuation of abstraction, in attributing value to food practice, for example, and through affective allegiance to a kind of embodied, food performance, corresponding to desire or aversion, and aspiration. As this chapter attends to participants'

legitimation of food practice, and the kinds of social hierarchy produced, it refers to Savage's discussion of a changed UK class structure, in *Social Class in the 21st Century* (2015), and Warde et al's discussion of the diversity of orientations to cultural items, in *Understanding Cultural Omnivorousness* (2007).

This chapter characterises three kinds of position-taking by participants, to the social differentiation of their food practices from others. The first asserts the superiority of the food, 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986) of their own families – that is that they have inherited their food preferences, which have the power to generate social advantages for them, and which generate a sense of entitlement and authority in them. In this chapter, this is characterized as the position of the supremo.

The second position, amongst participants, references kinds of food cultural capitals, possessed by their families, which are esteemed, and identified by them as kinds of food practice which they need to work at, as part of their project of self-improvement. Theirs is about their work in progress, addressing what they recognise as prestigious in food practice which they have a privileged access to, rather than stressing their own social superiority. I borrow Warde et al's (2007) description of the apprentice for them.

The third position, of being a democrat, is about distinguishing food items and food practices which are valued as prestigious because they serve their project of 'self-actualisation' (Giddens, 1994, p.78) but resisting the connection between evaluation of food and social status. This is about being open to diversity, and getting the most out of food. This third position emphasizes the importance of maintaining webs of social belonging, either with friends, family or class, as distinct from social capital, described by Bourdieu (1986), as the means of the rich and powerful to conserve and advance their interests through their social networks. The democrats, like the supremos and apprentices, are interested to show their individual disposition to self-improvement, through food practice, as a sign of making progress in becoming adult.

This chapter continues the discussion of this aspect of self-identity in relation to the contexts of time, place and social setting in which these meanings are made.

## **THE SUPREMOS**

The first, two participants, illustrating the position-taking of social superiority, are an eighteen year old, female, at the end of her last year at college, before leaving for university, and a nineteen year old female, in her second year at university.

Both use the taste of their families, as natural to them, and as characterizing a social aspiration distinguished from others whose food practices are very different to their own. Both incorporate wider social discourses of healthy eating, and food style in this social differentiation. The second participant draws upon her father's Pakistani food heritage as the most important form of cultural capital. For both, their cultural capitals generate a self-assurance. In this, cultural capital highlights the importance of social advantage in what Giddens (1994, p.133) has described as 'colonising the future'. Both incorporate the value of meritocracy, a rhetoric of inclusivity, which, in their uses, is socially divisive.

### **Not eating “out of a box” like other students: Vanessa**

Vanessa is from the established middle-class, in the South East of England, amongst those who have benefitted most, in terms of the accumulation of economical capital in recent years, particularly in terms of house ownership, buy to rent, occupational pension and regional concentration of wealth (Savage, 2015). Her father is a retired, high-ranking army officer and her mother is a businesswoman in property development. She is nineteen years old, in the first year of a university graphics degree, and the second year at university. She is from Phase 3 of the fieldwork. The photographs (below, figure 8.1) were a culmination of her response to the prompt, given by the researcher, to explore an aspect of food that was important to her, and to make a visual artifact that represented her position to it. First, reference is made to the semi-structured interview which followed.

Throughout the interview, Vanessa constructed a self-narrative which had an interest to stress her independence from home at the same time as showing that she shared the food taste of home. She demonstrates the kind of independence which we saw in chapter six, of the young person's capability and resourcefulness, in being able to cook healthy food in the new territory of university. She uses her capability and possession of the taste of home as a means of differentiating herself from other students at university.

At the beginning of the interview, she extended the meaning of the photographs she presented (figure 8.1), by explaining how they came about: first, as an address to her parents' anxiety, about her not eating properly, and not caring for herself. The tone of outrage I heard in her voice, when she explains her parents' apparent distrust, is a part of her aversion to being misrecognised as someone who is not independently capable and resourceful with food, and would end up depending on junk food, a kind of eating held up as characteristic of laziness, food ignorance and lack of food capability.

V: the whole idea of the project was the idea that the very last thing that my parents said to me before I left was 'eat well' (.) and I think that they didn't trust that I could cook for (.) like find things to eat myself (.) or that I would just eat out of a box (.) so I decided that for my research

The interest is to be seen as someone, aligned with the judgment of an adult, middle-class audience, like her parents and like me, who knows what to 'eat well' means. It is also not to be defined in terms of being a student at university, as her explanation of the early part of her research shows. She explained how she had been through the food bins of her university housemates, making an inventory of the food they eat. The unhealthiness of the food was what she focused on. She adopted the perspective of an investigator, reporting back to me about the dire state of students' food culture. The invitation to imagine, and feel horror at student food practices was there in such sentence starters as, 'You wouldn't believe what I found ...' This kind of denigration, of the crudity and unhealthiness of others' food, shares the affective and ethical orientation of wider social discourses that associate obesity with the social stigma of failed, individual responsibility, bad family

culture and social dependency (Appendix 2 iv, v, vi, vii). Jamie Oliver's *Ministry of Food* (2008) campaign, including the television series which made surveillance of poor families and their food, in Rotherham, is an example of the association of declining cooking skill, social dependence and obesity.

That she had established such a socially loaded point of view meant that there was some embarrassment in her specification of the photographs of food as being what she had cooked (top and bottom image in fig 8.1 below) and what her mother and herself had cooked together (the middle image). The 'naturalistic modality' of the photographs, according to van Leeuwen's (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.168) description of a high resemblance to reality in the visual image, serves an interest to represent the truth of her cooking healthy food for herself. However, in comparison to food deemed worthy of being photographed conventionally in recipe, advertising and tele-visual food texts, it is unappealing. It also lacks the higher articulation of form, colour and layout of the 'sensory modality' (ibid, p.170) customary in those texts. However, the distance, from the plates of food, and point of view upon them, is conventional, presenting the finished, plated-up meal for both informational and pleasurable purposes.

She had to verbally extend the visual information of the photographs, by explaining the circumstances in which the food was prepared: how, on returning home, she had intended to make a proper meal for her parents, to prove that she knew how to eat differently from other students; her plan was spoilt by the upheaval of her parents moving house; and so, her mother and herself had ended up making a quick meal together. This verbal extension forestalled pejorative middle-class judgment of the taste of her food.



**Figure 8.1:** Like mother and daughter

As she points to the photographs, she excuses herself and expresses disappointment. She has to correct my down-beat description of the food as ordinary student food, being cheap, quick to prepare and filling. One way that she does this is by re-evaluating the food, using a foodie lexis, for example 'mayonnaise sweet corn couscous'. The ingredient of couscous is a marker of consumer savviness at the time of this conversation - of being engaged with foodie culture, within a white, British context - a food item of social aspiration. This is as it is reported to a majority white, middle-class readership of print journalism (Wallop, 2011) and mediated by popular telly-chefs, such as Jamie Oliver for some time (2002, p.220) – transforming the kind of direct knowledge of Mediterranean, North African cuisine of a middle-class traveler/ food writer like Arabella Boxer (1983, p.117) into popular taste. This participant incorporates this food item into her self-narrative as a food of convenience for consumer savvy, busy people. Busyness becomes a signifier, for the middle-class, of having the lives of important people because their time is in high

demand. This association distances her food from being the 'fast food' of the denigrated poor or student of social myth, just as Nigella Lawson does as part of her construction of a female, metropolitan middle-class identity, whose food is 'fast food ... but ... for those who love eating ... within a time-table that is ... busy, full of things that I want to do ... In short, I have a normal life, the sort we all share.' (Lawson, 2008, p.1). In this extract, Vanessa builds an argument about her similarity to her mother. She is as resourceful as her mother is when she is in short of time and food resources: the pressure in which her mother had to work alongside her, in making the meal, mirrored the conditions Vanessa experiences at university. This is a means of naturalising her taste, in the busy-ness of a life like her mother's.

V: when I went home I thought that I would do the same at home but they were moving house at the time and me and my mum (.) all we'd rustled up for dinner was this \ (tone of disappointment) (points at figure 8.1) basically what a student might eat anyway

M: yeah

V: so it kind of

M: that looks like baked potato and a bit of tuna

V: that is mayonnaise sweet corn couscous

M: pretty cheap (.) quick (.) if you've got to eat something that's what you'd do

V: yeah (.) that kind of proved my point

M: *she* helped you to make that, but *you* made this on your own/

V: yes (.) that (pointing to the meal she had made at university) was pasta with mint (.) with vegetables

M: she hasn't got much veg there/ (pointing at the meal they had made together)

V: (laughs) exactly (.) it's out of a can and that just proves my point (.) that well our parents are wrong (.) I do eat pretty well



M: your mum agreed with you that there just wasn't time to make an elaborate meal, but at uni you take a bit more time over it and use fresher ingredients/

V: exactly

M: what's this image at the bottom/

V: that's both of them put together. It turned out that we eat exactly the same at uni and at home, so I thought that I would add them together

Once the makers of the food, on display, are specified, in the interview, the layout of the images serves the comparison between her food and that of her mother. Then, the connection between the top image of her own food at university, the central image of that which her mother and herself cooked together at home, and the bottom one of her own, again cooked at university, is a logical one - an extension of similarity, according to van Leeuwen's (2008, p.230) visual-verbal linking: they prepare similar food. The extension of the images, by the verbal narrative about convenience, grounded in the exigencies of two busy (important) lives, makes them evidence of similar, cooking capability and resourcefulness, between mother and daughter.

Naturalising her taste, in the busy-ness of her life, continues to be the way that she aligns her social identity with her mother's. In the next extract, she stresses her geographical movement, to destinations which express her knowledge about the cultural capital of region and university. Association with the cities of Russell Group Universities is an important part of contemporary class distinction in the UK, reflecting the unequal geographical distribution of all forms of capital. She references improvised eating out with friends, all signs of privilege, in the possession of economic, social and cultural capitals.

She also naturalized her taste, as part of a privileged life, by distancing herself away from ordinary, female food work. Immediately before this extract, she described her disinterest in food preparation, how she was used to being cooked for, referring back to being cooked for at boarding school as that which established this normality for her. This performance of being middle-class was in response to being pressed for descriptions of what she cooked at university,

she having distanced herself from the crude and unhealthy eating of other students. Similarly, in this extract, my questioning about her meal practice at home is irritating to her, hypothetically because of the toxic association, of not eating proper meals together as a family with pathological versions of food poverty and obesity, and because someone of her class should not be the object of cultural scrutiny.

V: so the last couple of weeks I've not had anything to do on the course and I've been to like Leeds London back to Bristol (.) I've been all over (.) I've been staying in flats and going out for meals (.) you know

M: what kind of food do you eat/

V: all sorts of things according to who I'm with

M: and do you enjoy eating with others/

V: yes (.) of course (.) that's how you eat at home (.) isn't it/

M: well some people don't

V: we all eat around a table together (.) it's good because we don't often see each other (.) I'm the youngest of three (.) and my brother's either away at uni and my sister's working nine to five and so's my dad (.) so the only time we ever see each other is when we eat (.) and we all have time away from each other which is my-time (.) so we all eat together then go off and do our own thing again

According to what she said at the beginning of the interview, her interest in the photographs was to answer her parents' anxiety about her not eating properly. As she has extended the meanings of the photographs in the interview, her interest has been to show that she has learnt to use food at university to signify her middle-class identity and to progress toward adult, middle-class, female adulthood. She did this, first, by sharing the perspective of middle-class, adult scrutiny of other students' food, transforming their food to the evidence of the crude and unhealthy eating of people not like her. Secondly, she did it by establishing links of similarity between her mother's and her own

food, which signified their freedom to do food how they wish. This freedom is based in their command over material and human resources, their consumer-savviness, expressed in accessing novel and healthy foods, and is expressed in the busy-ness of their lives - the key index of their social identity. Thirdly, she defended her food practices from the scrutiny of the researcher by asserting her authority in the interview. She did this by showing her command of economic, cultural and social capitals. The emphasis upon busy-ness shifts the legitimization of taste, from the naturalized expression of an established middle-class life, to the vocabulary of meritocracy: a disposition to work hard and to show her capabilities and resourcefulness.

### **Knowing how to make a proper curry: Yal**

This participant, Yal, is eighteen, has completed her A levels, and expects to move to the new settings of university after the summer. She, like Vanessa, is from an established middle-class background, whose parents are amongst those with high, institutional cultural capital, with relatively high economic capital and good access to social networks. These include diverse, ethnic cultural forms. Her father is a hospital consultant, of Pakistani heritage; her mother is an educational psychologist, of white British heritage. Her use of her father's Pakistani food heritage, as a form of cultural capital, is key to her construction of her own middle-class identity, this time more liberal, but with the same, neo-liberal vocabulary of meritocracy underpinning it.

Like Vanessa, Yal's construction of a middle-class identity, unfolds as part of a self-performance of being someone who is orientated to future relocation and successful adaption to new territory. For Vanessa, it was a performance of being free of embeddedness at university, and free of the constraints of other, less privileged, social groups, hypothetically orientated to life after university. Yal orientates herself to a future separation from friends she has associated with on a daily basis, in and out of school, and her family at home. The constitution of the self as free to engage with all kinds of food on offer in consumer culture, that is a cooperation with the myth of a 'democracy of goods' (Smith Maguire, 2015) which underpins it, sits alongside her suture to her ethnic food heritage, as something which marks out her distinction.

She, as other, young people, featured in previous chapters, transforms the family food culture, and the social belonging of being with her family, into abstract qualities of a family disposition, which she inherits and takes with her, in the movement to the new territory of university. Previous discussion has identified this transformation as a means of generating a sense of trust within the individual which facilitates the movement toward the future. Yal illustrates how evaluating the family cultural capital, of class and ethnicity, as privilege, equips her more for the next chapter in her biography.

Yal is a part of the Phase 1 of the fieldwork. In response to the prompt of that phase, to use a video camera to focus upon an aspect of food that was important to her, she made an investigative video about the food practices of friends and acquaintances at her college. The main body of the video comprises of a series of six, brief interviews with them, on the college campus, followed by a coda, in which she evaluates what she had heard from her peers.

She is using a video camera like a student doing a school project, a use familiar to her and the students she interviews on the college campus. Her friends cooperate, and help her project. Although recognized as a friend, her performance is of the professional interviewer and members of the public in a voxpop genre of television reporting, on a locally or nationally themed topic, in a public place. Her friends, too, responded to the formality of her role, listening carefully, and adopting a serious tone of voice, and formal body postures if standing, usually breaking from an activity when approached, correcting hair position before speaking and looking directly to the camera. Yal, though, also plays into a confrontational style of interviewing, and use of the video camera to inspect her interviewees and their food, reminiscent of cinema-veritee or what Nichols termed 'participatory mode' (Izod and Kilborn, p.429) of documentary making, recently popularized, in film, by Michael Moore's *Bowling For Columbine* (2002), *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), *Sicko* (2007) and Morgan Spurlock's *Supersize Me* (2004).

In addressing her interviewee's eating habits, and the healthiness of their food, her confrontational questions, asked as she holds the camera, allow her

to play at the professional media role of social investigator or campaigner, and distance herself from her friends. In synch with her movement and inspection of her respondents, the camera's gaze is both hers and a consensual position of viewer surveillance and moral judgment (figure 8.2). Question selection and abrupt tone, play into wider social discourses about obesity which foreground lack of individual responsibility and bad family food culture (Appendix 2, iv, v, vi, vii). The first four questions asked of respondents as they eat their lunch are: 'You're eating that food, but is it healthy?' 'Do you find that (emphasized) acceptable?' 'Would you classify this as good food or bad food?' 'What do you think your food says about you?' In an account of her visual narrative, as outlined by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), she is the actor, and her goal is to expose the truth of young people's eating practices, and to make them conscious of their responsibility to eat healthily.



**Figure 8.2:** Others' food

The video's coda, filmed in her bedroom at home, is closer, in provenance, to a video diary or a moblog, in which space and time is made to reflect on experience which may seem fragmented. Here, the focus is on her personal reactions to what the participants in her video said. She passes judgement on them here, and again in the subsequent interview with me, drawing upon wider social discourses about a crisis in British food culture and a broken society, as exemplified in David Cameron's speech, following the riots of 2011 (Stratton, 2011). In the coda, she adopts an apologetic position toward young people, describing poor food education in schools, poor family upbringing and

poor food provision through limited disposable income and stressed family units. She makes comparisons between such young people who exemplify this crisis and herself. She distinguishes herself from other young people she knows, like those she has interviewed, by describing what she has learnt to do: her cooking ability; the range of food that she has cooked, including kinds of British food and food from a Pakistani tradition; her improvement as a cook. She also distinguishes herself by what she has: a rich family food tradition, and a family that has ensured that she is capable, informed, resourceful and independent.



**Figure 8.3:** Yal' coda

The extract of the interview (shown further below, after the video sequence) shows a re-punctuation of this othering of the food culture of her friends. It gives an example of her association of British young people's poor food knowledge and poor family food culture, and her logical extension, of contrast, to use van Leeuwen's (2008, p.225) overview of verbal linking, between their families and her own. In the interview extract, Yal has stilled the video image being shown to me, featuring her respondent and her friend. Before this, there were four other sequences, in which female and male respondents expressed great interest in what they ate and cooked, and reflected intelligently on the questions asked. They talked about vegetarianism, balancing eating and exercise, preferences for cooking vegetables and fish, and the importance of eating diverse food groups. So, the selection of this extract, which features the

least responsible of all of the young people she interviewed, suits her purpose to exaggerate the contrast between the food culture of many of her friends and her own.

**Table 8.1** Yal and the unhealthy eater

Sound	Visual
Yal: do you care about where food comes from/ say like how chickens are reared/	m/s of two female friends, looking to camera.
Respondent: no	
Yal: why not/	m/s of respondent; only part of friend's body seen to the side of the frame
Respondent: because I don't eat healthily	
Yal: what do you eat most of the time/	
Respondent: chocolate and sugar and crisps and	
Friend: <i>chips</i> most of the time	
Yal: do you think that matters/	
Respondent: I don't care	
Yal: why not/	
Respondent: because I think if it's nice tasting food I don't care if it's unhealthy	

Sound	Visual
Yal: can you cook/	Respondent lets her hair fall across her face
Respondent: no	
Friend: because you're fat and always will be	
Yal: do your friends eat healthily/	Respondent looks up at camera
Respondent: same as me	
Yal: what do you think food says about you/ if you go to a restaurant and order mayo and chips off the menu/ (.) what does it say/	
Respondent: it doesn't matter	
Yal: you don't think it matters/	
Respondent: no	

Stopping the image at this point, she extends the meaning of the image, in speech, by adding further information about the causes of the poor food culture that is typical of the UK. She constructs the perspective of liberal, middle-class concern with a social problem, characteristic of the professional class of her parents, and that which she reads in me. She presents herself as credible in this position by referring to her own upbringing and showing restraint in her criticism of people from different family cultures. The ellipsis which follows the stressed 'I feel', and the low subjective modality, according to relative weakness of the assertion of truth (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.162), of 'I guess', expresses that restraint. This is a negotiation with me, before a more forthright comment. That comes after the fourth reference to 'how you're raised', in an explanation that links single parenthood, failure of parental responsibility to children, and inadequate provision of processed food. She



makes the comparison with her own upbringing, and, thereby, to her own superior experience, and knowledge of food. (Italics are used to show stress).

Y: I guess when you go to a restaurant and you order things it does say how you're raised (.) if you're only raised to eat certain kinds of foods (.) she was raised off like ready meals and stuff and her parents didn't cook a lot which I feel (.) I dunno (.) I guess it's how you're raised (.) if you have two parents as well (.) like when I was younger my mum used to work and then she had a contract where she could be at home and she *could* cook for us every day and make sure we have a nicely cooked meal whereas a lot of people who I know lived off ready meals and stuff (.) which aren't exactly the healthiest food in the world

The terms of the contrast between her family food culture and that of others reproduce the terms of right-wing media, and political discourses at the time (2007-08) about a 'broken Britain' (Stratton, 2011, p.1) which, as Cameron's speech after the riots of 2011 did, associates a myriad of social problems with the failure of personal responsibility, young people's irresponsibility and problem families. There is also resonance with the association, in wider social discourse, of health problems in the UK, including an obesity crisis, and the draw on state services, with the failure of individuals and families to take responsibility for themselves (Appendix 2 iv). Her contrast associates one-parent families, working mothers who have to balance the need to work with the duties of motherhood, with poor cooking skills and the provision of unhealthy food for their children. Again, this reproduces the evaluation and purpose of family food, and legitimization of change in telly-chef, Jamie Oliver's Ministry of Food campaign (2008).

She continued, in the interview, to illustrate the poor food skills of most of her peers by describing a jointly prepared dinner party. Again, their lack is contrasted with her cooking knowledge. At the beginning of this extract, she constructs an identity that is fluent in 'border crossing' (Tizard and Parker, 2002, p.114 ): having a privileged access to a plurality of cultures and able to negotiate her religious identity with others. The theme of possessing the attribute of adaptability, and of moving with ease across diverse territories,

resonates in the extract of the next story about her father's sourcing wonderful fruits, and the reference to her sister's food enterprise in Thailand. In the following extracts, contrast is made with British white people who go for a curry, but never really access a new cultural territory, and with her British white friends who wonder at the exotic fruit accessed from the premier Asian shopping area of the nearby city which they never access.

Yal' adaptability, in being able to cook for her non-Muslim, British friends, and in negotiating her friendship with them, shows the work that she has done to be a successful operator across diverse social and cultural contexts. This meritocratic work is an important link to the construction of a culturally privileged identity. In her explanation of why she knows how to cook a 'proper curry', she develops the contrast of her family to that of others.

In this extract, the reference to an ethnic food heritage serves the interest of marking out the same qualities of a good family food culture, which other participants, and their parents did in Phase 1 of the fieldwork: healthy eating, proper cooking of fresh ingredients, aversion to processed food, families eating together and the intergenerational learning about food. The benefits of her father's knowledge and roots are passed on to her: she benefits from the continuity of culture, mediated through the intimacy and care of family life. The stresses she uses celebrate learning: 'it was interesting. I found it really interesting ... amazing.' Together with the affective distance that her narrative makes from others who only know what a takeaway curry is ('I was quite shocked...a lot of them don't ...know'), her celebration of learning hypothetically intends to organise a shared viewpoint with me, who she perceives as middle class and a teacher. (Again, italics are used to show stress).

M how do you deal with your culturally specific requirements/

Y: We have to be like quite picky because obviously we're Muslims so we don't eat pork so all my friends know that so like they make something without it

M: they take that into account/

Y: yeah (.) and a couple of my friends are vegetarian so I make two dishes (.) like I made this pasta and I used quorn instead of using meat in one of them and then I made the same dish then I used chicken and I made a curry as well and I was quite shocked because a lot of them don't (.) the only curries they know are the ones from the takeaway and they are *not* proper curries if you think about it

M: no

Y: the taste is completely different (.) and like because of my dad who's taught me to make different curries and stuff

M: you dad cooks/

Y: my dad cooks curries all the time (.) he makes some really cool ones like because my sister's vegetarian and stuff like he makes special vegetable ones and they're really nice and it's a treat when we get them (.) when he makes them (.) and like I took a curry like and most people were like 'I've never tried' (.) 'the curry at the takeaway doesn't taste like this at all' and like no it doesn't (.) so when you say you're going for an Indian (.) you're not really are you (.)

M: who taught him/

Y: he was brought up in Pakistan and he had a really nice family (.) he had five brothers and two sisters and he was like the youngest of the family and he was at home most out of everyone, and he used to sit and watch his mum cook and just like taught him like that (.) my grandmother (.) she used to teach us how to cook different kinds of boti and different kinds of aloo and things like that (.) I remember coming home from like [REDACTED] (her junior high school) and she'd be cooking and she'd say 'come and look at this' like and we'd be just watching as she made these different types of curries and she'd say 'what do you think/' and it was *interesting* (.) I found it *really* interesting (.) I used to watch (.) I found it like interesting how all these ingredients that by themselves might not taste that great (.) by combining them you get a dish that's *amazing* (2)

In the interview, she follows this with a mini- narrative about her sister's traveling around the world, linking the family's food culture with their self-entrepreneurialism: her sister is adaptable, skillful and resourceful in traveling to Thailand and opening a restaurant there. Movement across the globe echoes earlier reference to the geographical extension of her father's and grandmother's food culture. Globality, as an aspect of personal disposition, in having the capability to operate successfully anywhere, having a global breadth of knowledge about food, extends the theme of the privilege of belonging to this ethnic heritage. Description of abundance and wonder, which accompany description of food items from her ethnic heritage, are pleasurable memory work, and a part of her performance of being proud to have this ethnic identity.

Y: One of my sister's friends while she was at school had never tried different types of fruit (.) and everyday my friend would take in a different type of fruit for her to try cos at home she just had apples and bananas whereas at my house we have all these different kinds of fruit (.) we have mangos (.) we have all these fruits because my dad goes to [REDACTED] and he buys all the fruit that he used to have when he was young (.) at home (.) all these fruits (.) and my friends would come round and say 'what's that/ I've never seen that before' and they'd say 'that's really nice' but they would never get the chance to try it at home because basically their parents don't know

In Yal' self-narrative, her mixed parentage allows her to have a privileged access to more cultures than her friends; but it is in the intersection with class, that her ethnic food heritage has its role in her identification. It allows her to negotiate a positive, ethnic marginality (Tizzard and Phoenix, 2002) and class difference more credibly, in the research setting, from negative dispositions that are associated, in wider social discourse, with the educational underachievement, and lack of self-entrepreneurialism of white British working class, and with obesity (Appendix 2iv).

Vanessa's and Yal' construction of socially superior identities allows them to orientate themselves to the future with confidence. However, the crystallisations of capitals in their families, and their reference to them, differ:

Yal has a liberal, middle-class identity, who combines a cultural superiority with an educational frame for the work of self-improvement; Vanessa's superiority is premised upon economic and social capital, but she, too, combines that with description of her own self-entrepreneurial work, in the adaptation to university. She shows how she continues her parents' busy lifestyle, how she makes food fit into her busy life, how she avoids food work, and how she avoids placement in unhealthy, student life. Within Yal's experience, of being on the cusp of leaving home for university, her emphasis is upon securing a grip on her difference from those of her friends who are not equipped for the future. The transformation of a family's food practices into values and aptitudes which have been inherited, is an important part of a self-identity, concerned with the individual's 'colonising the future' (Giddens, 1994, p.133 ). Here, in the supremos, we have seen how class identity is a part of the generation of self-trust, an engine for confident encounter with future opportunity and risk.

## **THE APPRENTICES**

The following, two examples illustrate another position to kinds of food cultural capitals, which are possessed by their families. They evaluate aspects of their family food practices as socially and culturally esteemed, identify them as ideal, and focus upon them in their performances of self-improvement. This discursive work serves the purpose of demonstrating their self-entrepreneurial dispositions: that they are involved in a project of self-improvement, tuning themselves into the elements of the social practice of the preparation of these kinds of food, as van Leeuwen (2008) identifies them: particularly the actions, manner, actors, presentation, resources and spaces. These self-performances are, once more, to do with their managing the movement to the new territory of university, and to the habits of self-reflexivity in place there: we see them transforming the social belonging of home into kinds of value which can be realized, under the scrutiny of others, as esteemed.

These examples are both from Phase 3 of the fieldwork, featuring two 19 year old women who are in their second year of university, but their first year of a Graphics Design course. We recall that they were asked to choose an aspect

of food that is important to them, and to represent their position to it in a visual artifact. The first example, Stella, uses the model of telly-chef food preparation to address the ideal of her own mother's celebration food, and show her own resourcefulness, adaptability and creativity. Her self-performance is tuned to her identity as a university, Design student, as a performance of her aesthetic capacity, in her appreciation of technique and beauty, and her use of the schema of semiotic strata, detailed as 'discourse, design, production and distribution' by Kress and van Leeuwen (2000, p.20) and 'interpretation' by Burn (2015, p.7). The second example, Badriya, uses the model of a recipe book, as a means of negotiating the ideal of her ethnic food heritage with those outside of it, at university. Her self-performance is of someone privileged in her knowledge of the ethnic food tradition, committed to re-integrate herself into it, but also enclosing this identity as she mixes with others at university. Like Stella, Badriya is also tuned into her identity as a Design student, as a performance of an aesthetic sensibility and her use of semiotic strata.

### **Having what it takes: impressing on Masterchef - Stella**

In interview, as Stella showed me her workbook, she explained that she focused her research for the project upon special food - food that impressed. She explained that this began with her appreciation of her mother's Christmas food. Her narrative had a strong theme of admiration for her mother's capabilities, the extent of the work that she puts into food preparation, and the pleasure her food creates in others; and, in contrast, she compared her own lack of confidence in making food like that. She showed me meticulous record of her mother's Christmas food, and record of her watching food television and studying food advertising and commercial displays in supermarkets. Following this, she had made food that she hoped would be impressive in the ways that food prepared by contestants on Masterchef was, and photographed it as the visual artifact she would show to others (figures 8.4 and 8.5, following).

In this extract of the interview, we see how her use of design (choice of visual mode), production (choice of photographs) and her interpretation of them is a part of her imagining herself as a participant in the television, food competition

programme, Masterchef. Analysis of the photographs follows later. This extract shows how she combines the photographs of the food with her speech in what we could call a tutorial genre, to celebrate a personal achievement. First, there is the informational narrative of what she did. Then there is the evaluation of the food that she made, turning it into an object of desire and appreciation. The legitimization of the taste, realized in her evaluation, is that which is shared with a community of spectator/interpreters, amateur cooks, professional chefs and expert mediators of adult food culture: to make beautiful and tasty food, and to self-improve, in skill and knowledge. This is a meritocratic vocabulary in which good taste is not legitimized by class practice. This foodie discourse hypothetically allows her imaginative, self-transformation, from being a spectator of such programmes as Masterchef, to being a participant in that work of self-improvement.

In the extract, you can see how she negotiates that transformation with me. A key point is her prompting my appreciation of what she has made, when she physically points to the image of the sushi, accompanied by the deictic 'that'. Then she extends the meaning of the image by explaining her own response to the food as if she were presented with it. She uses pauses to slow time and mimic the presentation of the food, as if this were a moving image; she uses the pause in 'to eat it (.) or admire it' to frame the food she made with the aesthetic discourse of the telly-chef. 'Admire' has anaphoric reference, back to the terms of appreciation of Masterchef – 'artistic' and 'careful details'. She extends 'admire' by registering the fullness of the pleasurable affect, as 'an experience'. Again she slows the time, using pauses to separate presentation, admiration and eating; so she maintains a perspective of appreciation, for both of us, onto the food in the photograph, sliding between being food on the Masterchef show and being the food she made for this project. The conjunction 'and', in 'and that was the first time ...', links the attribution of the food to herself, present in the interview. Her evaluation, in the last part of the extract, allows her to continue the pleasure of her achievement. (Again, italics indicate stress).

S: I've been looking at presentation (1) I was looking at (.) I watched Masterchef / I was watching Masterchef (.) the series right then (.) and I loved the way they present their food and everything (.) so I kind of took that (.) and I looked at adverts (.) and all the things that people found appetising

M: what is it about what people in Masterchef do that interested you/

S: well it's *really* artistic (.) and like careful details (.) and it makes you want to eat it when it's placed in front of you and I (.) if something was placed in front of me like that (pointing at the image of the sushi) (.) I would want to eat it (.) or admire it (.) it's almost like an experience in itself (.) and then yeah (.) there's like the different stages when it's presented to you (.) you like gasp and then eat it (.) and it's really good (2) and that was the first time I've ever made sushi (.) I'm proud of it (.)

M: so you made your own sushi/

S: yeah (laughs) I love sushi (.) well (.) it took me about forty minutes (1) I love all the different colours and (.) I ideally wanted to (.) if I was going to present them properly (.) I would do the actual kind of sushi that I made (.) and present it because I don't think anything like (.) just a photograph for instance gives it justice compared to seeing it and enjoying it itself

M: it was that good/

S: *yeah* it really was (.) and I like biting into it (.) all the different textures (1) and it's really fresh ingredients and everything





**Figure 8.4:** Sushi 1



**Figure 8.5:** Sushi 2

In the design of the photographs, Stella can effect a higher 'modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.165), or truth claim, for the food that she made being the object of appreciation, by its use of signifiers derived from advertising and food magazines. This is at the same time as the text of the artifact as a whole operates as an exercise in Graphics: an investigation into the compositional elements of colour, shape and texture, and use of perspective and lighting in the presentation of food items (figure 8.4); and experimentation with different articulations of colour saturation, modulation, articulation of detail, due to

changes in lighting, and the effects of different perspectives by camera angle (figure 8.5). On the one hand, the articulations of these affordances of visual design show that, as a Graphics student, she knows how to make truth claims for the specialness of the food grounded in a 'sensory modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.170) ; on the other, as a 'synchronic syntagm' (Burn 2015, p.29) this allows her to transform her identity into someone deriving the kudos of preparing food that is admired (even being a Masterchef contestant). Imaginatively, the space in which she is operating, and the social actors who are present, receive her food and use a discourse of foodie appreciation with it, are transformed. The choice of mode and medium allows her to imagine the kind of self-transformation she made in the interview. In the images, the visual signifiers of a food deserving admiration derive popular, mediated food culture, and commercial advertising, not the snobbery of established class habitus.

Serving this play with identity, the composition of the photographs addresses the routine, first judgement of the plated food of contestants, by experts such as Michel Roux, or Monica Galetti, in Masterchef, and, through a visual relay of their looks, the appreciation of the viewers of that programme. In figure 8.4, we see the conventional final presentation of food by a participant in a television food competition. The composition of the food is knowingly organised for another's aesthetic judgment: colour modulation and differentiation, and contrast in smooth and granular textures are used to interest and please; as is symmetry and variation in shape and size, and the arrangement of objects in horizontal and vertical planes - fish, sauce and sushi. The sauce does not conceal the other items, and is presented in a curvilinear fashion in contrasting relationship to the other elements on the plate.

As she said in interview, until now, she only bought sushi from M&S as a treat, and eat out at the Bonsai sushi chain on special occasions like birthdays. In this judgment of specialness, she shows her learning about the binaries of food management, what counts as 'extravagance' and 'economy', 'novelty' and 'tradition', and 'convenience' and 'care', to borrow three of Warde's antimonies of taste (Warde, 1997, p.55ff). Further, she shows that she is

engaged with popular food culture, and its dynamic incorporation of world styles; she shows that she is engaged with a multimodal vocabulary of discernment, as used in the production of images by television, print magazine and web-text, to mediate the judgment of taste. Selecting sushi is a part of showing her self-entrepreneurial work: it is consumer-savvy of her to read the foodscape of the city she moved to, to attend university; it is creative of her to engage with the antimonies of adult, food culture, to choose food special enough to address the food of her role model, and her mother's celebration food; and she shows her adaptability to new territories, and an approved kind of self-reflexivity at university, in showing her improvement in aesthetic, critical skills.

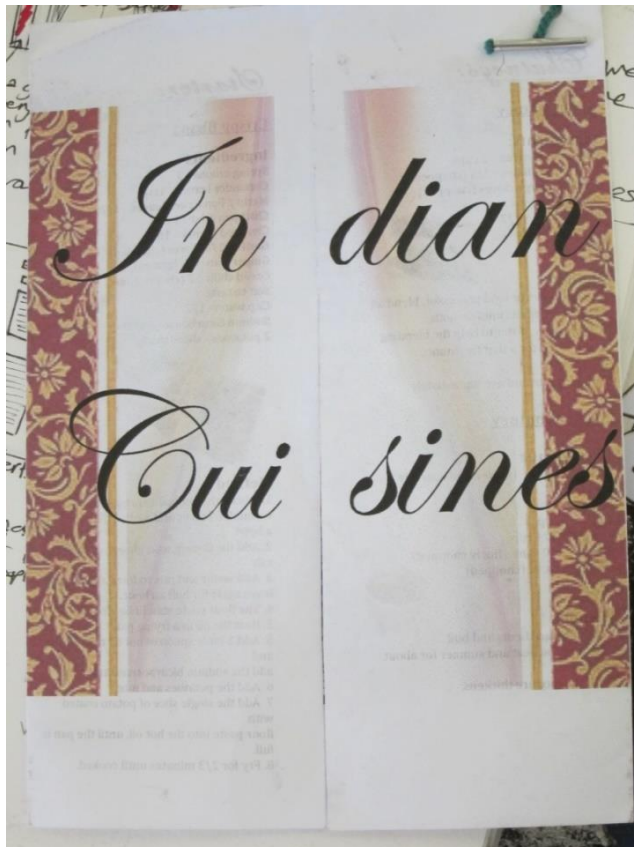
Even though she, too, has a secure middle-class background, Stella's orientation to food's specialness does not involve snobbery or the derogation of the food of other social types, as in the examples of the supremos. She adapts a form of taste which is derived from food practices in popular culture and consumer society, not from a traditional hierarchy, and makes it cohesive with the meritocratic work of self-improvement at university. As such, this is an example of cultural capital which is derived from the social approval of participating in forms of culture which enable co-operation with others, social ease with others, but also signals social distinction in being able, flexible and inventive, and is not derived from a traditional hierarchy of class. It is an example of cultural capital which chimes with the generationally differentiated cultural capital, amongst younger professional classes, described by Savage (Savage, 2015, p.110f) as 'emergent' cultural capital – that which, at the time of writing, has its infrastructure in social media, bar, club, sporting scenes, and new, professional workplaces. This is an example of how democratisation of food culture, at a nexus of food consumers and producers, is deferring to establish a different kind of hierarchy, in terms of self-entrepreneurial disposition.

### **Sharing authentic ethnic food with others at university: Badriya**

Badriya is a part of Phase 3 of the fieldwork. She is a second year university student, aged 19 years, just beginning a graphic design degree course. We

recall that the prompt of the task was to clarify a stance to an aspect of food that mattered to her, and to use a visual means to do that. She produced a design for the cover of a recipe book for Indian vegetarian food (figure 8.6), and two pages within (figure 8.7).

The interest in the design of the recipe book is to engage with those outside of her ethnic food culture, and to use what is an ideal form of food culture for her, as a form of cultural capital with them: signaling her authentic possession of something special, a means of social respect in the cosmopolitan, multicultural, liberal educational setting of university; and, in sharing it, signaling a disposition to contribute to a cosmopolitan, multicultural, liberal society. As with Stella, that social respect is based upon a personal disposition not derived from a traditional hierarchy of class. Badriya's use of her cultural capital transforms it from a matter of inheritance to one of merit, cohesive with her progress at university, and with her intent to cooperate with others, irrespective of their backgrounds. There is not an interest to establish social superiority through disparaging others' food practices.



**Figure 8.6:** Menu cover

The cover uses, in its use of decorative framing (strip of red brocade and vertical gold line), and curvilinear font for titles, a genre of menu text entirely familiar to non-Asian diners, negotiating a form of British cuisine called Indian. She has chosen a consumer territory, in which those she addresses are confident and socially at ease, as the meeting point between her own Gujarati, vegetarian, food culture and those outside of it. Everything about her design is safe. Within (figure 8.7) the layout of the text is a series of recipes as in an Indian restaurant menu, mostly consisting of writing, organised in the first three columns, according to a left to right reading of the stages of a meal. She uses the found images of cooked food to illustrate the goal of the written procedure: assembling the food ingredients, and carrying out the actions in methodical sequence. English, rather than Indian words for the food ingredients, shows the address to a wide readership. The high articulation of detail, colour saturation, colour modulation, and light and shadow (effected in part by the positioning of high-light source) is the conventional address to consumers, regarding the desirability of the food on offer, by commercial advertisers. She uses a visual 'sensory modality', as van Leeuwen (2005, p.170) describes it, to present the food as desirable. The watermarked image of a plate of food behind the instructions strengthens the offer of pleasure.



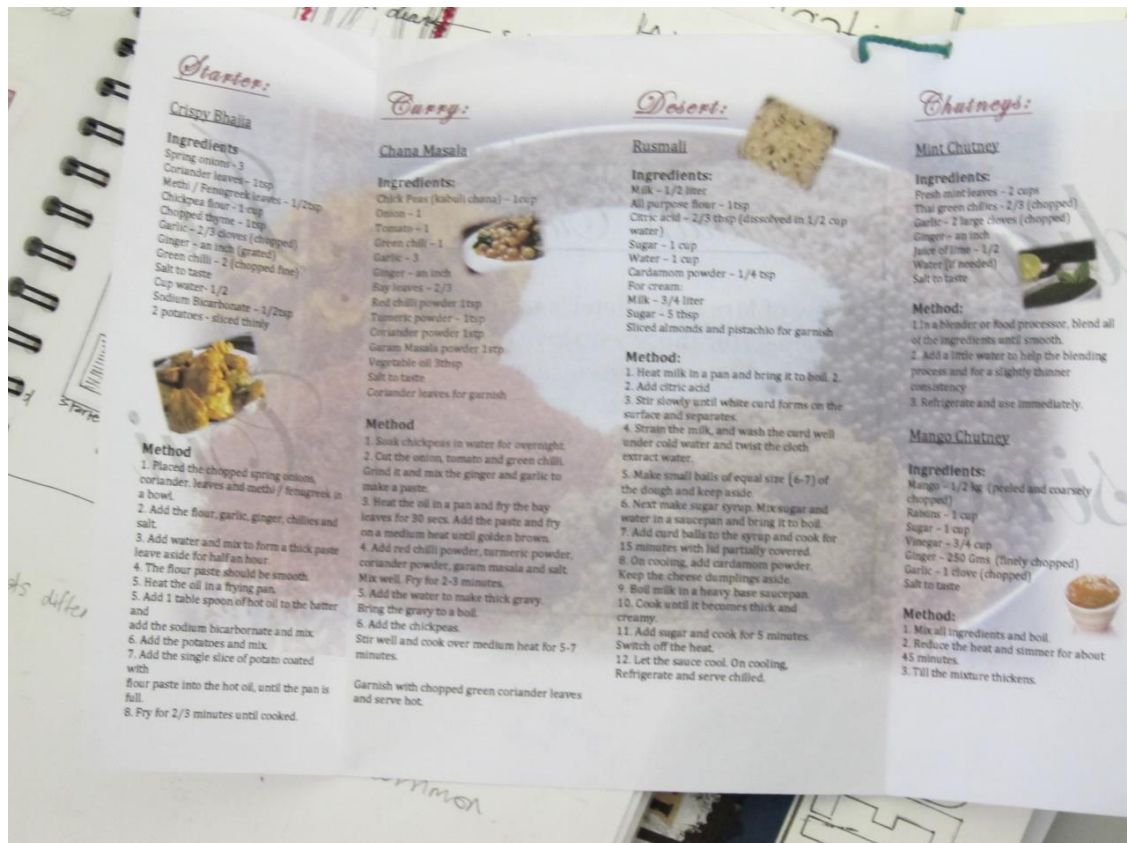


Figure 8.7: Indian recipes

In the two extracts of the interview, following, her extension of the meanings of the visual designs provokes a crisis, both in her self-presentation, as someone possessing this cultural capital, and as someone welcoming others into her world of Gujarati vegetarian cooking. In the first extract, in an attempt to add affective depth to her possession of a Gujarati food culture, she effects a distance from the child's world in which it operated, in time and space. In her present, university world, her food practices are dislocated from it. In the second extracts, she manages both disclosure and enclosure about her personal experience of home, making it clear that there are rules and limits about the invitation to her food culture.

Early in the conversation, she had emphasized how the design was intended to welcome and encourage readers who were not familiar with this kind of food - for example, putting simple recipes at the beginning, and more complex dishes later. The ethos of her speech was confident and at ease.

Then, in the first extract, she extends the meaning of the design, in front of us, in terms of its dealing with an oscillating sense of identity: when she looks at the design she has made, she thinks about her childhood at home, then about being at university, then about returning home, then about her life at university and so on. To deepen the sense, in her self-presentation, that this food tradition does fit her, and belong to her, she has to extend, however briefly, a narrative about being a child and being at home. However, the social actor in the story of this food's preparation is her mother – she is only, parenthetically, an apprentice; and the space for this practice is home, not university. The temporal extension, 'when', and the pauses, signal this shift in time and place. She uses tone and a smile, to present her positive evaluation of the memory to me. My question, about what she actually cooks and eats here at university, prompts a comic recognition of the shortcoming between her self-performance of owning an ethnic food culture and her account of eating British fast food; then, at the top of the second extract, which follows directly, she reinvests in a narrative of cooking the food and explains her apprentice status.

M: what do you think about now when you look at this/

B: I think childhood (.) what I've been doing here (.) when I go back home (.) because I've been living on campus (.) when I go back home (.) the way you get all that food that you can't actually make here (1) It brings you back to your childhood (.) when you were a little kid (tone of endearment; smile) (1) cos on the weekend we were only able to eat the good food (.) so it's like (.) it brings you back to childhood

M: is it a positive feeling/

B: yeah it is (.) it is

M: Do you ever get the chance when you're here to get that food here/ to make it/

B: I've attempted to (.) but it's quite difficult because my mum's not there to help me (.) and guide me (.) for like what spices (.) how much to add (.) you know



M: you'd probably not want her to see what you've made in the end

B: (laughs) she'd probably look at all the frozen chips and look like (mimics shock on her mother's face)

In this next extract, to repossess the food tradition, she resituates herself in family and culturally coded space. However, my encouraging her to narrate, is also an intrusion into that space and she asserts a limitation on my surveillance. There is only brief imaginative relocation, in her use of the present tense and her adoption of a family perspective on the kitchen, overseen by the goddess of food preparation. The goddess is perhaps Anapurna, the incarnation of the Hindu goddess Parvati, wife of Shiva. The limitation is effected in the metaphor of the door as a barrier. My question, about her negotiating what to show other students about her food tradition, is partly my movement out of the frame of her home experience, and she uses that as a prompt to close the narrative about her personal life, and run with a design discourse. She uses the temporal extension 'then' to close the narrative of self-disclosure; and to use the logical extension (van Leeuwen, 2005) of reason giving ('that's what I wanted to ...') to re-present herself as a unified self, as the university student with a proud, food heritage.

B: I like to cook for people (.) I do cook more at home (.) cos I'm more comfortable

M: yeah

B: and I cook for the whole family

M: so the cooking you're talking to me about is very much associated in your mind with home/

B: and the kitchen at home

M: could imagine that place now/

B: yeah I do yeah

M: and if I said name five things that are in that kitchen/

B: er I would say (.) we have a picture of the god (.) that's right next to the cooker (.) then we have a microwave and then a fridge (.) and going straight out into the garden (.) then the door is a barrier (.) your own little zone (1)

M: in your design you were going to have to talk to students about *your* food/

B: it was ok (.) at times you welcome people into your little world (.) and I like that (.) then I kind of kept it inside the frame (2)

M: you know that opening (pointing to the break in the border around the recipe) (1)

B: yeah (.) that's what I wanted (.) to welcome people into my world

The interest in Badriya's Indian restaurant design is to allow a conventional transaction of meanings about ethnic identity and food, entirely consistent with the economic pursuit of generations of British people with a food heritage derived from the Indian sub-continent. The interest in the design of the recipe book is to engage with those outside of her ethnic food culture, and to use it, as a form of cultural capital, as a means of social respect in the cosmopolitan, multicultural, liberal educational setting of university. As with Stella, that social respect is based upon the social distinction of being able, flexible and inventive, and is not derived from a traditional hierarchy of class.

Her ethnic food heritage is a form of cultural capital, in her evaluation of it, from a position of privilege, understanding it from the inside, not from a sense of being privileged in terms of possessing greater economic and social capitals than others. Her specification of it as something of more value than a disparaged kind of British fast food, is about celebrating the rich experience of eating and preparing food at home with her mother, and reaffirming a personal target to get better at it herself, but not about sitting in judgment of others less privileged than her. She does not use her ethnic food heritage to derogate other families. This separates her position to ethnicity and class from that of Yal. Badriya's reference to family, tradition and inheritance is not clustered with reference to a family, superior command over material and human resources, as Vanessa's and Yal's are. Badriya's background is traditional

working class. Badriya only mobilises her food heritage as cultural capital in combination with her acquisition of educational, cultural capital.

Badriya's production, in a university setting, of her design, and of her control of its meanings - to foreground it as her design work rather than as a window onto her personal history, in the interview - affirms her identification in terms of the cultural capital of a university education. She encloses the design's signification of her personal knowledge of authentic ethnic food, and of its transformation into a kind of British food by generations of British people with Indian sub-continent heritage, in her self-performance, at university. Her use of design to perform her identity as someone progressing on the basis of merit, and open to others on the basis of equality, cooperates with a construction of a young, professional class, from diverse backgrounds who value authenticity alongside personal ability, flexibility, adaptability and inventiveness. Like Stella, parental food culture does not define her, but it is a prompt for her own adaptation of it, in the cause of showing these other, self-entrepreneurial characteristics.

## **THE DEMOCRATS**

The next two examples illustrate an orientation to food cultural capital that resists snobbery. This position defends the worth and dignity of people they perceive as being like themselves - described as 'working class' by the first participant, and as 'ordinary people' by the second. It resists the transformation of food into an object of appreciation which slides into a judgment of others as social types less worthy than any others. This position values the purpose of conserving the socialities of family, friends, and, for the first participant, class, because they have sustained, and will sustain them in the future. Food is highly valued as a means of maintaining the sense of social belonging. However, this position is also about exercising discernment and appreciation of food, in ways which are stitched into self-performances of being self-entrepreneurial: self-improving, capable and resourceful. This resourcefulness is performed in showing that you are engaged with food culture, and are consumer-savvy: you know what is available and know how to

use it – to cooperate with others as equals, and show that you are making progress.

Discussion of this resourcefulness, then, extends that of chapter six – young people's learning to use food, independently, as a means of building and sustaining kinds of socialities which do not constrain 'self-actualisation' (Giddens, 1994, p.78). As with those female participants, in chapter seven, these young people use popular cultural mediation of food culture to position themselves to future, personal progression. These participants work hard at making that engagement cohesive with habits of self-reflexivity developed with family and friends. They work at connecting discernment in food to 'ordinary' life (Bourdieu, 1984, p.4) and refuse the terms of the binary of the 'pure' aesthetic gaze and 'popular aesthetic' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.4) and its derivation from class hierarchy.

### **Keeping the faith: Joel.**

Joel is 18 years old, and has shunned a university place, to work as a shop-fitter with his father, who is self-employed. Through the last two years, he has also worked part-time in a restaurant kitchen, learning to cook. At this time, he continues that work. Joel is a part of Phase 1 of the fieldwork. We recall that the prompt for these participants was to make a video, of whatever kind and length, about an aspect of food that was important to them. Joel made a short video, in three sections: the first a tele-chef style demonstration of cooking an item of food; the second and third 'personal documentaries' (Willett, 2009, p.222f) about friends eating together at a pizzeria, and a picnic involving his extended family at home.

Discussion of this participant will focus, for the most part, upon the interview, and upon the importance he gives to the telly-chef Gordon Ramsay, as a role model for him of how to both self-improve and maintain a working class identity through food.

At the beginning of the interview, he explained that he had a big interest in food, and that chefs like Gordon Ramsay and Jamie Oliver were heroes with whom he could identify. He explained how he collected and read all of their books, as well as watching all of their television programmes. His narrative

then focused upon the similarities between Ramsay and himself. These were threefold. First, he admired Ramsay's no-nonsense stance to the importance of good food; Joel said how he, like Ramsay, lamented how 'people nowadays' took little care and time over making good food, using good ingredients, while preferring to spend time and money on poor quality, mass-produced food and 'booze'. Secondly, for him, like Ramsay, authenticity in food was important. Joel gave the example of how, having eaten proper pizza, on holiday in Italy, he had searched for comparable authenticity on returning home. A repeated complaint was that most people's palates had been ruined by overexposure to inauthentic, mass-consumer versions. These are recognizably working class discourses about the error of other working class lifestyles and the importance of having something authentic, in working class life, to conserve and be proud of. This has resonance in the culturalist stance of Richard Hoggart (1957/65). Thirdly, he admired how successful Ramsay had been, in building a career based upon his convictions about what food should be.

Below, the extract shows how Ramsay's stance is used to legitimate Joel's values. Joel extends the comparison that he had already made between Ramsay and himself, using the theme of keeping faith with your own. What is criterial in Joel's interpretation of Ramsay's story is marking out the similarity, between what really matters in food, for Joel and Ramsay: food symbolises the sense of embeddedness in a working class life and social solidarity. The virtues Joel recognises are traditional working class toughness, loyalty, care and the maintenance of ties, all symbolised by the provision of traditional food. There was clear affect in his voice as he delivered the core of the story, that, even though Ramsay's mother endured such brutality, from the father, she still made sure that good food was ready for him. The adversative 'but' (see\*) argues for her steadfastness, just like the emphatic 'after every day'. This affect continues in his description of Ramsay's effect on people 'like me' (twice) and 'he's changed my ways'.

At the beginning of the extract, Joel links his family practice of maintaining traditional, working class food practices, with Ramsay's. Immediately before, he had described how his shop-fitting job takes him away from home. I had

asked him what kind of food he would want to make, if he was to live away for a long period. He nominated a form of cheese pie that is cooked, every Thursday, in his home and those of both his maternal and paternal grandparents.

J: yeah (.) it keeps the normality going (.) it brings you back to home (1) if it's Thursday (.) it's what we do (1) from reading Gordon Ramsay's book (.) some of the dishes that he's got on his menu now (.) in not so high up restaurants but the normal class restaurants sort of thing that he went to (.) the cottage pies and stuff he does (.) that's on his menu because of his mum

M: he's quite a family guy isn't he/

J: well he's been brought up on nothing (1) he's been brought up on meals and everything er on life as it is and his dad used to beat his mum up (.)<sup>\*</sup> but at the end of the day (.) *after every day* (.) because he used to be quite a famous footballer (.) didn't he (.) er his mum would always have a meal cooked on the table (.) tripe and stuff

M: yeah

J: it'd just be on the table (2) I like him as well because he's come from nothing (.) he's made a lot of money through something he enjoys (.) and he has actually like through every person (.) like me he's changed my ways on (1) for every person like me he can change what we eat (.) how we are cooking (.) inspiring (.) that's one less person who's going to be buying factory farmed chickens

What is inspirational for Joel is that Ramsay is a model of both being self-entrepreneurial and keeping faith with his roots, an example of reconciling these two forces being his inclusion of working class food on his restaurant menus. Joel, conscious of the present changes to his life - leaving college, starting paid work with his father, traveling around the country, for example - has an interest, like Ramsay, to maintain the affective symbolism of food, in holding together working class solidarity and individual self-advancement.

In the following extract, his narrative about his own self-improvement in food taste and his departure from the taste of his family has nothing to do with snobbery. His freedom, in the restaurant, in using food away from the domestic constraints of managing food on a budget, is not turned into a privilege. His new, and improved discernment is about the food itself, not its signification of class difference: it is a capacity that he has learnt in a place of work, not by inhabiting class privilege. The narrative is grounded in reference to the work of his part-time job at a Michelin-starred restaurant, and performed by playing into telly-chef performance. He constructs an identity that is, like Ramsay, at ease as a self-entrepreneur, in the chef-kitchen, and as a member of his class.

Telly-chefs, such as Jamie Oliver and Gordon Ramsay, have modeled this combination of a working class, male speech, physical performance and language of discernment. Joel mimics their discursive style in telling the anecdote: he mimes the application of oil, garlic and the cutting of the meat; he creates drama, with pause and stress, for expressing the pleasure in tasting, and discerning the superior difference in eating meat this way; he combines the lexis of Italian and French food - sauce tartare, Carpaccio, parmesan, olive oil and garlic –with the description of a workplace and masculinized, traditional working class work.

J: Everyone in my family used to eat steaks well done (2) so it just carries on (.) your mum cooks it for dad well done and it virtually just carries on (1) my grandparents will only have it well done (.) they won't have it done rare or anything but (1) in the restaurant me mate (.) well he used to try raw steak and err we had steak tartare one morning (.) when you think of eating raw (.) you think ugh raw meat (.) but when you're *tasting* it (2) you like to taste it with like Carpaccio (.) with just a little bit of parmesan and there was a bit of olive oil and a rub of garlic on it (1) but when you're trying that it was like (.) cold ham in a way kind of thing (.) really thin but you could actually *taste* the meat in it (.) it wasn't all bloody cos it was out the fridge and all that (.) when you slice it obviously it just becomes (.) meat and you change your ways about that so now instead of having the well done steak (.) I'll have it medium rare

Joel's self-narrative is about maintaining cohesion between loyalty to his class and self-entrepreneurial progression. He holds Jamie Oliver up as a toxic example of someone of his own class who once failed to maintain this loyalty. The point of Joel's defence of the dinner ladies, in Oliver's Channel 4 series *School Dinners* (2005), is to criticise Oliver's career-building, as campaigner, at the expense of his own kind, and his failure to do his duty and support them. He uses adversative conjunctions to distinguish between telly-chef campaigning that he approves of, from that which he disapproves of. Encouraging people to try new ways of cooking, as in Jamie's *American Road Trip* (2009) and Blumenthal's *Big Chef Takes On Little Chef* (2009) is good; criticising working class women is not. He readmits Oliver back into the fold, from the perspective of a forgiving, working class man, by contrasting his past mistake of social criticism with his present work of enthusing all people to cook better. Instead of the word class, he uses the phrase 'people that come from nothing', and the point of view of 'everyone' is of a class position of those who can identify with working class origins.

J: I never used to enjoy what he was doing and everything because he always used to be banging on about changing school meals and trying to change this and that (.) but now he's across America, he seems to be getting through to people who want a bit of flair (.) do you see what I'm saying/ (.) let people do what they want but instead of telling them ban the school meal help em out like when Heston Blumenthal done to the Little Chefs (.) he didn't come and say you're not doing that (1) he says like don't microwave the egg (.) do it this way(.) put a bit of seasoning into it (1) but when he was slating the dinner ladies (1) it's not their fault (.) they're underpaid (.) it's a job to them (.) if you see what I'm saying (1) well (.) it pays the mortgage for them and provides for the family (1) but when he come and say to them (.) I thought that were a bit wrong (.) but now (.) it seems that (.) he's got a bit older and he seems to (.) he's given people more of a flair (.) everyone can relate to him and Gordon Ramsay (.) people that come from nothing

M: yeah



J: cos Jamie Oliver's mum and dad owned a pub and he's bin part of that (.) running the bar and waitering

M: do you think he's put himself back into people's affections more now/

J: yeah it's more about ordinary people (.) if you see what I'm saying

M; yeah (.) that comes through big time on this American thing

J: yeah (.) instead of just (.) on all of his other programmes it's like he's in this for the publicity (.) if you know what I mean (.) I kind of get that fake view from him (.) but now he seems to be a bit more (1) I don't think he meant that (.) but it's how it comes across (.)

he was a bit wild (.) he's relating to people a bit more now

When he watched the third chapter of his video, featuring the display of food his mother had assembled for the family picnic, although he apologised that most was processed food, he would not disparage the people who eat such foods. Rather, he identifies his mother with those working class women, made the subject of social investigation on television, and defends their use of poor food.

J: Mum has just been brought up to (2) working and everything (1) it's like you see on all the programmes (.) mums don't have time to cook (.) you come home from work (.) the last thing you want to do is cook for five people (.) it is easier and it becomes cheaper to buy from supermarkets (1) if someone provides food for ya (.) you gotta be grateful and (1) she hates me getting involved and saying don't do it this way and don't do it that way

The food he chooses to cook, in the opening chapter of his video, shows his interest in remaining grounded in the food practices of friends and family, but adding the new kind of self-reflexivity which marks him out, as self-entrepreneurial – self-improving in the chef world. In his demonstration of how to make an improved bacon sandwich, Joel's alignment with the pleasure of popular food whilst improving it, and his performance of young, working class masculinity, has been modelled by Jamie Oliver. However, Oliver often

problematized popular food according to the discourses of healthy eating and obesity. For example, in the introduction to 'A Cracking Burger', in *The Ministry of Food* (2008, p.145), his transformation of the popular food is into a more acceptable, and regulated version, through the legitimization of healthy eating.

Jamie Oliver: there's nothing better than a homemade burger (.) everyone loves them (.) they're easy to make and (.) if made with quality fresh ingredients and not overladen with greasy stuff (.) they certainly don't have to be unhealthy (.) especially if served with salad

Joel plays into the performance of working class masculinity of telly-chefs such as Jamie Oliver and Gordon Ramsay, but does not problematize the food in any way. The sequence follows the order of the demonstration in telly-chef programmes: opening close-up of the pieces of bacon being placed onto a foiled baking tray, to the overview in mid-shot; then the temporal extension of following the tray in the chef's hands, in mid-shot, and of his pushing the tray into an open oven and closing the glass door. The second sequence is the temporal extension of the first, showing the final, cooked product. The composition of the shot, in the final sequence, of an open bacon sandwich on a plate beside a glass of orange juice, is consistent with the presentation of food on the pass (figure 8.8 below), in the professional chef's territory. His tone is the curt assurance of the young, male chef: 'whack it in the oven and just leave it', an obvious link of explanation with the visual image. The food is salient, and the narrative 'demand' and 'offer' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.196f) reproduces those of the television viewer who may be learning how to prepare a dish well, or may just enjoy sight of successful preparation. His design of a simple text allows him to occupy the subject position of an expert teaching others, and to play at being a telly-chef.



**Figure 8.8:** Bacon butty

The transformation he does make, of the practice of making a bacon butty, as he watched this sequence with me, is with the ‘substitution’ (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.111) of a chef discourse. He does not deride the food, by association with a derided social type. On the contrary, he celebrates it as popular with all classes. The distance between him and those who enjoy the food is only that between the telly-chef and the audience in a pedagogic performance. His simplification of the pleasure of food (‘this is the ...kind of thing everyone enjoys’) focuses a message about what appreciation and discernment should be focused on, outside of the terms of social superiority: engage with food that people like, work at it and learn how to make it better.

The second anecdote, about teaching his college friends how to make better burgers, repeats his social positioning. Making popular food differently includes the purposes of improving its taste, increasing pleasure and teaching people like his friends how to avoid being dependent upon bought, processed versions of poorer quality. It also has a purpose of making a happy occasion and solidifying friendship. The cultural capital, mediated by Joel’s performance of the popular cultural figure of the telly-chef, serves a generational differentiation of what is ideal food practice; and enables the friends’ co-operative venture. It offers the identity performance of flexibility in food preparation - particularly in the way that food ‘resources’ are used, the ‘actions’, the ‘manner’ of the actors taking part (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.106f), the lack of restricted codes of self-presentation, and the spaces which can be

used. Taste is democratized, but in his performance, as the material expression of hard work and acquisition of insider chef knowledge, its meaning differs, in Derrida's use of that term (Storey, 2006, p.96), to signify social differentiation in terms of possessing a disposition to self-improve. His performance of connoisseurship, negotiates with the myth of luxury (Maguire, 2015) by democratizing it in a spirit of egalitarianism. The cultural capital of a Michelin restaurant is displaced into the social fields of family and friends.

His construction of a point of view for himself outside of his friends' world, signaled by his use of the 'we', and then the 'I' and 'my' pronouns, only occurs in his definition of his expertise and his role as chef and teacher. This use of cultural capital enables a self-performance of his own self-entrepreneurialism, alongside his recognition of another ambitious young man's striving for excellence, and the sharing of pleasurable experience among equals. This use of a cultural capital enables his performance of a form of young, professional adult masculinity, which marks the emergence of 'traditional working class' identity into that of the 'heterogeneous middle class' (Savage, p.165f). His combination of male chef-speak and gesture is a part of that reframing of a traditional, working class masculinity and self-betterment. This key indicates the gestures used: \*1 one hand and arm, sweeping action;\*2 fingers and thumb toward mouth;\*3 two hands mimicking cutting action;\*4 left hand and arm shaking action;\*5 right hand and arm shaking action.

M: what did you want to show/

J: just to show what we do in the morning, when Richard's gone off to the bakery, just to kick start the day (in the restaurant kitchen) (.) when it's thrown(\*1) in the oven like this (.) the more slower cooking you do the more fat will render down (.) when you fry it off you just taste(\*2) oil a lot of the time (.) when you're in the oven and there's nothing on it it's the pure taste of bacon (.) it becomes a lot softer (1) this is the bacon butty kind of thing (.) everyone enjoys (.) even higher class people who go to nice restaurants and all that (.) and if they're eating posh food all the while then everyone enjoys a nice bacon sandwich in the morning (.) people still enjoy the simple things (.) just a different style to make it taste better (.) food is food in the end (1) when I used

to do the barbecues and all of that (.) when we finished college in year 12 every lunchtime me and a few mates (.) this happened for about two months when the weather was nice (.) they'd all come back to mine (.) get the barbecue (.) I'd teach 'em how(\*3) to chop onions small (.) how to make a burger (.) (\*4) tabasco (.) (\*5) add a bit of tomato sauce to it and they used to help me make all the burgers and everything (.) I used to enjoy it because I was passing on something I knew (.) and we used to eat all the burgers and one time we even made our own baps (.) Johnny Walker (.) the Youth Olympics he used to come down as well (.) he used to enjoy my food because he wanted to eat fast food but control the amount of salt and fat he used to put inside him

Joel's is an example of self-reflexive work done along a transitional path to adulthood different to many participants featured in these chapters. It is not, in an orientation to future 'self-actualisation' (Giddens, 1994, p.78), an address to movement to university, but to a male labour market which has been a part of massive economic restructuring in the UK. It is one transformed from waged, employed labour, with long-term, employment rights, to so-called self-employment, and short-term contracts. This is a territory which incites the self-reflexive work of being an entrepreneur in working class workers. Joel straddles a temporary position in a high status restaurant, learning new skills, and work in his family's firm, dependent upon achieving contract work. Joel's self-narrative of personal change, of becoming a man, is very much worked through these changing fields of work, and the relational fields of friends and family. His creative thinking and imaginative engagement with the cultural capital of food transforms food appreciation and discernment into skill acquisition and self-improvement, whilst maintaining the social solidarity with friends and family that he needs, in his 'colonisation of the future' (Giddens, 1994, p.129). It is the stress given to continued social belonging, alongside self-entrepreneurialism, that distinguishes him from the apprentices of the last section.

**Laughing at foodies and staying in touch with your own kind: Alan**

Alan is, like Joel, from Phase 1 of the fieldwork. Alan's transitional path to adulthood is very different to his. He is 21 years of age. Unlike Joel, he went to university and gained a high class of degree. He currently works at an arts centre in the nearby city, funded by a partnership of local authority and university. He has leave planned, to take up a one year voluntary, charitable role, regarding performance arts, in South Africa.

We may recall that Alan appeared in chapter six of the analysis, when the focus was upon the theme of healthy eating. There we saw his friend, Liam's self-identity work which included differentiating himself as socially aspirational from those he had been to school with, who had remained in the same geographical area, and from Alan's family who had returned, with Alan and his friends to a traditional, working class holiday resort. We recall that Liam had straddled two positions with his friends on that weekend away. On the one hand, he participated in the pleasure of using holiday food to relax the self-regulation of healthy eating and to enjoy being together with his friends. On the other hand, he used the video camera to derogate the kind of food on offer as unhealthy, and to contrast it with the healthiness and the stylishness of his own home food. We recall that this contrast included his mother's use of telly-chef culture as a signifier of a family culture of self-improvement. This use of cultural capital is pretentious, effecting the construction of class difference by disposition, but not based upon a knowledge of the inheritance of high accumulations of economic, social and cultural capital, as characterised the supremos at the beginning of this chapter.

This section will focus upon two things: first, the interpretation Alan makes, in his interview, of the video which Liam shot; and, secondly, the video sequence, in the third chapter of the video, featuring the parody of foodie performance made by Alan and his friends.

In the following extract of the interview, the parody sequence is playing upon the screen of the laptop. His spoken comment extends the meaning of the on-screen performance, as a parody of pretentious, foodie discourse, by compliment, according to van Leeuwen's (2008, p.230) overview of visual-

verbal linking. His interest, in adding this information, is to establish a continuity between himself and the class of his parents, and his father's family. It is a part of his performance of being someone who does not use food taste to distance himself from people like them, and of being someone who has a disposition to learn about the world, including about the diversity of food in it. Despite his having a transitional pathway to adulthood that is relatively privileged, in educational achievement, employment and social contacts, he defines his own ordinariness, identifying himself with people like his uncle, his father's brother, who appeared on the Channel 4 programme *Come Dine With Me*. That is who is referred to at the start. After this extract, he described the contestants of *Come Dine With Me* as being set up to be laughed at, deserving the mockery of the programme's narrator. At the same time as his deictic reference, 'and this', he points at the screen to specify the contrast between the goodness of ordinary food, such as that shared in the videoed scene, and the language of discernment deployed by his friends in the parody, which is not valued.

A: he's probably a lot like me (.) he knows a bit about food because he works on the market (.) but he doesn't know everything (.) like there'll be certain things on the menu that he'll say 'what's that?' and I think you have to experience it before you know what it is (and points toward the screen) and this (.) it's just very simple food (.) it's easy and everyone knows what they like

(He laughs repeatedly at the on-screen parody of foodie appreciation by his friends: the friend's exaggerated display of contentment at eating a strawberry: holding the fruit between index finger and thumb, in close-up to camera, saying, 'I like to dissect the root and leaf part before I eat it'.)

His identification with the disposition to learn and to be open-minded about food is an ideal which he continues to incorporate in his self-narrative. The links he makes between the investment made in him, first by his mother (\*line 6), and then by university (\*line 9), and his disposition to go beyond what is familiar in food, is a more general orientation to kinds of self-reflexivity valued in his upbringing and at university – to be open-minded, to be free thinking - and to be orientated to future 'self-actualisation' (Giddens, 1994, p.78).

A: I know my mum's quite health-wise so I know she'll always be encouraging us to eat well (.) you know (.) eat breakfast rather than not eat breakfast and eat healthy stuff as well and you know (.) just vegetables and things like that you know (.) and all of those old wives tales (.) carrots make you see in the dark and milk makes your bones strong and things like that (.) like fish (1) I'm not keen on fish (.) some fish I do (.)<sup>\*</sup> and I'm trying to kind of broaden (.) I had some octopus when I went to Malta and I found that quite a challenge but I quite liked the challenge because it looked like a (.) it had tentacles on it and it looked like (.) and I thought I'm going to eat this because it looks quite nice (2)<sup>\*</sup> when you go to university I think it just makes you a really open-minded person anyway (.) most people (.) things they teach you just kind of (.) well I always think of that freedom of thinking and err and I don't know but just the few people I've spoken about food erm (.) you know certainly if you try it you'll know (.) so I just shouldn't be allowed to say I don't like something if you haven't (.) you can't judge something if you haven't tried it.

We now turn to two sequences of the video, referred to above, that followed on from the barbecue sequence. They feature Alan and his two lifelong friends, Liam and Adrian. The three friends who have been waiting, in a tented dining area, for the barbecued meat to be ready, improvise a series of skits of food television programmes like *Saturday Cooks!* (2009) (figures 8.9, 8.10), and then a television food advertisement (figure 8.11). These are small cameos, each of the friends improvising to camera, before continuing with eating the meal. They illustrate the position of the democrat in taste: refusing snobbery and reclaiming food as something which serves the pleasure of equal, social relationship. As satire, rather than homage (Willett, 2009b, p. 117), their performances problematise foodie discourse as not fitting their lives, and their purpose of feeling closer together. In the transitional context of their coming together at this weekend – Liam and Adrian about to return to university for a last year, Alan about to leave for voluntary work in South Africa - satire is a knowing means of celebrating their collective identity and refusing social divisiveness around differences in taste.

Much of the humour lies in their playful transformation of themselves into food experts, and their movement out of authentic self-performance. Part of the



humour is achieved by the shift in register from the banter of friendship to the exchanges of foodie discourse, and in the discursive substitution (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.111) of the concrete reality of eating food together into the exercise of taste. Part of the humour resides in their using foodie discourse in a knowingly inappropriate way, by applying it to foods such as burgers, and the paraphernalia of salads and commercially produced sauces, rather than complex, or special, food items, made by the expertise of a chef, and subsequently aestheticised into 'legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 26) or consecrated objects of appreciation. Pleasure also lies in their improvisation, playing off each other, and magically transforming the familial setting into a television studio. Their fun also resides in how their satire of discernment plays with the convention of being appreciative recipients of the food prepared by the adults who are nearby. Their playfulness extends the pleasure of eating the food, and being in a traditional holiday location, a place in which relaxing healthy eating is culturally sanctioned and pleasure is to the fore. The filming is shared, allowing each to do their piece to camera. They combine their own laddish, physical and verbal style with a male, telly-chef performance begun by Jamie Oliver, in *The Naked Chef* series of 1999, and the studio commentary of a programme like *Saturday Cooks!* (2009).

The male, tele-chef performance is seen in their confident handling of food and exaggerated gesture in the limited space of the tent awning; it is heard in their dialogue of expertise, and the gravitas given to their discernment of taste, in tone, emphasis, overstatement and deictic reference. They expose the base human motive of competitiveness of discernment, sending up the egocentricity of pretentious foodies in, for example, how to best combine the ingredients of a beef burger. As Liam adds shredded lettuce and then cheese to his open burger, with his fingertips held together, to give finesse and artistry to his action, he says 'I'll show you my kind of ... just a little (.) like I said less is more' (figure 8.9). As he applies tomato ketchup, in a circular paddle-action, and he says 'just a little bit of lipotine' (his nick-name for ketchup), then biting off a shard of lettuce from an outstretched hand, he undermines the finesse of the aesthete, before resuming judgement to camera - 'nice and fresh'. Once more, in his use of pause as expert appreciation before judgment, his biting

into the whole burger and the deictic outstretched palm to the layer of meat, with the judgement 'not too rare', are conflations of lad performance and chef-style discernment.



**Figure 8.9:** Perfect burger 1

Liam's cameo is followed by Adrian's competitive response, in demonstrating the perfect burger (figure 58), and by Alan's, extolling the virtues of the chosen strawberry (figure 59). At times, the palm of Adrian's left hand is outstretched toward the camera, signifying his didactic purpose, to demonstrate how to handle this food. His speech extends his actions, by explaining their purpose, in searching for the perfect combination of ingredients. The subjective modality ('I feel'), the absolute statement ('this is a given'), the lexis of aesthetic judgement ('complicates') and the sensory evocation ('the crunch') all construct a parody of an egocentric aesthete.

Liam's voice-over of exaggerated pleasure references food-porn, as in a representation of Nigella Lawson's performances (Poole, 2011), and extends the group's depiction of the oddness of foodie excess.



**Figure 8.10:** Perfect burger 2

**Table 8.2:** Perfect burgers and strawberries

Spoken	Visual
Adrian: I want the cheese	pan to m/s of Adrian's hand reaching across to a bowl of cheese, and picking up some cheese between his fingers
Liam: No one's going for the mayonnaise yet	m/s of Adrian's hand over his open burger
Adrian: I feel the mayonnaise is more (.) it complicates the baked potato	m/s of Adrian, head and shoulders, outstretched arm gesturing to his left
Liam: very much	Pan follows Adrian's hand across to the bowl of lettuce, then up to m/s of Adrian assembling the burger
Adrian: there's the crunch factor (.) a bit of pepper maybe	

Spoken	Visual
	Pan of Adrian's hand extending to the bowl of cut red peppers (figure 8.10) and back to m/s of him assembling the burger
Alan: I wouldn't put the pepper on myself (.) it distorts the flavour (.) maybe a tomato or so if you're into that thing but I've got the ketchup so I won't need it	pan from Adrian to m/s of Alan, head and torso, looking onto Adrian's work
Adrian: the ketchup (.) that is a given	m/s of Adrian completing assembly of the burger
fade to black	brought up to fully exposed m/s of a plate of strawberries
	pan up to m/s of Alan inspecting a strawberry (figure 8.11) held in front of him, then eating it
Alan: these are good (.) good strawberries	pan down to his hand selecting another
Alan: I like to dissect the root before I eat it	c/u of a hand (not Alan's) bringing a strawberry, bitten into, into x/c/u
Liam: mmm (.) ooorr	



**Figure 8.11:** Strawberry

Alan and his friends, and Joel, resist the transformation of food into an object of appreciation which slides into a judgment of ordinary people, or working class people, as social types who are less worthy than any others. They resist the expression of taste which is socially divisive, particularly amongst those with whom they have an interest to belong - family, friends, and, in Joel's example, a class.

The two examples illustrate very different engagements with the mediated food culture of telly-chefs. Joel's engagement with Gordon Ramsay is with a form of cultural capital which is a means of being both self-entrepreneurial and loyal to his friends, family and class, and of setting goals for pleasurable, cooperative ventures with them. Further, this cultural capital allows him to orientate himself to the future, by engaging with the habit of self-reflexivity amongst the skilled, working class, produced by the changed nature of employment in the UK, using the model of an entrepreneur for self-improvement. Alan, and his friends, select aspects of telly-chef culture which provide a vocabulary of discernment which allows anyone, from any class, to separate themselves in a bid for individual superiority. At the points which Alan and his friends are at, along their transitional pathways to adulthood, this divisiveness threatens kinds of social belonging, to friends and family, which they wish to maintain. Alan finds, in the values of open-mindedness

and free-thinking, a way of orientating himself to the future with a degree of confidence, which incorporates the investment made in him by family and his education, an investment identified as value rather than the accumulated capitals of the supremos.

## **CONCLUSION**

This chapter has extended the discussion, in all of the preceding chapters, of how young people's identification of ideal values to do with the consumption of food and adult agency, informs their self-identity. This chapter has focused upon how this is going on in their appropriation of taste in food.

A key feature of what is ideal, for all of the young people featured in this chapter, is the performance of a self-entrepreneurial disposition: the orientation to present and future action as people who are resourceful, flexible and adaptable to whatever setting they find themselves in, and committed to improve their abilities and their wellbeing.

They recognize this disposition in their role-models: Vanessa's mother, Yal' father, Stella's mother, Joels hero, Gordon Ramsay and Alan's uncle and mother – all able to read the world as providing the resources they need; all orientated to learn how to make the most of them. These young people address this disposition as one which is culturally intelligible and socially approved: a badge of honour and associated with being successful in adult life. Self-entrepreneurialism offers a vocabulary which attributes whatever success they have in life to themselves and not to any advantages given to them. It signifies an ethical worthiness in neo-liberal discourse, in which the individual is free to make the most of their talents and opportunities and to benefit from their success, and not be economically and socially dependent upon others. These young people, across class differences, interpret the signs of it in the adult food culture of their parents or in telly-chefs, and incorporate it into their self-narratives.

The chapter has shown that this signification of a meritocratic kind of social distinction is going on in narratives of personal food taste across all objectively defined social classes; but that it is in dialectical tension with the construction

of class distinction. This is done through their identification of different kinds of ideal in the, earlier habituated food practices. The supremos stitched into their self-narratives references to their inheritance of high levels of the three capitals, described by Bourdieu, and to the difference in their food practices from those who did not possess those advantages. They stressed distinction from others whose food practices were associated in right wing political discourse, and popular journalism (Appendix 2 iv) which pathologise the poor and the working class. These discursive transformations associate those other food practices with a poverty of food knowledge, a failure to follow the structured family meal practices of so-called (middle-class) good families, and a failure of self-entrepreneurial, personal disposition. This middle-class construction of distinction was not derived from the legitimate food items or practices of the elite, as in Bourdieu's (1986) analysis. In the self-narratives of the supremos, their reference to a superior possession of all of the capitals is cohesive with their identification of the self-entrepreneurial character of their families. They constructed a sense of aura around their families. Yal' narrative prompted pride and wonder, for her, in her memory work. Vanessa constructed a sense of natural superiority for hers.

The positions of the apprentice and the democrat are more inclusive of a greater breadth of objectively described class, across what Savage has characterized as five strata of a new middle class with heterogeneous clusters of the three capitals (Savage, 2015, p.169). Again using Savage's terminology of contemporary class in the UK, our apprentices included examples of 'traditional working class' and 'established middle-class', and our democrats included examples of 'traditional working class' and 'technical middle class' individuals. The greater homology of high accumulations of the three capitals was consistent with the self-identity work of the supremos in this chapter. The democrats foregrounded the ideal of social belonging in their self-narratives, and saw the individualistic assertion of individual taste as socially divisive and toxic to existent forms of social belonging and to cooperative venture with others on the basis of equality.

For the apprentices, the focus was not upon the class signification of the family's food practices. However, their self-performances did cooperate with

the hierarchy of social class. Even though Stella's self-narrative was about her self-entrepreneurial disposition as an independent young woman in a different territory, the selection of special food to impress others had direct reference back to her mother's celebration food, and conservation of a middle-class, family identity. Badriya, however, brackets off her working-class family identity by concentrating on her own transformation of her ethnic food heritage and cultural capital into a kind of transactional currency at university, within an egalitarian social field. She constructs an identity of a socially aspirant university student, which occludes the traditional, domestic role of her mother and the labour of her father. Her social belonging is framed in terms of ethnicity; she protects her personal world from surveillance.

The democrats stress social belonging the most and allow their personal worlds to be seen in terms of it. So important is it to them that they resist the threats that individualism and self-centredness pose to it and their self-narratives seek to reconcile their own self-entrepreneurialism with the conservation of loyalty to their social roots. Alan and Joel stress the importance of maintaining friendship, as well as family; and Joel, in particular, stresses the importance of belonging to the working class, and keeping faith with it. Joel's and Alan's role models help them to figure that reconciliation. The democrats are the most inclusive of the three positions.

Taste in food, for those in the positions of apprentice and democrat, is stripped of its connotation of class privilege. Appropriated as a part of a young person's self-entrepreneurial disposition, taste is socially esteemed as the product of being consumer savvy: better engaged with the consumer market, more aware of new foods, ever expanding aspirations, being informed by popular food culture, being open to new possibilities and experiences and being better able to use food in cooperative ventures with others, on a basis of equality. As such, the young food cultures of the apprentices and the democrats are about what Savage describes as 'emergent cultural capital' (Savage, 2006, p.110f): differentiated as a part of a younger generation's self-identity, among new, urban professionals who, as yet, do not have the social markers of successful adulthood, and are not alleged to the traditional binaries of high and popular culture.



Using emergent food, cultural capital fits the lives of apprentices and democrats at university, and their accumulation of educational cultural capital. Stella's and Badriya's self-narratives, for example, use the aesthetic discourses of their university course and address a young, cosmopolitan, multicultural population at university. Taste is not legitimized by derivation from the taste of the elite. Even Joel, in the position of a democrat, does not have to apologise for the food he prepares at his Michelin-starred restaurant. He honours the food he is learning to cook, not because it refers to the taste of an elite, but to its quality and authenticity.

The democrats' resistance to food's signification of class is also about maintaining a freedom to consume any food as a resource, in, as yet, unforeseen ways, in the future. They, like the 'dissidents', described by Warde et al (2007, p.154f), are tolerant, here interested in expanding their food knowledge, but not wishing to use that knowledge to exclude others. They, like the 'dissidents', are highly tuned to the danger of using aesthetic judgments about food to appear superior in class. Joel's identification with Gordon Ramsey is about his desire for further self-development, so long as it does not jeopardise his loyalty to family, friends and class. Alan also makes food a symbol of an adventurous disposition to make the most of himself, to be adaptable, and to move anywhere and to cooperate with anyone. This study's representation of members of a very diverse middle-class, supports Warde's critique, that omnivorousness is best thought of as different engagements with contemporary, consumer culture, from different positions, with diverse accumulations of capitals, right across the middle-classes, and not the preserve of a new elite group (Warde et al, 2007, p.144).

The interest, across the diversity of participants, to construct a self-entrepreneurial, social identity, through food taste is an interesting version of the connection Giddens seeks between 'self-identity' and the global 'institutions of modernity' (Giddens, 1994, p.2). This chapter has shown that taste in consumption, when it addresses the lingua franca of a socially approved, self-entrepreneurial adulthood, apparently hides class difference and foregrounds the purposes of deepening a relationship with consumption and consumer goods. This is consistent with the social myths which underpin

consumer culture, as outlined by Smith Maguire, particularly the myth of 'stylistic self-expression', 'individual sovereignty and the privatization of freedom', 'self-actualisation' as a 'moral obligation' and the 'democracy of goods', 'promising egalitarian access to the good life' (Smith Maguire, 2015, p.4).

The self-autonomy which these myths connote hides the interdependency required by all to successfully operate as adults. Self-entrepreneurialism is an optimistic orientation which embraces all of the diversity of the heterogeneous, middle classes represented in by the participants in this study. In figuring their own self-entrepreneurial orientation to the future, the democrats have to deal with this contradiction because they know the value of social belonging and co-operation and their relative proximity to the precariat.

The transformation of taste, from being a signifier of the rigidity of class difference, as in Bourdieu's description of French society in the 1960s, to being a signifier of the possibilities of self-betterment, makes a horizon for these young people which brackets off the elite as well as the precariat classes: the former very unlikely to be reached by them, and the latter so seriously adrift from hope of upward movement, that they undermine the very terms of a self-confidence in being able to 'colonise the future' (Giddens, 1994, p.125). In these young people's negotiation with food culture, they address self-aspiration through a habit of self-reflexivity adapted to an increasingly neo-liberalised world.

## **Chapter 9: Conclusion**

### **CONTENTS**

- Introduction
- Being a healthy eating self
- Being a savvy consumer self
- Being a can-do girl
- Conclusion

### **INTRODUCTION**

The research question is, 'How do young people's identities develop in their engagement with food culture, in their transition to adulthood?' The four chapters of analysis have developed an understanding of some key points about how young peoples' engagement with food culture enables them to perform socially and culturally esteemed versions of adult identities. These points are now summarized.

First, the chapters of analysis have shown that young people's engagement with food culture is a means of revising what Giddens (1994, p.54f) has called 'ontological security' within their experience of change, in themselves, in time, in the settings in which they live, and in others' expectation of them. Their engagement with adult food culture is a means of revising self-narratives, in which confidence in the ways that the world works, and their place in it, was mediated by parents or care-givers. In that younger narrative, the food of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.173f) connoted abiding social belonging through shared practice. The source of ontological security becomes the individual self as young people learn to do food in a more adult way, and incorporate the myths which underpin consumer culture (Smith Maguire, 2015) into self-entrepreneurial performances in new places, institutions and social settings. A part of this kind of 'self-reflexive' monitoring (Giddens, 1994, p.52) of their food practice is a re-interpretation of their home food culture: identifying values in it

which are cohesive with their construction of their own self-entrepreneurial, identity in the new territory. The adaptations addressed in the preceding chapters have been from home and school to university, from university to home, and from school or university to work. The culturally intelligible forms of adult food agency, which these young people have animated, have been described as the healthy eating self, the consumer-savvy self and the can-do girl.

Participants' use of 'chronotopic' (Bahktin, 1937) strategies has been one, notable feature of participants' distinguishing their present, more adult, agentive selves, orientated to the future, from earlier versions of themselves in earlier settings. These revisions are aspects of learning how to manage the self, in ways which are culturally esteemed, quelling anxieties and orientating the self toward future success. This is a way of understanding Giddens' (1994, p.117) 'colonising the future'.

Secondly, the chapters have shown that learning to be adult, by locating trust in the self, is seen in young people's cultural work. It is seen in their critical, rational thought about their own habitus and their appropriation of the meanings from it, and about a wider food culture. Both are drawn into their creative work of self-production. In Chapter 5, for example, we saw young women's self-distantiation from negative emotional habits to do with body-dissatisfaction, and from suture to media misrepresentation of an ideal, female body. We also saw Jane's reinterpretation of the sustaining, food-work of her older female role-models, as a metaphor for her own, self-production. In Chapters 6 and 7, we saw young people's use of telly-chefs' and marketing's mediation of food, to re-appropriate the symbolic meaning of traditional food preparation, as a means of younger, and more exciting social relations. In Chapters 5 and 6, learning to be critical included appropriating the role of consumer activist. Although Chapter 6 showed a lot of compliance to the healthy eating message, it also showed how resistance to that message involved a critical assessment of its contradictions with other, consumer interpellations. In Chapter 7, we saw their critical reading of the forms of relationship realized by traditional, gendered food work, and possible, alternative ideal, kinds of relationship. In Chapter 8, although we saw, some

moralizing which is incited by right-wing, political discourse about poor family culture and social dependency, we also saw the critical work of separating taste from social differentiation. Again, their critical appropriation of meaning for telly-chef and food competition genres of television was a means of self-performance. Joel, for example, used the food knowledge from his restaurant training , and that mediated by telly-chef books and television programmes, to construe himself as a working class entrepreneur.

Their critical negotiation with the contradictions inherent in being healthy selves, consumer savvy selves and can-do girls marks them out as kinds of individuals who are not content to imitate what those older than themselves have done. In Giddens' terms, this is moving beyond a 'protective cocoon' (Giddens, 1994, p.129) to accept the management of risk (ibid. p.114f, p. 125f) by being reflexive, using expertise, and by negotiating with 'institutionally bordered risk environments' (ibid. p.114): checking, revising and re-evaluating them, in terms of their needs. Even though this individualism might seem to occlude the issues of social responsibility - including those involved in food production and consumption - participants' critical reading of healthy eating, consumer culture and traditional sociality means that it is not.

Such critical and creative engagement with adult food culture is, for these young people, a part of what is esteemed, adult food culture: agentive consumption, typical of a self-entrepreneurial disposition and being the kind of people who make the most of future opportunities. We recall how, in Chapter 5, characters with eating disorders epitomized those who could not learn to develop as adults, because they were stuck in a kind of arrested development within themselves, unable to engage with food as a cultural resource of 'self-actualisation' (Giddens, 1994, p. 78). The chapters of analysis showed that it is in participants' performance of being self-entrepreneurial that food is most appropriated as a resource to this end.

The phrase, self-entrepreneurial is meant to highlight these young people's animation of desire and intention to the world which show a commitment to perpetually improve who they are and how they operate as individuals, by learning to be more capable, resourceful, creative, and adaptable to changed

contexts of action. It is a vocabulary focused upon future reward and is a suited to the movement, and adaptation to new territories which these young people are learning to make along their transitional pathways to adulthood. They use this vocabulary as though it is an important habit of self-reflexivity in the world they live in, and an important part of the territories they expect to move to in the future. It is a vocabulary with which they have learnt to evaluate their personal progress in school, university, work and even home. It is a pervasive vocabulary of evaluation in what we may recognize as an increasingly neo-liberalised world. It extends across the social and cultural fabric and is to the fore in the mediation of popular food culture, such as television telly-chef and food competition programmes and food journalism, inciting us to improve ourselves. In the social investigation genre of food television, such as in the example of Jamie Oliver's *Ministry of Food* (2008) investigating the failure of poor adults to make healthy food for their children, cited in chapters 6 and 8 of analysis, and like the body-horror genre the representation of social problems uses the same explanatory concepts of self-entrepreneurialism: these people have failed to learn to be personally resourceful, creative, and adaptable.

Thirdly, the chapters have shown that stitching this self-entrepreneurial disposition into their self-narratives mattered to young people because it invited a positive, ethical judgment of themselves, and was a means of negotiating with the social obligation they felt toward others. For example, in Chapter 5, the video Jane made honoured the investment friends, family and others had made in her, by showing her determination to take control of her eating disorder, and be self-productive at university. It matters to Juliana, in Chapter 6, that she stops feeling powerless and ashamed about the unhealthy food that she has been eating at university, and that she lives up to the imagined expectation of her mother, to take responsibility for her physical and emotional well-being. It matters to Steve, in Chapter 6, that his parents do not think that he has slipped into a stereotypical student dependency on ready-made meals. It matters to Noemi, in Chapter 7, that she shows her researcher that she is resourceful enough to re-imagine food in a self-aspirational way, and that she will not repeat the drudgery of her mother's family food work. It

matters to Joel, in Chapter 8, that the future self-progression he imagines does not threaten his keeping faith with his family, friends and class.

As the chapters have made clear, these young people's self-performances are, as all communication is, tuned into their contexts, including social and institutional values. However, their interest to perform being self-entrepreneurial is keyed into their social histories and is motivated by a desire to make themselves known as making personal progress. This is for themselves, in inner-dialogue, and for their parents and friends. It also includes the researcher and others who may see and hear them and be with them. The vocabulary of self-entrepreneurialism is a means of construing and imagining themselves, read through the judgment of others, sedimented in their practices across the different settings of their lives. In being a healthy self, a savvy consumer and a can-do-girl, they construe themselves in the present, and imagine themselves in the future, as learning to be adults who are capable, resourceful, creative, and adaptable to changed contexts of action, which is to increase the likelihood of being successful in a world that is changing rapidly.

What follows is further specification of those negotiations with expressions of self-entrepreneurial, adult food agency; and illustration of how they intersect in these young people's identity performances. Less space is given to the first section because discussion of it is extended in the other two.

## **BEING A HEALTHY EATING SELF**

Chapter 6 showed how the regime of healthy eating enabled young people to demonstrate that, in taking charge of their bodies, they were accepting individual responsibility for their health and well-being, and using expertise to manage the risk of ill-health. The self-management of healthy eating is an important means of performing a self-entrepreneurial disposition and making an individualistic self-narrative about personal independence, resourcefulness and self-improvement. This is amply illustrated in the examples of Juliana, Leona, Steve, Charissa and Catherine, in Chapter 6, showing how healthy eating was a way of getting a self-entrepreneurial narrative back on track, a means of self-esteem after self-disappointment.

However, these young people are critically engaged with the individualism of their interpellation in healthy eating discourse, as individuals who must self-manage. For example, the younger female documentary-makers, in Chapter 5 showed that there were larger ontological and ethical frameworks which had to be taken into account, other than the self-help individualism of healthy eating messages. In their use of melodrama and morality narratives, they showed how important an ethic of honesty, compassion and social inclusivity was in self-reflexivity: to prevent their own and others' individual, narcissism and ill-health. They use an ethical agenda of social responsibility, including teaching young people to critically read media representation, to negotiate with the self-help individualism of healthy eating messages and the interpellation of girls and young women by commercial discourses of ideal female beauty. They foregrounded the importance of the communal body, and the quality of social interrelationship, as goals of individual action, alongside the self-assessment of individual healthy eating.

The young men, Alan, Liam and Adrian, on holiday, in Chapters 6 and 8, play with the self-regulation of the healthy eating message, in ways which privilege the use of food to sustain social belonging, in friendship and family, and conserve the cultural tradition of holiday food. These negotiations sit alongside others which are individualistic, assertions of the right/obligation to consume, such as Bess's and Jed's in Chapter 6. However, they are all a part of learning to think critically about food as an adult consumer - thinking about where to draw the line between self-regulation and pleasure, weighing the value of what is achieved against risk, and not just accepting the scientific authority of healthy eating. They are illustration of the complexity of the articulations of self-identity at the nexus of 'consumption', 'production' and 'regulation' (du Gay *et al.*, 1997, p.3).

Healthy eating intersects with consumer savviness as a means of young people's distinguishing themselves and their families in terms of social class. This is by virtue of the association, in popular cultural, and right-wing political discourse, of healthy eating with self-autonomy, food knowledge, successful individual lives and a successful class; and unhealthy eating with the lifestyles of an unsuccessful class, exhibiting obesity, food knowledge poverty, chronic



disease and a so-called dependency culture. Understanding how healthy eating may be used as a code of social worthiness or shamefulness is a part of consumer savviness. This point is extended in the following section.

## **BEING A SAVVY CONSUMER SELF**

In the savvy consumer self, the participants of this study were offered a rich version of successful, adult, food agency and participation in the social myths which underpin consumer culture (Smith Maguire, 2015). In terms of the theoretical model of the Circuit of Culture (du Gay *et al.*, 1997), it offers further illustration of the complex articulation of self-identity at the nexus of 'consumption', 'production' and 'regulation'.

The chapters of analysis showed that these young people were learning to negotiate critically with their interpellation as adult consumers of food, and the incitement of a consumer culture to improve who they were and how they operated. The emphasis upon self-production resonates with Rose's summary of a transformation in which 'the primary economic image offered to the modern citizen is not that of the producer but of the consumer.' (Rose, 1999, p.103). As the economic life of the UK has shifted so much from manufacture to services, particularly from the 1980s onwards, and has relied upon credit-based, consumption-driven growth, and speculative flows of global capital, we might add that a primary image of production, in consumption, is self-production.

The explanation of the savvy consumer self, in the chapters of analysis, is that these young people negotiate with the individualism of that consumer interpellation. Although they use their improving capability and resourcefulness, in making food and adapting its use with others in the new territories in which they find themselves, as signs of their own self-entrepreneurial disposition, chapter 7 showed that they also make their consumer savviness serve their social lives and an interest, to maintain personal well-being through social belonging.

Learning to do work that is both individual and social, stands, in Giddens' terms (1994, p.137f), in dialectical connection to engaging with the food

market, its global systems of food production and distribution, and experiencing the expropriation of control by 'abstract systems'. It is also an answer to the 'disembedding' (Giddens, 1994, p.17f) effects of being lifted out of home and an established social life, in a geographical locality, and is of obvious value in maintaining well-being and a basis of developing confidence in, and support for, making the most of future opportunities. Knowing how to use food to establish and develop social contact in new settings is an important aspect of consumer savviness. As we saw in Chapter 7, this flexibility is part of the performance of self-autonomy and of self-improvement. Food is a cultural resource for generating social capital, and adaptation to globalized employment. We saw, in self-narratives as different as Noemi's and Firoze's, in Chapter 7, that learning how to realise new, co-operative relations of equality with other young people, irrespective of differences of ethnicity and gender, is an important part of adapting to new territories.

Their interpellation as individual consumers of goods and services is also answered with the formation of an ethical agenda by some of these young people. Although the examples of protest are a part of looking after, and improving their own interests in the new territory, and are concerned with finding personal answers to the lack of care they experience, they also do assert the importance of an ethical framework at the interface of food producer/consumer relationship. Moreover, they assert the importance of the care from parents/ care givers which they have known through food - the symbolism of which they want in their adult experience of consumption.

In food, the moral issue of quality of social relationship is to the fore in what Giddens has called 'the agenda of life politics' (Giddens, 1994, p.224). Charissa and Juliana, featured in Chapter 6, were prompted by the negligence, first, of food producers to properly display nutritional information, and, second, of a catering company at university preparing unhealthy food. The protests were not, first and foremost, about mobilizing and organizing group opposition, but about clarifying personal, ethical authenticity and personal action. This explains the theme of self-criticism: in Charissa's case, that food producers were only conspiring with consumers, like herself, who did not want to see the information and accept personal responsibility for their

own health; and, in Juliana's case, that the catering company, the service provider for the university, only got away with providing poor quality, unhealthy food because consumers like herself were too lazy to make their own, healthy food. Self-dissatisfaction only led to limited social or political organization: both Charissa and Juliana called upon others to accept their own responsibility for their health and act for themselves by rejecting the deal. Steve's resistance, in Chapter 6, to advertisers' and food producers' misrepresentation of ready meals, prompts his personal, critical reading of the images used by advertisers and his learning to be more skillful at preparing healthier food for himself. However, this production of a self-entrepreneurial self, learning to be more resourceful and successfully adapting to the new settings, has a moral basis around which others could coalesce.

Developing personal competence with food sourcing and preparation is a practical part of being consumer savvy because it answers the failure of food producers and service providers. Steve's and Juliana's learning to cook from basic ingredients, illustrates this. The example of Faye, in Chapter 6, and Stella and Joel, in Chapter 8, illustrate how the physical work of food preparation is a performance of self-improvement in action. Further, for Vanessa and Faye, in Chapter 8, doing food preparation is a part of their performance of being self-autonomous selves and escaping the social opprobrium of social dependence associated with poor food knowledge, in wider social discourses. Their construction of their own family identities - associating their busy lives with a disposition to independence - elides into a middle-class construction.

There was another form of consumer savviness which served female, self-narrative of making progress to a desired adulthood. Chapters 6 and 7 showed young women's critical reading of traditional female food work, and a use of the cultural mediation of food preparation to imagine a formation of social relations of equality around it. Their re-signification of the kind of social relations flowing from food preparation involves the use of a consumer distinction, the value of artisanal food, for example, in realizing an ideal, social value of generosity. Generosity signaled a transformation of a domestic structure of power to free-flowing, personal relationships which depend upon

the satisfaction and reward they offer, not social, institutional obligation. The appropriation of such relational values for food products, in effect their affective re-connection with the market, enables their integration of food into a self-narrative of self-improvement which extends into the future. This discussion is extended in the next section.

The decoupling of tradition and gendered food agency from food preparation, as a resource for a self-entrepreneurial, self-identity, serves the interest of some male participants too. Joel's engagement with chef culture, and its mediation by the texts of Gordon Ramsay, for example, transforms food preparation into skill acquisition and self-improvement, in the movement to the new territory of work. This engagement with food culture also enables him to re-appropriate the meaning of self-improvement, ensuring that he conserves the social solidarity he has with friends, family and class. In this, he confronts an important risk in future self-improvement - the loss of that social belonging - and finds a possible solution through the fantasy of doing it like Gordon Ramsay.

In orientation to a future not in university, but within the contemporary insecurities of a skilled, working class labour market of self-employed men, he appropriates a meaning for labour itself which offers self-empowerment, in the face of unknown risk. In addition, the re-appropriation by Joel, like Alan and friends, in Chapter 8, of foodie expertise serves the conservation of social belonging at a moment when the trajectories of their lives may produce social division between them. By negotiation with consumer agency, they show a savviness to maintain the social belonging that is so vital to people like themselves, from traditional working class, and technical, middle-class backgrounds, in taking risks in the future.

Both as chef and coordinator of the 'Cooking Club', Firoze also appropriates the meaning of food preparation, from being about traditional female agency and the family, to being about contingent sociality in new territories. The values which he mobilises for food are internationalism and multiculturalism. His consumer savviness both serves an individual and a social role. His meals meet the human need amongst students, and himself, to establish and

maintain social bonding with others in the new setting of university, and facilitate his personal, social advancement through establishing contacts and marketing himself.

Chapter 8 showed that an important part of these young people being consumer-savvy is in their appropriation of ideal meanings for taste, in their negotiation with food culture, and their incorporation of those values in their own, self-entrepreneurial narrative. Chapter 8 characterised three positions to food taste amongst these young people. One, the supremos, based the definition of their own taste in food in the production of their own middle-class identities, stitching into their accounts reference to their difference to others who did not live like them and did not possess their privilege in cultural, social or economic capitals. Part of their savviness was to know how to select aspects of their habitus and privilege them by association with social approval, in reference to the social myths of self-autonomy and meritocracy. These myths work with a binary current in right wing discourse: associating self-autonomy, for example, with a so-called, good family food culture (including proper, structured, family meals, food choice informed by healthy eating and food knowledge shared by parents and children) and slim, healthy bodies; and associating social dependency with so-called bad family food culture (junk food, grazing, lack of food knowledge in parents and children), and unhealthy, obese bodies. The myth of self-autonomy incites the disparagement of the working class and poor people. The identification of their own, and their families' possession of a self-entrepreneurial disposition allows ethical and political justification for the privilege of the supremos: it was earned by hard, savvy work. The vocabulary of meritocracy also runs through the alternative position of the apprentice and the oppositional position of the democrat.

The apprentices focused upon the personal progress they were making through their learning: in acquiring food, cultural and social capitals by improving their food knowledge and capability and their resourceful use of popular food culture, as in Stella's case, their use of food heritage, as in Badriya's, to establish new social contact in the new setting of university. The savviness in the apprentices was in knowing which food performances would impress others and win social approval, by showing their disposition to

perpetual self-improvement. For both examples, it was not enough to imitate their mothers' cooking; they had to show their independence, in adapting to the new territory of university.

The savviness of the democrats also lay in knowing how to move food away from the habits of distinction they associated with social divisiveness and a kind of individualism which threatened what they valued in food culture: the social belonging and cooperative venture of making and sharing food together. Their savviness is realized in knowing which foods to select, to withstand the interest of social division – the bacon butty and the beef-burger, for example - at the same time as showing that they know all about the diversity of foods in the consumer market and their mediation by popular food culture.

The resistance of the democrats to food's signification of class also maintains their freedom to continue their self-improvement through the consumption of new foods in the future, and to learn to evaluate them in new ways, in whatever future settings they may find themselves in. The values they attribute to food, including authenticity, quality, tradition, generosity and healthiness are democratic. Their use of popular food culture is a meritocratic means of establishing the credibility of their commitment both to self-improvement and to keeping faith with their own. It signals a commitment to self-improvement, an openness to new experiences, and future, cooperative ventures with others on an egalitarian basis.

The young food cultures of the democrats and the apprentices are examples of what Savage (2015, p.113), in his reconceptualization of class in the UK , has called 'emerging cultural capital' – that is a part of a younger generation's self-identity work, among new, urban professionals who are not alleged to the traditional binaries of high and popular culture. The engagement of the apprentices and democrats in the popular culture of food, also answers the current structural delay, for young people, who do not share in privileged accumulations of the three capitals, in acquiring the traditional, social markers of adulthood. It offers participation in an, aspirational and cooperative,

‘emotional community’ (Maffesoli, 1996, p.193f) in which personal, adult distinction is marked out by a disposition to self-betterment.

This positive orientation to future consumption, by supremos, apprentices and democrats, despite the differences in background and advantage of many kinds, has a shared basis in educational achievement. All have progressed in education to A level or degree course. However different the three positions to cultural capital are, the positivity of all of their orientations to future consumption, in their self-entrepreneurial narratives, make their social identities distinct from the ‘precariat’ (Savage, 2015, p.351f). This is the class, characterized in right wing political discourse and popular cultural representation as a kind of underclass, who find themselves cut adrift from the aspiration of the middle-classes because of their own failings: exhibiting a disposition of social dependency rather than self-autonomy, and inability to adapt to a new globalized market and new social and economic conditions. In the academic discourse of Savage, it is a class living and working precariously, unable to have stable employment, social or regulatory protection, as the product of neo-liberal policies of global extension. The breadth of backgrounds, represented in the positions of supremo, apprentice and democrat, fits Savage’s picture of a broad and disparate, new middle-class, stretching from the traditional working class to the established middle-class, all of whom, in his analysis, have realistic expectations of social aspiration. In the examples of what Savage calls the technical working class and traditional working class, represented in the democrats, self-identity includes a greater class awareness, consistent with valuing the mutual support needed in everyday life to get by and distance themselves from the boundary with the precariat.

As Tizard and Phoenix (2002) point out, there are a variety of ways in which ethnic identity is experienced, according to its intersection with other identities. Within the limited representation of ethnicity in this study, the use of an ethnic identity to further distinguish an established middle-class identity, is represented elsewhere in the samples as well as in the example of Yal’, in Chapter 8. This involves the construction of a privileged identity derived from the family’s food practices compared to mainstream British food culture, and

British families. Similarly, the use of an ethnic food heritage as meritorious in its own right and used as a symbolic language with which to articulate positive, personal attributes, and not class difference, as Badriya, in that same chapter does, is represented elsewhere in the samples. Ethnicity also intersects with a female gendered identity, in self-identity, in signifying, amongst female participants, a respect for, and recognition that they need to conserve and continue, its practice. In reference to the multicultural discourses of the educational, research settings, ethnic food heritage is a form of cultural capital, and is combined, in self-entrepreneurial performances, as a badge of honour. This combination is savvy in answering mainstream, commercial interpellation, to use food to make better versions of themselves, by adding the extra value of personal authenticity, which cannot be bought.

### **BEING A CAN-DO GIRL**

From the initial thematisation of the fieldwork (Appendix 1), a particular intersection of female self-identity with all of the themes about food was clear. Chapter 5 began to tell this story, of how high the stakes appeared to young women, across the phases of the fieldwork, in negotiating with normative performances of adult, female identity: both in terms of the pathology and shame of getting the self-production of woman wrong - as illustrated in the case of young women who succumbed to eating disorder; and in terms of managing the contradictory social expectations which ran through women's food practice. These contradictions became clear in the task of 'self-actualisation' (Giddens, 1994, p.78) in food practice: to be a healthy eater and a consumer-savvy self, *and* to serve the needs of others.

The theme of female dysfunctional relationship to food and eating, illustrated in Chapters 5 and 6, allowed us to see how the negativity, of being trapped in 'oppressive emotional habits' (Giddens, 1994, p.78) with food and self-image, was linked by young women to a loss of agency, in engaging with food as an adult cultural object in consumer culture. Having an eating disorder was a horrific image, for female participants, because it brought pathological and shameful judgements to bear upon young women, and because it represented the arrested development of female individuality. As young women, these



participants saw themselves as 'subjects of great capacity' (McRobbie, 2012b): young women who should realise the expectations upon them to fulfill their multiple, individual potentials - including excelling in education, enjoying consuming, working hard and having fun, but also to support and care for others. Chapter 5 showed that a functional relationship to food signified key aspects of what functioning well as a young woman was all about: fulfilling individual potential *and* also having to be empathetic, and committed to ensure the well-being of others. Being a 'subject of great capacity' gives a gendered specification for self-identity and the kind of 'unity', or patterning of 'habits and orientations' in 'lifestyle' which Giddens describes generally (Giddens, 1994, p.82). In the chapters of analysis which have gone before, we have seen that this is an important basis of young women's negotiation with food culture.

Chapters 5 and 6, showed that being a healthy self, in the use of food, involved a dual teleology for young women. First, it incited work on the self – to be physically and mentally healthy and to adapt to a modern world which required self-change and adaptation. A part of this was to progress in education and develop personal resourcefulness, and imaginative and critical capacity. Secondly, it involved learning how to support the development of others. When, in Chapter 5, younger participants, in their documentaries, reaffirmed that the desire for the ideal female bodies of media representation had to be critically read, they were orientated to their own, future potential. They distanced themselves, in time and space, and representationally, from females younger than themselves who could not do that. However, their melodramatic representation of the victims of eating disorders, marked the learning of a more complex orientation to others. On the one hand, there was identification with others' investment in idealised female beauty, empathy to others and acceptance of a social responsibility for them, and investment in developing a female common sense about the phenomenon. They used visual and spoken modes, the media of photography and film, and the genres of melodrama and the morality tale, as cultural resources, to adapt to the kind of balancing act required of women: to cultivate empathy and care, as well as increasing their own skills, and educational capital with which to move forward

into productive careers. Similarly, the progress of the 18 year old video-maker, dealing with her own eating-disorder, required her to learn from the older role models of successful, professional women, in how to be self-autonomous *and* generous to others. Again, her use of the medium of film, particularly in the montage of contrasting younger, disastrous, and older, productive relationships to food, is a part of her making a transition to adulthood by learning the adaptation of women to a modern world.

Imagining having the adult roles of food consumer activist, running a healthy eating campaign for university students, and cooking Mediterranean-style food, was a part of Charissa's (chapter 5) and Catherine's (chapters 5 and 6) learning how to be adult women who adapted to the needs of both being healthy and developing their own careers, *and* caring for others. Again these settlements of the two, female teleologies, answered the dead end of past 'oppressive emotional habits' (Giddens, 1994, p.78) recorded in their mind-maps, and are a means of making progress in the transition to adulthood. As the introduction to this chapter explained, these appropriations of personal meaning, in an engagement with food culture, are a means of revising the source of 'ontological security' – from home to the self, orientated to future 'colonising' (Giddens, 1994, p.133f). Similarly, Chapter 6's examples of female, healthy food campaigns had an interest to mark their own personal progression in both being healthy eaters and, in health campaigning, being engaged with the needs of others.

As we saw in the last section on the consumer-savvy self, a positive ethos is maintained for the dual teleologies - of self-development and care for others – by creative engagement with the food culture of home and popular food culture. Of particular interest is the re-signification of the kind of social relationship which is produced by female food work. Recognition of the added value of artisanal food was given as an example of this re-appropriation, associated with the investment of generosity toward others, not traditional duty to others. The example of Noemi, from Chapter 8, serves to illustrate, once more, how this accompanies a re-territorialising of the home setting and a re-imagining of the female altruism of female food work.

The example of Stella, in chapter 8, illustrates the negotiation with the obligation to fulfill the two social obligations upon young women, in the new territory of university: to be agentive in making the most of themselves in education and career, and be creative in reimagining the care of others in food work. We recall her selection of sushi, which connoted personal pleasure, celebration with friends, and freedom of movement in her university city, outside of any domestic setting and field of obligation. In the fantasy of being a contestant in Masterchef, the purpose of making food for others is transformed into a celebration of her improving food skills and of her working within the discursive fields of university, and an aesthetic and design vocabulary.

Noemi, in Chapter 7, in a return home, after university, shared the female domestic food work of her mother, and engaged with the categories of food choice, grounded in a female management of resources and sense of obligation to the family - for example, 'tradition and novelty', 'economy and extravagance', 'convenience and care' (Warde, 1997, p.55f). We recall how she refreshes food work by using the memory of learning to build friendship and establish relationships of equality with her housemates at university. There she learnt about an equal contribution to food work across gender. She supplements this with the memory of current self-transformation – in engagement with restaurant culture with her partner - redefining the sociality produced by food work, and transforming its mundanity into something which celebrates her consumer savviness and aspiration.

The examples of Faye, in Chapter 6, and Vanessa, in Chapter 8, illustrate further interest to break the connection between personal food preparation and traditional female food work. We recall how, in Faye's fly-on-the wall video, preparation of food was just for herself, and how she used a spoken narrative - about her work, about how busy she was, about her disregard for traditional family meals, or 'proper meals', and about her ambitions for future travel and food education – to accompany the visual self-presentation. Like Noemi, she was living at home after university, but not immersed in female food work; but, like Noemi, she had a strong interest to show her self-entrepreneurialism, part in answer to her being seen to have returned to the old territory. In a similar way, Vanessa's self-narrative is full of reference to

her detachment from the kitchen and traditional, female food work. Vanessa, too, stresses the busyness of her life, of her disinterest in cooking, of her preference for others to cook for her, of her eating out and the economic, social and cultural command she enjoys outside of domestic settings, including restaurants. She aligns herself with her mother's middle-class taste in consumption, reflecting that command, and not in terms of doing food work for others

We have seen that a part of these young women's negotiation with food culture is about negotiating with the social and cultural expectation of putting others first whilst construing and imagining ways of being both independent women and women who have a capacity to care about, or for others. This is part of a self-identity which is a privileged subject, obscuring those women who are poor or termed just managing, in times of austerity, and remain tied to mundane domestic and waged labour, need welfare or a male wage earner, or need other women and family for child-care. The performance of a can-do girl identity fits the female individualism that Mc Robbie (2012a, 2012 b) describes, as cooperating with a neo-liberalised world, and obscuring a holistic view of society, a Keynesian model of provision and a Beveridge Welfare approach.

## **CONCLUSION**

The study, then, contributes to an understanding of how young people's identities develop in their engagement with food culture, in their transition to adulthood. It has, in particular, helped to see how young people learn to perform their self-identity through using a vocabulary of self-entrepreneurialism with which to negotiate with the versions of successful, adult selves that their culture has made available to them. Focused upon food culture, we have seen how they negotiate with, and contribute to three versions of adulthood, in the healthy self, the consumer-savvy self and the can-do girl. These are the versions of themselves making progress and being the best that they can be, which have been animated in the research settings of this study. The study has described how their self-performances are in

dialogue with their movement across territories, such as that between home and university.

Construing and imagining themselves in these ways have enabled these young people to animate a moral vocabulary by which they can be judged. They know how these forms of adult agency and their constraints, will allow them to be in ways which are likely to be esteemed. This knowledgeability is not a product of the research setting, or of educational institutions, or of any of the other institutions in this modern world, but the result of young people learning to critically read their culture, and negotiate how they make themselves known in these institutions.

Learning to be a healthy eating, consumer savvy self or a can-do girl' self was not about conformity but cultural work, interpreting the contradictions of their interpellation across discourses, in ways which served their well-being and kept other people's negative judgment of them at bay.

Dealing with those contradictions is an important aspect of the patterning of 'habit and orientations' which Giddens (1994, p.82) identifies as the making of a 'lifestyle' The study has shown that the settlements young people make with the vaunted free choice of the market are not free of the imagined judgment of others. For example, young women's bid for personal, physical and emotional well-being, by imagining an alternative, end-game of food work is never free of the normative expectation of their responsibility for the wellbeing of others; and female self-trust is, as for others, through the socially approved, and culturally dominant vocabulary of self-entrepreneurialism. Although the language of self-entrepreneurialism, is individualistic, consistent with personal flexibility within global capitalism and neo-liberalised state institutions, it is simultaneously one which, in its emphasis upon interpretation and creativity, enables negotiation.

Self-entrepreneurialism is a vocabulary suited to positive, future aspiration at a time in the UK when even young adults like these, with good educational qualifications, cannot expect to appropriate the traditional, cultural markers of adulthood, as their parents' generation had (Appendix 6). The self-performance of a self-entrepreneurial disposition is an answer to this

powerlessness, in Giddens' terms (1994, p.191). It is the meritocratic means by which young people, from very different starting points in a middle-class as broad as Savage (2015) describes, can show that they have what it takes to be upwardly, socially mobile. Self-entrepreneurialism allows for narratives of disposition to the future and present self-management rather than progress along the traditional routes of adulthood - employment, housing career, long-term, intimate relationship, and parenthood.

The study's analysis of the ways in which young people have made their food practice meaningful by addressing what it takes to be successful, in a world which appears to require perpetual self-adaptation to time, place, sociality, institutional values, perpetual self-improvement and perpetual competition with all others, has offered an explanation of that aspect of self-identity which is a way of 'colonising the future' (Giddens, 1994, p.133). The orientation to the imagined future, as healthy eating, consumer savvy and can-do-girl selves, is only possible through their creative, critical and interpretative engagement with food culture.

In explaining the connection between a neoliberal, cultural vocabulary of self-entrepreneurialism and the self-identity work of becoming adult, this study aims to contribute to understanding what it is like to live in 'high modernity' (Giddens, 1994, p27f): how 'the transmutations introduced by modern institutions interlace in a direct way with individual life and therefore with the self ... the interconnection between the two extremes of extensionality and intentionality: globalising influences on the one hand and personal disposition on the other' (Giddens, 1994, p.1).

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# Appendix 1:

## Summary of theme identification in the fieldwork

### INTRODUCTION

In this document you can see how the themes which are dealt with in the chapters of analysis, and the conclusion, emerged from the material of the fieldwork. This document shows the thematisation of the fieldwork in its three phases. Those three phases are explained in the Methodology chapter. This introduction explains how the thematisation was done in each phase, in a way appropriate to the ways in which the data was collected. The thematisation closes, at the end of the document with a categorization of the most robust themes across the three phases.

The fieldwork material consists of the visual artifacts which participants made and the interviews which they took part in. How that material was produced, and what the prompts were for that production, are described in the Methodology chapter. Because this study is focused upon identity, or self-performance, 'theme' is used to describe participants' positioning of themselves to particular aspects of food practice.

Assessing that position-taking comes out of an analysis of participants' use of mode and material in the artefacts and interviews. How this is done is explained in the Methodology chapter. So the thematisation which follows is the product of that analysis. The process of analysis in this document is continually reiterative: first, analysis moves forward, on the basis of attending to each participant's meaning making and position taking. It looks at each participant's 're-punctuation' of those meanings from the visual artifact to the interview, or vice-versa. Then there is back-combing across all of the participants in the phase, looking for the most robust themes for the participants in that phase. The thematisation proceeds in each of the phases like that, moving from 'the bottom' upwards, then flowing back across all

participants in each phase, backcombing. This means that the theme descriptions (and numbers) are specific to the process in each phase. Once the analysis of the three phases are complete, then there is a further re-reading and categorization of the most robust themes across all phases. It is only then that the four themes found at the very end of this document are defined and colour coded: in brief, number one, being a healthy eater - green; number two, having a functional relationship to food (specific to female identity) – yellow; number three, being ‘consumer savvy’ with food – purple; number four, using food to build sociality – blue. It is this colour coding, attached to these four numbered themes, which you see throughout the document, as the action of the last reiteration of thematisation, back-combing through the material. This categorization is the intellectual movement from the instant of individual communication and individual self-performance to its contribution as representation of young people’s interest.

As the Methodology explains, there are three samples of participants, each belonging to the three phases of the fieldwork: Phase 1, Phase 2 and Phase 3. Again, as the Methodology explains, the material produced in each phase differs: in Phase 1, a video and an interview; in Phase 2, first, a documentary ‘treatment’ of a photo-narrative or written ‘step-outline’, both accompanied by a written ‘Reflective Analysis’, and then an interview based on three food programme extracts; in Phase 3, a visual artifact and an interview. Even though the forms of material differ across the phases, all address an aspect of food that matters to the participant, and thereby a part of a self-performance.

## **Summary of the process of thematisation**

### ***Phase 1***

#### **The videos**

This categorization is the intellectual movement from the instant of individual communication and individual self-performance to its contribution as representation of young people’s interest. The First, the themes of each participant’s video are identified. The first video is made by two participants.

Second, each of those themes is illustrated with a description of an extract, or extracts, for the first video, then each video in turn. The speech and visual information in each extract is coded according to a transcription code. That transcription code is given before the extracts. The description of the visual information includes snapshot pdvd codes which link the moments to the images on the pages which follow all of the extracts given.

Before each extract, there is a brief analysis of the visual genre being used. Again, this is a part of my orientation to the meanings being made by the maker/s and their position-taking to an aspect of food practice.

As has been explained above, the colour code which appears before each video extract, is the product of the later re-combing of the material

### The interviews

Each of the makers of the first video has a separate interview. First, each participant's position-taking in the interview is identified. To identify what meaning is being re-punctuated, so that we can begin to get a grip on what matters most to each participant, the theme numbers used in the video analysis are used and a comparison is made.

After the analysis of each participant, the material of all participants is re-read so that the most robust themes for phase 1 participants can be specified .

Again, the colour code which appears is the product of the final re-combing of the material described earlier in this introduction.

Again, the speech in the extracts of interviews is transcribed according to the same transcription code as the videos. The initial letter of the participant's name and my name is given to show who is speaking. I am 'M'. Where there is email exchange, rather than interview, that is specified.

## ***Phase 2***

### The focus groups

First, a summary of the themes of the female focus group is given. These are group, not individual, themes because they are the product of the group's interaction and consensus making.

Second, illustration of these themes is given, again, by using extracts of their interaction. These examples are housed in a document which I made at the time. The document making is a part of the reflective process of analysis – 'talking' out to an imagined audience, about the interaction of these participants. Again, the speech in the extracts of speech is transcribed in the same way as before. Transcription assists my reflection on the participant's meaning making. The initial letter of the participant's name is given to show who is speaking.

Again, the colour code which appears is the product of the final re-combing of the material described earlier in this introduction. Note that the yellow colour code is the product of attending to female participants' positioning to food across all of the phases: in brief, an interest to negotiate with contradictory performances of femaleness with food: of being affectively invested in the well-being of others and yet focused upon their 'self-actualisation' (Giddens 1994); of looking after themselves, maintain health and so on, but leaving behind a kind of body interest which is considered socially as obsessive. The absence of coding (re. food and identity) for male focus group discussion reflects the masculinization of the relation between food and gendered 'ideal' body into a relation between steroid abuse and 'ideal' male body, in the male focus group.

Then the same is done for the male focus group: summary of themes of the male focus group; followed by illustration of these themes - by using extracts of their interaction, housed in a reflective document which shows my initial thinking, at the time, about the interaction of these participants. Again, the speech in the extracts of speech is transcribed in the same way.

### The documentary treatments

First the themes of the photo-narratives or the 'step analyses', and the written 'Reflective Analysis', are given for the female participants. These are documents made by year 12 students for their Film Studies AS examination. The Methodology explains what they are; Appendix 8 also gives the Specification's description of these elements. Because, as the first chapter of the analysis explains, in the main body of the study, the documentary follows the focus group work discussion, as a link in the 'semiotic chain' (Kress, 2000, as used by Stein(2008)) - with each participant individually developing the themes established as normative in the focus group - the differentiation of the themes of female documentary makers gets a grip on their individual positioning, and self-performance.

Secondly, the same thematisation is done for the male participants. The rationale for this gender differentiation of themes is the same as for female participants.

Thirdly, illustration of the themes of the documentaries, of both genders, is housed within a document which is a first analysis of participant interest in their design of the documentaries. Again, the writing of a document is a part of the reflective process of thematisation, and it shows the early stage of analysis. This extract of the document begins with a functional analysis of both genders' use of a genre of storytelling which I call the 'morality tale'. The document also attends to participants' explanation of their use of documentary genre, in the 'Reflective Analyses'; and there is a comparison of interests in male and female negotiation with media representations of 'ideal' gendered bodies. This document is included because it shows an early stage of reflection upon an aspect of what is distinct in female participants' positioning which directly informs the use of the yellow colour code.

Again, the colour codes which appear are the product of the final re-combing of the material described earlier in this introduction. The absence of coding (re. food and identity) for male documentaries reflects the masculinization of the relation between food and gendered 'ideal' body into a relation between

steroid abuse and 'ideal' male body. As such, it reflects the earlier masculinization of the issues in the male focus group, an earlier link in the 'semiotic chain'.

Fourthly, participants' photo-narratives or the 'step analyses' are shown.

Fifthly, a rereading of the focus group material and the documentaries, and a re-combing of their themes, produced a summary of the most robust themes across them. Again, for the reasons given above, the gender differentiation of these summaries is maintained.

### The interviews

First, the themes, produced from an analysis of each participant's meaning-making in the interviews, are brought together in a categorization of the most robust themes in the semi-structured interviews. As the Methodology explains, these took place after each participant viewed three extracts of 'food television'.

Secondly, examples are given from the interviews which illustrate the articulation of these themes. Again, the colour codes which appear are the product of the final re-combing of the material described earlier.

The section for Phase 2 closes with a summary of the most robust themes across the focus group discussion, documentary making and interviews.

## **Phase 3**

### The interviews

First, the themes, produced from an analysis of each participant's meaning-making in the interviews, are brought together in a categorization of the most robust themes in the interviews. This summary includes examples of participants who articulated these themes. This summary is then extended with a list of the participants and the themes which were most prominent in each of their contributions to the interviews.



Secondly, illustration of these themes is given by using extracts from the interviews.

Again, the colour codes which appear are the product of the final re-combing of the material described earlier.

### The visual artifacts

First, the themes of each participant's visual artefact is given, through an analysis of the design of the artifact. The themes identified are given at the end of each analysis. Again the colour coding is the product of the final re-combing of the material described earlier.

Secondly, images of the visual artifacts are shown.

Thirdly, a summary of the themes in the visual artefacts is made. Examples of participants are given for each of the themes to reinforce the reference to the analysis of the artefacts of individual participants. Again the colour coding is the later process of re-combing the material of all three phases described above.

Fourthly, a summary of the most robust themes across the interviews and the artefacts in Phase 3 is given.

### ***Conclusion***

The thematisation closes with a summary of the most robust themes across all three phases of the fieldwork.

## **PHASE ONE**

### **Themes of the videos in phase one of the fieldwork**

#### ***Video 1: Alan and Liam***

1. proving that one knows about 'healthy eating'; and applies it in the personal consumption of food
2. self-management of a 'balance' between 'healthy eating' and pleasure in food consumption
3. pleasure in letting go of self-regulation of 'healthy eating' eg. in holiday food, in celebration of male friendship
4. personal extension of food knowledge/ engagement with wider food culture
5. masculine food style
6. female provision of food knowledge, including 'healthy eating' and 'balance' in consumption
7. demonstration of personal progress in being independent, and in making progress in 1, 2, 4 above

#### ***Video 2: Jane E.***

1. knowledge of younger females' dysfunctional relationship to food, and the experience of consumption of food as being about conflict, anxiety and trauma
2. admiration of older females' functional relationship to food – as providers of food, and builders of family/ sociality and positive emotion
3. food as focus of self-improvement for younger females
4. distinction of what food means to men

#### ***Video 3: Faye***

1. personal family food culture as distinct from the norm; but being about pragmatic, self-management and 'healthy eating'

2. personal 'healthy eating', distinct from 'unhealthy eating' and 'fast-food'
3. personal food knowledge eg how to eat healthily on a budget
4. showing personal progression in time: moving from past (child) aversion to foods to adventurous disposition to new food cultures

***Video 4: Joel***

1. pride in personal progression in food knowledge and developing expertise in food preparation; in performing the role of teacher in improving others' food knowledge
2. pleasure of being a part of kinship and friendship groups through eating together

***Video 5: Jane H.***

1. progress in personal integration in adult food practices as a part of growing up and being more adult
2. younger girls' consumption as immature
3. distinction of personal family food culture (eg. 'healthy eating', 'proper meals') from others' food practices (eg. consuming manufactured food and isolated eating)
4. polemical role of father, engaged with discourses of parenting, ideal family and food practice
5. mediating role of mother, engaged with discourses of health, pragmatic negotiation of modern life

***Video 6: Imogen***

1. demonstration of healthiness of personal food
2. demonstration of ability to provide food for self (independence/ self-reliance)

### ***Video 7: Yal***

1. 'healthy eating'
2. distinction of personal family food culture ('healthy eating', 'proper meals', intergenerational, knowledge rich, ethnic food tradition) from 'mainstream' British food culture ('unhealthy eating', lack of food knowledge, problematic parenting)
3. personal responsibility for food consumption
4. food education

### ***Video 8: Harry***

1. personal style and pride in engagement with wider food culture
2. eating as physical and emotional self-maintenance
3. vegetarianism as normal and not weird
4. self-regulation of eating and control of body shape
5. cooking as a part of personal relationship

### ***Video 9: Heidi***

1. distinction of personal 'healthy food' knowledge and practices from others' 'unhealthy food' consumption
2. personal autonomy and ability to eat healthily outside of the family, and to use food knowledge independently
3. personal progression of leaving behind past emotional 'baggage' and unhealthy food consumption and present adventurous disposition to food consumption/ to new food cultures ahead
4. being under surveillance and performance to camera (related to above themes as conformity to social and cultural norms of aspirational behaviour with food)

## ***Video 10: Noemi***

learning the domestic management of food – thrift and value; family food

1. learning personal independence, and aspiration to extend experience beyond the domestic and workaday worlds, including the consumption of 'foodie' discourse, and consumer savvy skills of eating out
2. learning to manage food work within an adult working life
3. being under surveillance. This underpins her performance to camera, and is closely related to themes 1 and 3, as proving the learning of female food work.

### **Key for the transcription of speech and the visual information in the shot-logs**

#### ***Visual information:***

Cinematography: shot selection

l/s                      long shot

m/s                    mid-shot

c/u                     close-up

Cinematography: camera movement

pan     a shot made usually by a left to right movement (or vice-versa) of the camera on a horizontal plane, usually involving, in these uses of a hand-held video camera, the upper body of the participant rotating from left to right or vice-versa.

Zoom a shot made by using the zoom lens on the camera, which makes the object larger, giving the impression of closing in on it (zoom-in) or, in zooming-out, makes the object smaller: it recedes into its visual context.

canted shot   a shot made by tilting the camera so that vertical and horizontal lines within the image are at a tilted angle in relation to the film/video frame

pdvd+ number      illustrative image with research reference number

additional information about people's movements and expressions are given (note, sometimes this is inevitably interpretative eg. 'pensive with hand on chin').

### ***Spoken information***

speaker's name given to inform analysis of interaction; 'narrator' used to indicate voice-over as participant operates camera.

certain transcription codes for spoken language are adopted from McDonald (1992):

(.)              micro-pause, less than a second

(1)              pause of one second (similarly (2) pause of two seconds)

/                rising tone, most often used in asking questions

(note, the rising through a sequence of words, to make a question, is shown, by an initial rise/ and a conclusion of the rise/ as best I can when listening to the recorded speech.)

\                falling tone

—               level tone

`                stressed word (distinction of stressed syllables is not done here).

Note, subsequently, in the main body of the study, in the chapters of analysis, italics are used instead, for ease of reading)

(cresc)        increasing volume

(dim)          diminuendo, decreasing volume

Other sounds made by participants are described. Overlap is described rather than notated eg. 'Alan (simultaneously): ...'

*Italics* are used for brands, company names eg *Pizza Hut*

“ ...” quotation marks are used when a participant is quoting someone else, impersonating someone or depicting the attitudinal stance of someone else; it is accompanied by an appropriate tonal change.

(words obscured) is used when it has not been possible to discern the word/s used from the recording.

(an action, gesture or expression described is bracketed off.)

Notes are used for various purposes: to contextualise an extract of speech; to paraphrase a stretch of speech; to record an interpretation as transcription is being made as part of the reflective process.)

### **Illustration of themes in video extracts**

#### ***Video 1: Alan and Liam***

Note video as cultural resource in all of these sequence: use of parody of ‘home mode’ video (R. Chalfen, 1987 in Buckingham and Willett ed. 2009), use of documentary as social observation, in matters of food (J. Hollows and S. Jones, 2010), use of video as youthful spoof (R. Willett, 2009) and film parody (D. Harries, 2000). As a use of documentary film practices, the video uses a ‘participatory mode’ (Nichols, 2001), the interaction of the friends, in particular, being central to it. There are elements of ‘observational’ (‘fly-on-the-wall’) documentary: the second of Liam’s coda chapters (not shown below) being an example. In terms of the video use, and the performance of participants in this video, it plays into the food television genres of ‘cooking demonstration’, ‘competition’ and ‘self-transformation’ genres (see Appendix item, ‘Typology of food genres’).

Alan and Liam 1 (breakfast at campsite)

Theme 1 green; theme 2 green; theme 3 blue; theme 7 purple

(5.36)

Sound	Visual
Alan: oh yes, the eggs are ready	l/s of Alan's mother, in doorway of caravan holding pan of eggs toward camera.
Alan's mother: you've got to get those out now in one piece though	
Alan: Christine's going to show us how this is done	zoom into c/u of pan of eggs. <b>Pdvd000</b>
Narrator/Liam: that's brilliant/ (.) that's very/ good (.) thank you very much	zoom out from Alan's mother and pans to Adrian, scratching throat.
Adrian: a breakfast of kings (dim) as it is said(.)	m/s Adrian; foreground a bowl of oranges and bananas.
Narrator/Liam: the best start to the day (.) definitely	
Sound of Alan mimicking symbol played with a wire brush, producing rhythmic swishing sound	
Narrator/Liam: love/ the err juxtaposition of the healthy fruit and the lovely fried	<b>Pdvd001</b> pan across to l/s of Alan's mother handing out a plate of cooked breakfast.
Narrator/Liam: oh my word (cresc) (1)	Follow shot of plate being swung into full view.
Alan: look at `that	<b>Pdvd002</b> c/u of plate of bacon,



	sausage, egg, beans, fried bread.
Narrator/Liam: look at `that that's beautiful (.) so what/ have we got there	
Alan: well (.) that's	
Narrator/Liam: sausage bacon (.) what's/ that fried bread/	
Alan: that's fried bread (.) that's healthy `brown bread there	Pdvd003
Adrian: healthy `brown fried bread	
Alan: (laughing) yeah `healthy (.) (all laughing) fried bread (.) `these are baked beans and `this is an egg and `this is a strip of bacon	
Narrator/Liam: I've been trying to stick to poached eggs since January	m/s of Alan looking at his plate of food, pensive with hand to chin.
Alan: poached eggs (.) yeah (.) they're difficult to make but (.) yeah	
Narrator/Liam: yeah	Pan to Alan's mother in the doorway, extending a further plate of food.
Alan's mother: here we go Andy	

(end 7.00)

Alan and Liam 2 (choosing 'holiday food' on the promenade)

Theme 2 **green**; theme 3 **blue**; theme 6 **green**

(10.37)

Sound	Visual
Narrator/Liam: now we're thinking about food	<b>Pdvd004</b> m/s of Alan, positive but wary; pan to Adrian and return to Alan.
Alan: well yeah (.) I think ice cream is on the brain	<b>Pdvd005</b> m/s of sandwich board.
Narrator/Liam: we have a lot of food here (.) Andy's eying up the doughnuts here (.)	
Adrian: when on the coast ice cream is a given	Rapid pan across kiosk hoardings, proclaiming <i>Ice Cream House</i> .
Alan: I'm not sure what I'm going to go for yet but I'll a look at the selection and see what's lined up	Rapid pan across fairground ride to Alan's face in c/u. <b>pDVD006</b>
Narrator/Liam: you've been eying up the crab	Pan across to Adrian in m/s.
Alan: yeah we've been eying up the crab and Andy's going to try the crab in a minute so we'll just see what happens	Pan back to the sandwich board

(end 10.59)

(11.53)

Adrian (in background): actually that does look good Liam(in background, to Adrian): can you get/ one/; (to Alan) is that just one scoop/ Alan: no that's two scoops right	m/s of Alan completing transaction with ice-cream seller over ice-cream counter.
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<p>there</p> <p>Adrian (in background, to Alan) how/ much was that/</p> <p>Liam: I might have to get one Adrian (in background, to ice-cream seller)</p> <p>two scoops of</p> <p>Liam (to Alan): take the camera a minute</p> <p>Adrian (in background, to ice-cream seller): one of toffee fudge please (2) and one of dairy chocolate please</p> <p>Alan: actually that's a good choice</p> <p>Liam: what have you gone for/</p> <p>Adrian: dairy chocolate and (1) Alan (to Adrian and Liam): would/ you like some cockles/ (2)</p> <p>Very good (.) what/ do they taste like/</p> <p>Alan's mother: shellfish (.) salty Alan: what/ made you want to buy them/</p> <p>Alan's mother: they've got zinc in and I don't get much zinc living in the Midlands</p> <p>Alan: they've got zinc in them/</p> <p>Alan's mother: yes (1) an essential nutrient for your health</p> <p>Alan: what/ cockles/</p> <p>Alan's mother: 'yes</p> <p>Alan: what/ does zinc do for you/</p> <p>Alan's mother: it's just a nutrient (.) keeps you healthy</p>	<p>m/s of variety of ice-creams in tubs on display in cabinet.</p> <p>m/s of vendor's hand scooping ice-cream from cabinet.</p> <p>m/s, along counter, of Adrian staring at ice-creams in cabinet; in background Liam also staring at the ice-creams in the cabinet.</p> <p>pan to Alan's mother in m/s, holding a cup of cockles; zoom into cup; c/u of mother's face, looking to camera; zoom out to m/s of mother (smiling); she extends the cup toward Adrian and Liam (out of frame).</p> <p>c/u of cup; mother's hand scooping out a spoon full of cockles;</p> <p>hands spoon of cockles toward Liam (out of frame).</p> <p>m/s of mother.</p>
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Alan and Liam 3 (barbecue at campsite)

Theme 3 blue; theme 5 blue; theme 4 purple

(15.40)

Sound	Visual
	<b>Pdvd008</b> c/u of the grey coals sitting in the barbecue tray, full screen.
Narrator/Liam: (laconic) yeah (.) burgers first (1) this looks pretty good (1) (sound of burgers sizzling) it got hot really quickly	<b>Pdvd009</b> A hand places four burgers onto the barbecue.
Narrator/Liam: meat is `definitely not murder	<b>Pdvd010</b> c/u of steaks and burgers on the barbecue grill.
	Cut away to l/s of Alan's father picking up the steaks from a tray.
Alan: I must create a vibe	<b>Pdvd007</b> Pan to sitting beside Liam, on a chair; Alan holds a guitar.
Narrator/Liam: we got some mood music from Mr. Alan Dickens (dim)	
Narrator/Liam: this is fantastic (.) look (.) steak (.) and burgers for Adrian	Pan back to barbecue in c/u; the hands of Alan's father placing the steaks onto the barbecue.
Background sounds of agitated conversation between Alan's father and mother, regarding the order of the cooked items and Alan's reassurance that it doesn't matter. Alan begins to strum the guitar.	
Narrator/Liam: Are you looking	Camera is walked up to Alan; Alan

forward to a steak/	with guitar in m/s.
Alan: I'm looking forward to a piece of steak	
Narrator/Liam: or are you looking forward to some veg/	Camera pans up to plates of salad, standing on a table near to Alan; c/u of plates.
Alan: there's nothing better than the smell of a barbecue (1) I feel that anything you put on a barbecue	Pans across table of food.
Narrator/Liam: it just smells like summer	
Alan: you can put anything on there and it will taste nice (1)	Pan to Alan's father, turning meats over on the barbecue which is smoking. <b>pdvd011</b>
Alan: unfortunately the smoke's coming in the tent at the minute	
Narrator/Liam: yeah (.) but it will kill the flies	
Alan: that's a good point Liam	
Narrator/Liam: shall I give barbecue-schicht a hand/ skilled (1) ten years of service in the barbecue industry (2) many loyal birthdays and bamitzvas (2) not for vegetarians (1)	Pan to m/s of Alan (with tense smile) then to the foods on the table.
Narrator/Liam: censored (.) don't want any heartbreak in here; Alan (simultaneous with above line): there aren't any vegetarians in this tent	c/u of narrator's hand covering an opened pack of meat, shielding it from view.

Alan and Liam 4 (eating in the pub)

Theme 3 blue; theme 4 purple; theme 5 blue

(33.12)

Liam/Narrator: what did you order/ (.) to eat Adrian/  Adrian: same as you  Liam: which was/  Adrian: the eight ounce burger (.) with fries and side salad  Liam: and Alan/  Alan: burger_ (.) _the _ same Liam/  Narrator: and 'here they are/  Adrian: 'very good  Alan: thanks our man (.) cheers have you/ got some ketchup/  Liam: have you/ got some mayonnaise please/  Alan: this is 'very good  Liam: it's been a healthy few days boys (.) what can I say/ (Alan laughs)  Liam: mmm good chips  Adrian: we're into straight chips (1)  when in Rome  Alan: I'm going to get some of that	m/s of Adrian, sat behind table, pint of beer in front of him.       pan to m/s of Alan, sat behind table.    behind Alan, we see the arrival of the food in the hands of member of pub staff; pan of hands serving plates of food to each of the friends.    pan across the plates of food (burger, pile of chips and side-salad).  m/s of Alan, receives ketchup from pub staff.  pan to Adrian and plate of food in front of him.  zoom in to c/u of plate of food.  pan across from Adrian applying salt to Alan in m/s doing the same, then
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<p>Liam: good/</p> <p>Adrian: yeah (.) good</p> <p>Liam: bitter burger and chips</p> <p>Liam: have you ever had beer-battered chips/</p> <p>Alan: yes very nice (.) let's get on with our (.) burger</p> <p>(redacted conversation about a personal relationship and moving flat; then conversation about preferences of items of Sunday roast meals and childhood memories of Sunday lunches.)</p> <p>(37.45)</p> <p>Adrian: I did struggle with the chips but you helped me out (.) a bit full (.)</p> <p>Liam: you look a bit tired now Adrian</p> <p>Adrian: you know when you have a really big meal you tend to</p> <p>Liam: and you/ Alan/</p> <p>Alan: very good</p> <p>Liam: right (.) onto the beach</p> <p>Alan: yeah (.) let's go for a stroll</p> <p>Liam: walk it off</p>	<p>applying ketchup.</p> <p>m/s of Adrian.</p> <p>pan to c/u of Alan.</p> <p>pans around table, ending with c/u of Liam's own plate of food; pan to Alan in m/s, rubbing his hands together, looking a little impatient.</p> <p>fade to black.</p> <p>fade up to canted view of plates of food on table and food being eaten.</p> <p>fade to black.</p> <p>fade up: pan around table to c/u of Adrian, seated behind the meal table.</p> <p>pan across all of the empty plates on the table, to Alan in m/s, seated at the table, hand on chin, pensive.</p>
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Alan: it's the best thing to do (.) 'burn those calories off	
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#### Alan and Liam 5 (Liam's first coda to video: dinner at home)

Theme 4 purple; theme 6 green; theme 7 purple

(39.10)

Liam: what's for dinner tonight mum/	m/s of Liam's mother, looking down toward an unseen plate.
Liam's mother: roasted tomatoes and peppers in the oven (.) with fresh broccoli and sauted potatoes and garlic with chicken	Pan down to the plate of food.
Liam: you've got some chicken in there	
Liam's mother: with pancetta	
Liam: you've got some pancetta in there as well with bacon and mushrooms	

#### ***Video 2: Jane E***

Note video as cultural resource: use of 'home mode' (Chalfen, 1982, in Buckingham and Willett, 2009); note relationship to family/ friends' portrait in still photography; and a use of 'creative mode' of home video (Willett, 2009) - a self-reflexive 'art' film; note relationship with documentary photography, art photography and art/photojournalism. As a use of documentary film practices, a 'poetic' mode (Nichols, 2001).



Jane E 1 (view of aunt from inside fridge)

Theme 2 yellow; theme 2 yellow; theme 2 blue

(00.01)

Aunt: What food means to me	m/s of aunt's face and shoulders, her upper body intersected by the diagonal of the packet of <i>Saint Agur</i> cheese; she smiles broadly as she looks into the fridge. <b>Pdvd000bw</b>
Aunt: it absolutely	<b>Pdvd002bw</b> She shrugs with excitement and moves in closer to inspect some food item out of view; her smile is expansive.
Aunt: completely definitely	<b>Pdvd003bw</b> she focuses intently; her downward gaze is to her left, her mouth pinched in concentration.
Aunt: is the way that you	She looks directly at the camera.
Aunt: demonstrate affection caring and love you know	She returns her gaze downward once more, this time to her right.
	She holds a biscuit to her mouth; she backs away from the fridge and is in m/s, her hand covering the mouth and biscuit.
Aunt: for someone (.)	
	She bites on the biscuit and her eyes widen momentarily in delight.
Aunt: you know (.) you come round and you don't want to eat it won't occur to me that you're not hungry (.) it will be either why/ is she being cross with me or why/ don't I	She returns to her position. Looking down into the fridge, to her right; she moves into c/u as she peers intently down; centred in the frame, she swivels away from the fridge, back into m/s, then almost out of the frame

	altogether.
know anything that he likes to eat/	She returns upright, kin m/s, peering into the fridge.
Em (.) yeah (.) food is most definitely how you express caring and love	She moves forward once more, into c/u, looking into the back of the fridge, then back, holding onto the fridge door.
	She takes one last step toward the fridge before stepping back and closing the fridge door; we see a jar of custard mix on the inside of the fridge door as it closes.

Jane E 2 (view of younger sister from inside fridge)

Theme 1 yellow; theme 3 yellow

	m/s of sister as she opens the fridge door; becomes a c/u of the tip of her nose, mouth neck and shoulder as she moves <b>pdvd004bw</b> ; the corner of the door shelf is visible to her right; as she inspects the fridge to her right, we momentarily glimpse her eyes, then lose them again as the c/u of her lower face fills most of the screen. <b>pdvd005bw</b>
Sister: my_ first thought when I open the fridge_ (.)_ is complicated (1)	She moves forward to inspect something; c/u of her face up to her eyelids; she lifts her head up so that we only see her neck and right shoulder.
Sister: it's like I'm aware of whatever I eat can be punishing/ (1)	She peers back into the fridge; she again lifts her head up, her arm and hand cover the screen as she

	reaches into the fridge; then we see the blurred image of her hand in xc/u, picking out something from the left hand side of the screen.
but I want to eat it at the same time/ (1)	c/u of her lower face and top of shoulders as she brings something to her mouth. <b>pdvd006bw</b>
and (.) it's the idea of disgust (.) but needing to eat at the same time/ (.) and (1)	m/s of her blurred face and her slowly chewing.
sort of conflicting emotions about how I manage that (.) I guess	Blurred image in c/u of her neck, as she reaches for something or to replace something on a top shelf.
	She turns away from the fridge and takes a step back so that we can see her profile in m/s. <b>Pdvd007bw</b>

### Jane E 3 (view of boyfriend from inside fridge)

#### Theme 4 yellow

Boyfriend: I always think that my favourite food is culturally informed (.) I mean coming from a Jewish background myself I was brought up as a kid thinking chicken soup is the be all and end all and could cure any ailment and any of the world's problems could be sorted by everybody just sitting down and just eating some chicken soup	m/s of boyfriend looking into the fridge with a constant gaze, then taking out a carton of juice which he shakes and, looking to his left, toward what we infer is a glass on a table-top, and pours it out.
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Jane E 4 (view of father from inside fridge)

Theme 4 yellow

Father: food is a very important thing to me (.)	m/s of him opening fridge door.
erm I like to be involved in `every aspect of it (.)	m/s of his torso and the fingers of his hand reaching into the fridge.
If it were possible I would `quite `happily grow all my own food and `kill all my own meat (.)	He takes out a mushroom; then m/s of him leaning forward to peer into a salad drawer below. <b>Pdvd008bw</b>
And I like to be in `every stage of it mm from field (.) to fork	m/s of torso is maintained; then an arm and a hand reach into the drawer and removes itself, holding a mushroom. <b>Pdvd0009bw</b>
	In m/s we see the figure step back; we see that he is holding two large mushrooms in his left hand.

Jane E 5 (view of boyfriend's grandmother from inside fridge) Theme 2 yellow; theme 2 blue

Boyfriend's grandmother: what food means to me is the old idea which is if you've eaten with people (.)	In m/s, we see her face and upper torso; a <i>Marmite</i> jar is in the left foreground.
they're your friends for life (.)	m/s of her reaching for a gravy boat which she then takes from the fridge. <b>Pdvd011bw</b>
if you feed a large number of people together you're making sure that all those people (.)	m/s of her turning from the fridge; then, momentarily, she is out of the frame.
are going to be friends (.)	m/s of her face and shoulders as she returns to the fridge, her mouth half-smiling. <b>Pdvd012bw</b>
trust each other (.)	c/u of her face, her gaze averted to the left of the frame, downwards; m/s

	of lower part of her face and smiling mouth.
and love each other and support each other for life(1)	m/s of her reaching up for a container.
so I think food means	m/s of her smiling in the direction of the camera. <b>Pdvd013bw</b>
to me a way of nourishing you but also a way of bonding	m/s of her turning to retrieve another item from the fridge, still with a quiet smile.
	She takes a step back and her face is half hidden by the <i>Marmite</i> jar, and the door is closed.

Jane E 6 (view of film-maker from inside fridge)

**Theme 1** yellow; **theme 3** yellow

Jane: I have a complicated relationship to food cos I'm a former anorexic (.)	A m/s of her head and shoulders moves into view, her hand held on her head; she looks up to a high shelf and brings down a film-covered tray and looks at it, as he holds it in front of herself.
_so food for me is very much about control (.)	She looks down at the tray and replaces it back on the shelf, her arm covering her face.
What I eat (.) when I eat it (.) how many calories (.) I'm very worried about what goes into my body and (.) you know how many grams of sugar (.) how many grams of fat (.) and (.) I think that's a lasting legacy that's going to remain with me all of my life_ (1)	Her hand extends into the fridge and she brings down a carton of juice; she looks down at it and begins to shake it.
every meal (.) is a new challenge (1)	She brings the carton up to her mouth

	and sucks from it, puts it down and quickly brings the carton back to her mouth.
	m/s of her looking down in thought; her cheeks are full with the juice before swallowing it
Umm (.) but on the flip side of that (.) accepting those new challenges again (.) and working through them becomes more and more rewarding (.)	She drinks from the juice at intervals; her gaze is constantly downwards
so food (.) more and more for me is starting to become something I can enjoy	She puts the bottle back into the fridge.
	We see only the lower half of her head; she steps back out of view and the fridge door is closed.

### ***Video 3: Faye***

Note use of video as cultural resource: use of television documentary, social observation genre (Hollins and Jones, 2010; and see 'Typology of food genres' within Appendix item 'Food Television Discourses'); note differentiation from mobile phone video (Willett, 2009); note relationship to, and differentiation from television food genres of 'self-transformation' and 'cookery demonstration' ('Typology of food genres' within Appendix item 'Food Television Discourses'). As a use of documentary film practices, strong elements of 'performative mode' (Nichols, 2001) in the constant establishment of truths through the use of speech; there are also strong elements of 'observational mode' ('fly-on-the-wall') in the apparently spontaneous filming of daily food practice.

Faye 1 (inspecting food in the kitchen at home)

Theme 3 purple; theme 2 green; theme 1 green; theme 1 purple

(2.49)

Faye: normally I just graze throughout the day	A canted shot of her hand, having just released a microwave control, in the left hand side of the image; to the right is a basket of letters, messages and bills. <b>Pdvd 012</b>
toast and fruit (.) and things (.) I love fruit	Rapid pan left across food processor, bag of bottles and glass for recycling, then back right across microwave, letter rack and fruit bowl to an unopened bag of pears leant against the tiled wall and spaghetti container.
we haven't got much at the moment (.) and plums (.) plums are my favourite(1) mmm we have loads of kiwi-fruit but I'm allergic to that (.) so I can't have that mm I eat loads of fruit each day and (.) toast and things (1)	Pan across packet of bananas and opened bag of apples. Slow pan across apples and packet of plums and packet of kiwi-fruit in a bowl.
My mum calls me a grazer er (.) I eat little and often (1) now that I'm working	Pan left across all of the foods back to the microwave and to a bread bin and rolls on a surface in front of the bin.
I do take lunch to work because I only have twenty minutes to eat in the day so obviously I err (2) have to err (2) have to eat then (1) but normally (.) mm I don't bother every weekend I'm out (.) normally every weekend I'm out with the horses (.) at competitions where you (.) eat when you have time really	Big pan across the room in a blur of images to the room adjoining the kitchen, to the door of a fridge that is opened, revealing an array of foods in jars, packets, tubs etc, brightly lit. Her hand extends into it to reach for the spread, and camera shows various boxes being uncovered and inspected; camera moves down to a

	lower shelf; then rapid, blurred pan. <b>Pdvd013</b>
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(3.40)

Faye 2 (preparing a meal in the kitchen)

**Theme 4** purple

(11.00)

I try and eat different things (1) I used to be really fussy when I was little (.) I would hardly eat anything a bit like my sister is now err (.)	m/s of a pan on a cooker, containing boiling water and pasta, with a wooden spoon protruding, in front of a tiled wall. <b>Pdvd014</b>
I'm making a point now of (.) I'm making a point now to eat different things (.) I went to France (.) last September (.) and I made a point of eating frogs' legs which was disappointing (.) I think is the word (.) because I might as well have had chicken legs	Camera pans across to a kitchen surface with a number of bowls of fruit on it. A sweeping pan across work surfaces. A c/u of her hand on a jar of pasta; pan across floor as the camera is carried.
without any meat on them because they didn't really taste of anything and they're a bit rubbish (.) to be perfectly honest (1) mm the one thing I hate eating is fish or any kind of seafood (.) it just (.) just makes me feel quite sick just thinking about it (.)	Sweeping pan across floor to the saucepan of boiling water on the stove.
So my aim this year is to eat (.) `fish er I've made it to September without managing to do that yet (1) I'm just going to have to launch myself in at the deep end and er (.) eat like (.) proper fish or swordfish or something equally foul tasting (1)	Sweeping pan across floor to cupboard, past the lower half of her brother standing in the kitchen; camera swung up to a table where a plate is placed; sweeping pan across to cutlery drawer, where knife and fork is taken out.



because if I've eaten that (.) then salmon and mussels and things won't actually be a problem (.) at least that's the thinking behind it (.) whether it will actually happen I don't know (1)	Sweeping pan across to table; camera accompanies her across to the fridge; it follows her search for an item among the shelves. The fridge is full of jars, salads, bottles, eggs etc
er (.) yeah I really want to visit Japan and places like that but quite a lot of dishes there are sort of (.) fish (cres) (.) or at least I hope that's not just a horrible stereotype (.) I think that's actually true so I need to (.) get myself to really eat things like that mm cos I want to travel a lot and I would like to think 9.) er that I could try (.) different things (.) I don't want to be one of these people who travels and insists upon eating chips all of the time because that's just not really the point (.) is it (1) I'm pretty sure that Chinese take-away's not the same as food that you actually have made in China (.) mm	The fridge door is closed and a hand is seen in c/u claspings a packet of cheese. Pan of the figure of her brother preparing a salad roll and across surfaces covered with bowls of fruit, microwave and to table and plate. m/s of hand opening a packet of cheese. Pan across to stove, to the pan of pasta.
So (.) yeah (.) we'll try and expand beyond student pasta at `some point (.) `that's the aim	m/s of her hand stirring the pasta.

#### ***Video 4: Joel***

Note use of video as cultural resource: in the first chapter, use of ‘tele-chef’ or ‘celebrity chef’ and ‘cooking demonstration’ food television genres (see ‘Typology of food genres’ within Appendix item ‘Food Television Discourses’); the third chapter is a use of the ‘home mode’ of video (Chalfen, 1982, in Buckingham and Willett, 2009), the second chapter to an extent. As a use of documentary film practices, the second and chapters use an observational mode (‘fly-on-the-wall’) (Nichols, 2001). It could be argued that these last two chapters play into the kinds of impromptu observation of lived food culture, that address ‘social observation’ television (Hollins and Jones, 2010).

##### Joel 1 (moment from cooking demonstration)

**Theme 1** purple

(00.06)

Sound	Vision
then you could er treat yourself from time to time with like a little bacon in the morning (.) at the weekend (.)	c/u of rashers of bacon being placed onto a foiled baking tray m/s of the bacon on the baking tray.
just like a little treat (.) a change from the usual cereal (.) `whack it in the oven and just leave it	follow shot of tray being carried by Joel’s hands to the oven; m/s of the tray pushed into an open oven; shot of grill pan inside lit oven glass oven door closed. <b>Pdvd017.</b>

##### Joel 2 (at the pizzeria)

**Theme 2** blue

(00.45)

Sound	Vision
sound of hubbub of conversations	camera slowly circles the restaurant table, pans inspecting in the meals being eaten in a series of c/us: saltimbocca, scallopine, spaghetti,

	tagliatelle and three different kinds of pizza; we see hands and knives and forks.
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Joel 3 (buffet for extended family group)

**Theme 2** blue

(2.06)

Sound	Vision
Background conversation. A: it's just about the height	Slow pan across bowls and plates of food -
B: actually that's as far as (unclear speech) (.) you might not have seen it before (.) but she can hold onto it can't she (unclear)	Buffet food, sausages, cheeses, pastries, pizzas, fruit, glasses of fruit juice. <b>Pdvd019.</b>
C: what Olivier/	
B: we'll hold onto her won't we/	
C: what now/	
B: (unclear)	
A: no honestly it only comes to there	
C: what the new horse/	
A: no its got this (unclear) (.) she's jumped before and she's loved it	
B: have you got the time/	
C: well then after this she'll want to go pony club (.) once she gets the bug	

2.19

### ***Video 5: Jane H***

Note use of video as cultural resource: use of 'home mode' (Chalfen, 1982, in Buckingham and Willett, 2009) to an extent – the documentation of domestic practice, the impromptu use of camera, and so on; as a use of documentary film practice, it is essentially observational mode (fly-on-the-wall') (Nichols, 2001), but the interaction between film-maker and other family participants shows that it is also 'participatory'. As documenting a lived food culture, and intruding into the familial space, it plays into a 'social observation' (Hollins and Jones, 2010) television genre.

#### Jane H 1 (younger sisters)

Note this is the first chapter of the video; it features each of her three sisters and friends describing their most, and least favourite foods. It is not in the image grabs (redacted).

Theme 2 purple; theme 1 purple

#### Jane H 2 (family evening meal)

Theme 3 green; theme 3 purple; theme 4 purple, theme 5 purple; theme 5 green; theme 1 purple;

(note: film-maker has been asking questions of members of her family as she films; here, following son's description of food that he likes the least.)

(2.57)

Sound	Vision
mine is anything that is `boring and processed (.) over manufactured	Father in c/u, looking directly at camera, part of mother's head in right foreground of image.
I like fresh (.) freshly prepared to the cooked (.) so if its just like out of a load of packets (.)	Camera pulls back to m/s of father; to the left of the image is a glass door that reflects his image; he looks down

	to the corner of the frame, left.
I don't like it	He looks at camera: camera pulls back and frames her mother in m/s, in the fore of the image <b>pdvd020</b> .
	Behind her, the father loosens some food from between his teeth.
Mother: I'm the same but liver (1) I 'hate liver (1) I don't like liver (.) I hate liver	She looks away to her right momentarily then drinks her glass of wine.
Father: we ensure (.) we have ensured that our children have a positive relationship with food (.) by mmm by a number of things (.) making sure the food has always been healthy (.) fresh (.) and well prepared (.) tasty food and (1)	
Mother: lots of variety	She turns to the father.
Father: lots of variety (.) and not making a big issue out of (.) er (.) when er our children have said they maybe don't like something or something like that (2) er we say try a bit of it and (1) don't make a big issue out of it (1) mealtimes are a big family occasion (.) we all sit around the table together (1) it's a social occasion	<b>pdvd021</b> he looks toward the mother.
as well as time for food	
Mother: plus our children know that it's important (.) to have healthy food for their future	She looks at the camera then down She looks up to the camera directly.

Brother: food means (2)	We see her brother in m/s: he looks down at the table in front of him.
a good diet	Looks up at the camera; to the left of the image is a glass door that reflects his image.
Father: healthy diet (.) and (.)	c/u of father's head; he looks toward camera
It is (.) or or a social event	He looks toward the left hand corner of the image, in thought.
as well (.) I enjoy the whole process of eating, cooking and sharing food with	He looks up to the camera; the shot pulls back slowly to a m/s of him with her mother's face in c/u, turned toward him: she looks in his direction; his arms are folded.
Mother: I enjoy food but food for me is (.)	Next to her, the father puts his hand to his chin on "but"; she looks away to the left of the image.
Something that keeps me alive (.)	Her head momentarily swivels toward her right at "that"; The father's hand descends to the table.
I (descend.) (.) eat to live (1) I don't live to to eat	The mother turns toward the camera Behind, the father picks up his napkin puts it to his mouth and puts it back on the table.

### ***Video 6: Imogen***

(A reflective analysis re. the relative incompleteness of participant's task (two brief sequences - one of her bedroom, one of plate of food described below) was done, as a part of an early analysis of phase one of the research, in my notebooks.)

### Imogen 1 (a meal presented)

Note: use of video as cultural resource: use of observational (fly-on-the-wall') documentary and 'social observation' (Hollins and Jones, 2010) television genre; relationship to use of the image of 'plated-up' food in 'competition' and 'self-transformation' genres of food television ('Typology of food genres' within Appendix item 'Food Television Discourses'); relationship to use of still photography in food advertising. As a use of documentary film practices, an 'observational' mode (Nichols, 2001).

Theme 1 green; theme 2 purple

Sound	Vision
	c/u of image of baked jacket potato with parmesan and rocket topping, sitting on a plate which is decorated by a picture that includes a hores and yellow and purple embellishment; a glass of orange juice stands beside it <b>pdvd023.</b>

### ***Video 7: Yal***

Note: use of video as cultural resource. As a use of documentary film making, it has elements of both 'performative' and 'participatory' modes (Nichols, 2001) – the outdoor interviews having some of the confrontational characteristics of cinema-veritee, for example. It also makes use of the 'social observation' (Hollows and Jones, 2010) television genre, in its surveillance; the coda sequences use 'video diary' or 'moblog' (Willett, 2009).

### Yal 1 (snapshot from a series of outdoor interviews of fellow students)

Theme 1 green; theme 3 purple

(2.44)

Sound	Vision
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<b>Film-maker/Yal:</b> whats your favourite food/  <b>R:</b> fish (1) I love fish and vegetables (.) I could eat like a blow of vegetables Sound of students chatting.	The respondent is in m/s, centre frame; she looks directly at the camera. In the mid-ground and background, there are trees and a grassy bank; to the left of the frame in the mid-ground stand students chatting in a group of three. pdvd024
<b>Y:</b> what would you consider bad food though/	m/s of respondent looking up to the right of the frame in thought, then back to the interviewer.
<b>R:</b> chips and burgers (.) fried stuff	
<b>Y:</b> why is it bad/	
<b>R:</b> because it's cooked in fat (.) its like biting into a little ball of fat (1) not nice	She shows disgust in facial expression
<b>Y:</b> what do you think food says about you/ (.) if you go to a restautant and you order a certain type of food/	

#### Yal 2 (further snapshot of outdoor interviews)

**Theme 2** purple; **theme 3** purple

(note: video-maker has asked the same question (above) about kind of food ordered in a restaurant)

(3.51)

Sound	Visual
<b>R:</b> well if you order something really      really expensive it says you've got a lot of money (1) right classy (.) not like her (.) you see (0.5) she'd end up in	The respondent is in m/s, central frame. In the midground and background there are trees and a grassy bank. To the right of the image two students sit on a kerbside chatting. On the word 'money' a female student leaps across the back



Macdonald's, disgusting place like that (.)	of the image, shouting comicalyy "tomatoes!". He points across his chest to signify that he is referring to the female student who crashed into his interview.
Places like <i>Macdonald's</i> (.) they make me feel sick	
Y: why/	
R: because (.) the other day me and Tom and Phoebe were in Macdonald's and we were just (.) looking at the menu (.) and a girl (.) of particularly unflattering features (.) threw a chip at us (.) and we asked her why she had done it (.) and hse said "because I can" (1) I don't want to be eating in a place where there are lots of people all sitting around me who are like that (1) I like to ve in a nice environment around with nice people (1) and I think if you're in a nice (ironic tone) place liked Macdonald's you're going to get that kind of thing.	pdvd029

### Yal 3 (further snapshot of outdoor interviews)

(Note: respondent has just commented that she likes "good" food)

Theme 1 green; theme 2 purple; theme 3 purple

(5.41)

Sound	Visual
<b>R:</b> what/ do you mean by good/	The mid-shot of a fellow female student, who is kneeling; she holds an arm up to her brow to shield herself from the bright sunshine: the camera is angled down to her. <b>pdvd030</b>
<b>Y:</b> like some people way that vegetables and fruit is (.) but what/ would you say personally (.) you would class like what could you eat/	
<b>R:</b> something that fills you up/ without being too fatty (.)	She smiles
Like (.) err and something that contains lots of food groups (.) like my mum makes this cake and it's got nuts and fruit and carbs in it (.) and it's good (.) but it doesn't taste that nice/ (.) but	She waves her hand to one side that's fine (.) if you want to go for a nice tasty food (.) eat fatty food
<b>Y:</b> is that what you think/ (.) you think that/	She looks down momentarily
<b>R:</b> well	
<b>Y:</b> only fatty food tastes nice/	
<b>R:</b> well no (.) but it does \tend to taste nicer (.) unless you're going to go for really good stuff (.) but that's (.) like (.) you can't eat that on a daily basis	She looks away to the left of the image  Her head is lowered and she plays with the hair that is in her eyes
<b>Y:</b> why not/	
<b>R:</b> cos it's difficult to make (.) like if you're going to make a nice meal (.) you'll have to get it (.) buy it (.) and	She looks up; she waves an arm across herself

<b>Y:</b> so is it cos it takes too long that you wouldn't eat/	
<b>R:</b> yeah (.) and cos you tend to only go shopping once a week so the vegetables aren't fresh bla-di-bla	

Yal 4 (further snapshot of outdoor interviews)

Theme 1 green; theme 3 purple

(23.08)

Sound	Visual
<b>Female respondent:</b> I'm not too bothered about what I eat because I know if I eat something too much then I'll do enough exercise that way not to put on weight (1) if you like	Arms akimbo in m/s. Centre left of image, beside young man;  She puts her hand up to her temple and looks to her left, towards her male friend.
Male respondent: yeah	Male friend smiles in agreement and looks obliquely to his right, half in her direction <b>pdvd031</b>
<b>F.R.</b> when people are going on diets and stuff	She extends her arm to gesture demonstrably
<b>M.R.</b> (over the top of her) exercise is just as important	pdvd031
<b>F.R.</b> and doing something like crash diets (.) if you exercise off what you eat (.) then generally you're ok	

Yal 5 (snapshot of self comment to camera in coda of video)

Theme 2 purple; theme 2 blue; theme 3 purple; theme 4 purple; theme 1 green

(32.46)

Sound	Vision
	m/s of film maker, looking directly to camera; in background part of a pin-board and part of shelf with files (a study location). <b>pdvd006</b>
<p><b>Y:</b> I guess when you go to a restaurant and you order things it does say partly how you're raised like if you're raised to eat certain types of foods (.) there is someone I know like until last weekend had never tried meatballs at all which to me I personally find shocking but for her it was just completely normal because she was raised off like ready meals and stuff and her parents didn't cook a lot which I felt I guess how you're raised if you have two parents as well like when I was younger mum used to work and then she had a contract where she could be at home and she could cook for us every day and make sure we had a nice cooked meal whereas I know a lot of people lived off ready meals and stuff which aren't exactly the healthiest food in the world</p>	<p>Left hand is raised up Left hand to left ear; Left hand to nose</p> <p>Right hand raised for emphasis</p>

### **Video 8:Harry**

Harry 1 (describing personal food consumption in home kitchen)

**Theme1** purple; **theme 4** green

(3.58)

Sound	Visual
<b>F.M.</b> I'm quite sort of liberal with what I eat (.) to an extent (.) it's just some categories like (.) starchy foods (.) I try to stay away from starchy foods (.) things like bread (2) pastries (.) I try not to eat too many pastries (laughter) ...	m/s of film maker looking directly into camera; he is in a kitchen – in the background wooden kitchen furniture, utensil rack, kitchen clock; to his right a vase of red flowers <b>pdvd036</b>

Harry 2 (describing 'personal style' in home kitchen)

**Theme 1** purple; **theme 3** purple; **theme 2** green

(6.01)

Sound	Visual
just thought I'd take you over to the freezer so that you could just have a look at the things I've got in there because (.) I don't know if I've mentioned it yet I'm actually vegetarian I don't eat meat I eat mainly quorn (.) I eat fish I'm a sort of pescatarian in my own right	Mid shot of film maker, looking directly to camera <b>pdvd034</b>  camera pans across sink, work surface,
but I'm not really strict with what I eat I'm willing to try things just not red	cooker and floor m/s of plate shelves, part of freezer

meats really we've got some meat free mince I love lasagne (.) I really like vegetarian lasagne it's absolutely gorgeous (.) here we've got some ricotta and spinach cannelloni that's really nice (.) although that's something like a ready meal they don't have bad ingredients in them	door and freezer drawers.
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Harry 3 (further snapshot of 'personal style' in a new location)

Theme 5 blue; theme 1 purple; theme 2 purple

(7.42)

Sound	Visual
It would have been about half past twelve when I got here (.) the first thing I did when I got off the train was to go to a coffee shop (.) <i>Caffè Nero</i>	m/s of video maker looking directly to camera pdvd 035
the corner from the station and I'd say as far as food and drink are concerned coffee says a lot about me because I `just love it I could just drink it and you know so easily (0.25) I had it black I don't usually I usually have it white but I needed a good strong coffee because I had a complete `nightmare getting the train so I had my coffee and I met up with (.) with Chris...(6 seconds, telling of being shown the city, arriving at apartment, unpacking) and when we got back we	He extends an arm out then withdraws it  Exhales breath in an exaggerated way

<p>had some dinner (.) now I didn't realise until I came here that he's quite he can actually cook quite well I thought he was just a single microwave sort of person but no it turns out he's quite into it (.) the first night we had er a salmon fillet and we had new potatoes and asparagus and it had this nice `garlicy buttery olive oil sauce that goes on top and I don't usually like new potatoes but for `some reason he made them nice for me it's `really weird really good I mean asparagus that's usually quite nutty I found that it wasn't too bad considering the nuttiness I'm sure you know what I mean but it didn't have that sort of taste and it was a nice something that had been done to it (1) yesterday we went up to the dales for a drive and when we were up there we went to the Wensleydale cheese makers and that was a really exciting experience because I'm not a cheese connoisseur I just eat it now and again but the Wensleydale cheese was `really nice I mean they had a combination things with it there was a cheese that had blueberries in it er a cheese that had onion cheese that had mustard the mustard one now that I don't really eat mustard so I wouldn't like it but the smoked ones</p>	<p>Looks down (at a piece of paper)</p> <p>Hands to chin, eyes closed</p> <p>Now holds hand up</p>
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<p>were particularly nice I `really like smoked cheese it really does say a lot about me `smokey flavours do it for me (1) last night for dinner we had couscous with roasted vegetables and peppers courgettes I do not like courgettes they are too soft for me ugh it's the texture I really don't like them (.) onion and that was really nice because it brought the couscous to life ...(10 seconds describing breakfast, in terms of the healthiness and novelty of its ingredients) I'm really surprised with how well I've been eating I thought I'd be eating a load of rubbish bad stuff in this week but it's been good</p>	
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### ***Video 9: Heidi***

Note use of video as cultural resource (note discussion of control of video camera and performance, mother's power): As a use of documentary film making practice, a use of 'participatory' mode (Nichols, 2001). Also, in its intrusion into a family food culture, and the investigation of the participant as an example of it, a use of 'social observation' (Hollins and Jones, 2010) television genre.

Heidi 1 (description of personal consumption in front of mother) Theme 1 green; theme 1 purple; theme 2 green; theme 3 purple; theme 4 green

(4.06)





negotiated the Indian restaurant menu out with friends. Having understated her success, a broad smile crosses her face. **pdvd038**

### ***Video 10: Noemi***

Note use of video as cultural resource: in the sequences of participant-mother dialogue, there is similar discussion of use of video-camera, and the issue of power of mother and performance of social identities, as in video 9 (Heidi). As a use of documentary film making practices, this is predominantly 'participatory' mode (Nichols, 2001), in those chapters where the mother is present); in chapters where the participant appears to be alone, it makes use of an 'observational' (fly-on-the-wall') mode of documentary. In those sequences (not shown here), it is 'video blog' or 'moblog' (Willett, 2009). In terms of its investigation of a food culture, it plays into a 'social observation' genre (Hollins and Jones, 2010) of television.

Noemi 1 (snapshot of sequence of participant-mother dialogue in video diary)

**Theme 2** purple

(3.03)

<b>Sound</b>	<b>Visual</b>
<b>Noemi:</b> I like to eat out	I/s of film maker seated on a settee
<b>Mother:</b> what/ sort of (.) erm (1) sort of/ posh or	
<b>Noemi:</b> both (1) I quite like <i>Macdonald's</i> but I like (.) posh restaurants as well (1) `fine dining	<b>pdvd039</b>

Noemi 2 (further snapshot of sequence of participant-mother dialogue in video diary)

**Theme 2** purple; **theme 1** purple  
(11.26)

Sound	Visual
<b>Noemi:</b> we sort of decided in the day what we wanted (.) and I had sort of decided I wanted a steak (1) Don said he wanted fish but he didn't get fish in the end (laughs) because we ended up in the pub	l/s of film maker, seated on settee, (low lit; cast shadow across her from light source to right of the image)
Mother: mm	
<b>Noemi:</b> err I think I preferred the pub because erm the food was nice (.) erm and although it was a pub (.) it wasn't really what we wanted cos we wanted a restaurant (.) er the food was nice and it was reasonably prices as well and it got a good atmosphere as well and er whereas the restaurant (.) it was (.) there wasn't much atmosphere in there (.) there wasn't many people erm (.) the food was trying to be something it wasn't really (.) it was quite expensive for what it was	pdvd040
<b>Mother:</b> so the pub was `better value/for money/	
Noemi: yeah	
<b>Mother:</b> and the pub was where you would go back to/	
<b>Noemi:</b> I think so (.) yeah	

Noemi 3 (further snapshot of sequence of participant-mother dialogue in video diary)

**Theme 1** purple

(16.05)

Sound	Vision
<b>Noemi:</b> Wednesday evening for tea we had our dressed crab which grandad brought form Bridlington when he went out for the day (.) which was `very nice (1) we had that and	l/s of film-maker, seated on settee; to her left cushions and a standard lamp which lights the corner of the room <b>pdvd041.</b>
<b>Mother:</b> it was very expensive	
<b>Noemi:</b> `it was quite expensive (1) nearly seven pounds for a crab (1) it had lots of meat on it though (.) didn't/ it	
<b>Mother:</b> mmm	
<b>Noemi:</b> it was big (.) and we had that on an open sandwich (.) with lots of crab meat	

Noemi 4

**Theme:3** purple

(brief reference to the series of sequences of participant to camera video diary entries, in which she details what she consumed each day; specific reference, here, to her preparation of food to take to work, her apology for its 'ordinary' and uninspiring nature, and reference to her tiredness and demonstration of tiredness (near exhaustion) at the end of a working day, and many references to her (like others) not wanting to work too hard at preparing food at the end of a working day.)

Phase 1 Image Grabs



pdvd\_000



pdvd\_001



pdvd\_003



pdvd\_004



pdvd\_005



pdvd\_006





pdvd\_006



pdvd\_007



pdvd\_008



pdvd\_009



pdvd\_010



pdvd\_011



pdvd\_012



pdvd\_013



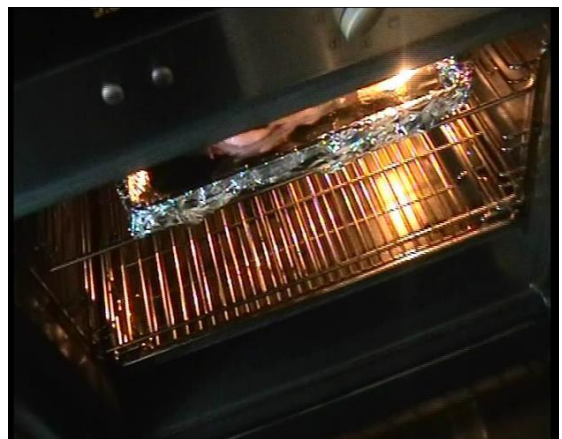
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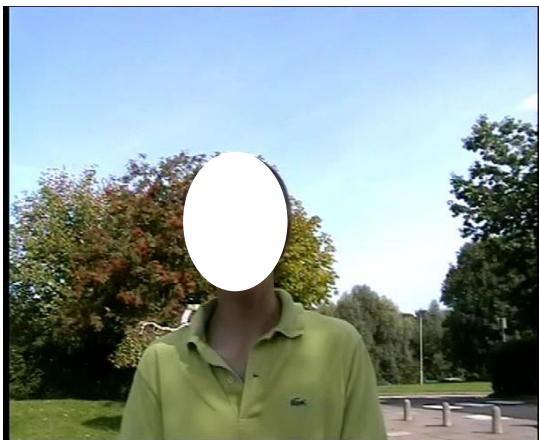




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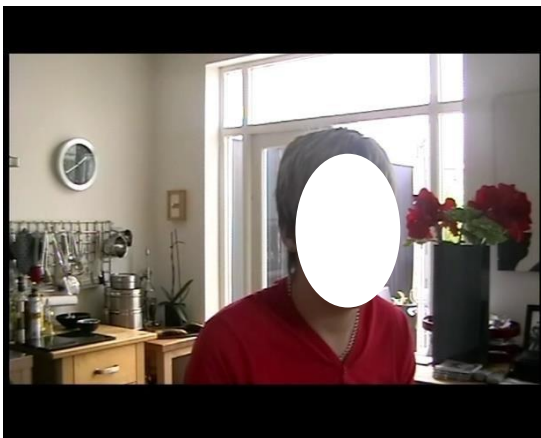
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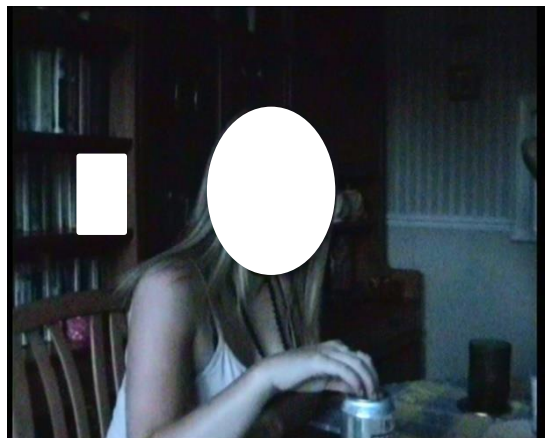
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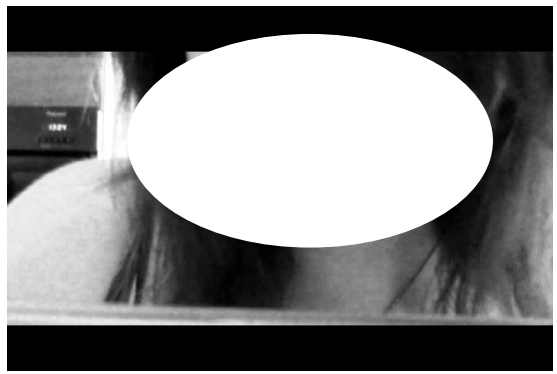
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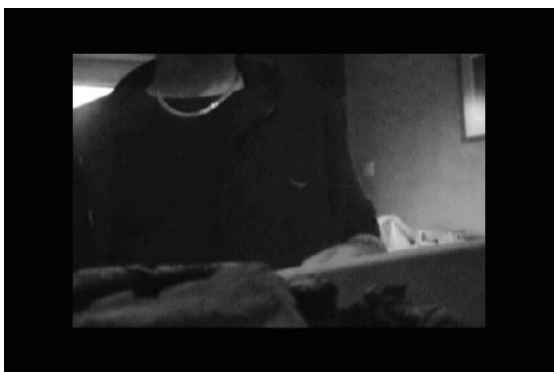
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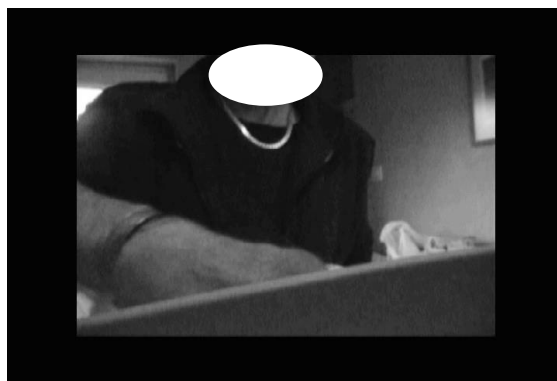
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## Themes about food in semi-structured interviews

### *In the interview with Liam (re. video 1):*

- Theme 1 (**healthy eating**) and theme 2 (**managing** a 'balance' in **food consumption**, between 'healthy eating' and culturally and socially sanctioned deregulation eg holiday food) synthesise around sense of need to develop autonomy and self-responsibility in the future, in new times and places, connected to social status. He characterises interest in regulation/ deregulation in terms of life-stage; regulation re. healthy food as associated with social aspiration and acquiring food knowledge/ food culture as part of the lived experience of a 21/22 year old; uncertain future of greater independence, requiring a cultural knowledge to negotiate the choices ahead and to construct a representation of himself that will impress.
- **Theme 2 (managing** the 'balance' between holiday food v everyday food regime): an awareness of being in different spheres of influence; awareness of pleasures of holiday food (theme 3), is coupled with need to restore 'balance' of **'healthy food'** and 'rubbish'.
- Theme 4 (**acquiring food cultural knowledge**) is more robust, and associated with individual, future ambition (compared to conformity to younger male sociality and 'infantilisation'/ play within family and working class traditional holiday, a further association with a younger time).
- Themes 5 (construction of masculinity) and 6 (female provision of food and food knowledge) again relates to performance in holiday setting and 'infantilisation', where binary of female provision and male consumption is naturalised. Signaling of healthy food, and aspirant food, by women, is noticed by participant.
- Theme 5 (the association of a male style of eating - fuel for male, physical action) is negotiated with in the interview, as recognisable in all male company, but as hindering his performance as aspirant adult, in the interview setting.
- Theme 7 (**showing personal progress**) is associated with an interest, in the interview, to (a) demonstrate autonomy as an older person and (b) demonstrate learning of aspirant food style as acquisition of cultural capital.

- Theme 7 (personal progress) is the dominant theme of the interview, associated with all others: producing a sense of himself as progressing in adulthood, and acquiring signs of fulfilling his potential as an adult in recognisably approved of ways. His use of affordances of video, particularly v/o, coheres with sense of irony in interview, distancing him from the family's and friends' food practices recorded in the video.

### ***illustrative interview extracts for Liam***

extracts for **theme 1** green; **theme 2** green; **theme 5** blue; **theme 7** purple  
(unhealthy eating; being in another food culture - holiday food and being one of the boys; and filming it)

(Note: Liam's comments about what is on screen - showing him eating a large, fried breakfast with his friends, and with the family he is staying with, and eating burgers and chips in a pub, with his friends - describe the tension he feels in the interview between showing me that he is a healthy eater and not a part of the food culture featured. His comment, regarding breakfast, extends his v/o in the video; in the pub scene, he explains his compromise as social etiquette, adapting to his immersion in young male culture.)

(time: 1.00)

(On screen in the background, fried breakfasts are handed to the young men; in the foreground, on the camping table, bowls of fruit)

L: love the juxtaposition between the healthy fruit and the lovely fry

M: it's good isn't it/

(on screen, Liam and Alan enjoy ironising the unhealthiness of the breakfast; they laugh: "that's `healthy bread" (Liam); "'healthy fried bread" (Alan) L.

laughs over both speech on video)

L: more controversy (.) poached eggs.

(what is on screen are the sequences of Liam's male friends in the pub, eating burgers and chips, plates stacked high)

(time:17.03)

M: you guys `really stock up don't/ you

L: I think it's this very much boys' culture (1) I just think it's kind of almost our generation (.) we know what we eat really beefs up

M: you really get tanked up

L: if we go for pub food (.) there's a connotation of pub food where normally we eat like a big pie and chips and whatever

M: you said it was sort of the boy thing (.) the macho thing

L: you'll never go (.) someone will have a tuna whatever (.) or something with an olive on top (.) the odd time someone does do that and has a chicken salad (.) and they really sort of think I've made the wrong choice here (Liam looks around as though he is the embarrassed male in male company who has made a faux pas) and it's that all the guys together and it's ok to all indulge because it's an event (.) all together

M: and the beer as well, it's perfect isn't it (.) but on your own/

L: doing it on your own must be an entirely different experience all together (.) you'd think a little bit more about what you eat

M: so the ritual of the lads together

L: yeah (.) I think there's a couple of days of me at the end of the film and you can see a big difference there (.) with the home-cooked meals

(Note: Early in the video sequence, Adrian, one of the friends, had said, at the pub table, "I feel like a light lunch"; now, on screen, he is seen to have followed the others in their preference for burgers and chips.)

M: He's doing what you said

L: and he succumbs to the peer pressure of the group

M: when he feels like that he's going to have to put himself second

L: yeah (.) that's it (1) so that he doesn't have that kind of regret

Extracts for **theme 1** green; **theme 2** green; **theme 4** purple; **theme 7** purple  
(indulging in holiday food; culturally sanctioned deregulation/ infantilisation;  
pleasure in being one of the boys; knowing more than they do)



(Note: As Liam sees the first seaside sequence (on the promenade) he explains his use of the camera as registering the danger of the foods on offer and the sense of having to compromise what he normally eats to join in with the cultural practices of eating 'unhealthy' food on holiday, with other people - social groups of friends and family.

(5.10)

L: food and holidays go hand in hand don't/ they

M: I know you pointed the camera a moment ago at all the burgers and ice cream (.) burgers

L: yeah (.) that's kind of bathing in the foods of the seaside (2) everything that's thrust in your face on offer (.) temptation everywhere

M: there it is (on screen, shots of 'unhealthy' foods on offer and the advertising hoardings)

L: yeah(.) it's all there (1) and it doesn't take much explaining

Note: Part of Liam's performance (in interview) is to present himself to me - even as his performance on-screen shows him happy to join in the social experience of being on holiday, being with friends, behaving appropriately with a friend's parents, sharing the food - as someone orientated to a personal future, as adventurous and aspirant, even if inexperienced. On screen, the group of friends and Alan's mother are contemplating buying seafood on the promenade.

Note: The comparison made by the camera work in the video, is between the reactions of Liam, and Alan to some extent, with the other friend, Adrian, who has said that he was disgusted by the taste of crab earlier in his life and is now disgusted by the appearance of other seafood, including cockles.

(time: 9.30)

M: but Alan and yourself seem up for it

L: whereas Adrian had already said that he had had a bad experience with crab

M: but you were really up for it because you said “Oh where’s the champagne/” (.) now why did you associate champagne with lobster/

L: it’s just (.) I guess it’s almost seen as being a posh food (.) something you wouldn’t have often (.) something you would have in a nice restaurant or when you’re away or at a special event (.) champagne is obviously the same

M: so you’re up for it basically/

L: yeah definitely (.) yeah on holiday (.) indulge

Extracts for Theme 1 green; theme 2 green; theme 6 green

*(healthy eating/ female/ mother food roles - provision and wisdom giving)*

Liam is aware of Alan’s mother’s performance to camera; I think of her as representing herself as a good parent and mother (showing her consumer savviness, discriminating between shell fish and other, ‘unhealthy food’, and showing her wisdom about the healthiness of food items) to the video’s audience. Liam refers to her awareness of the video the young men are making over the weekend.

(time 19.00)

(Onscreen, Alan’s mother offering a cup of cockles to the camera)

L: she knew that we were concentrating on food (.) it made it more of an event (.) she was putting that out for the camera

M: what’s she saying then by putting that there for the camera/

L: she wants to talk about the health side and how healthy it can be

(On screen now is the barbecue scene)

Note: The binary of gendered food work (Alan’s father tending the barbecue; Alan’s mother (off-screen, but heard) preparing other food in the caravan’s kitchen) is noticed by Liam when it is pointed out to him, but it is not what interests him in the scene. He ironises the conventionality of gendered food spaces as “domaines” in deference to my observation; but his interest is more

in a pleasurable engagement with the sight of the assembled friends under an awning.

L: the quintessential barbecue by the caravan

M: yeah (.) and this time it's not Alan's mum

L: no it's Alan's dad because her domaine is more inside the caravan and his domaine is the barbecue outside (.) she was cooking jacket potatoes in the oven

(2) it smells like summer.

Extracts for theme 4 purple; theme 6 purple

(aspirant food style; mother's meritocratic work; social differentiation of self and family)

Note: Whereas Liam loved the ensuing performance of the male friends on screen, competing with each other in terms of defining the correct way of eating a burger, demonstrating their 'foodie' 'taste', it was in the coda of the video (where he displays his own mother's cooked meal) that he became more animated with me, and concerned to say more - to position himself to his own family's food culture as it were, to make comparison with the other family's food.

(on screen, here, is Liam's mother showing the meal she has prepared to camera)

L: a bit of a change from barbecue and relish

M: "creme fraiche, white wine sauce"

L: she likes that (.) the whole process and she's very eager to describe every aspect of the meal and she only (.) she likes to give us good food and she's almost proud that she's made this meal so she'll be quite proud about the way she speaks about it (.) if we didn't like it she'd be quite offended by it

M; really

L: yeah

M; would she make food like that quite regularly/

L: yeah (.) probably say we'd eat to that standard at least three times a week  
(Note: Liam again says how she likes to use a cook's discourse, regardless of there being a camera, although there was some performance.)

L: she loves to watch food television (.) cookery books Nigella Lawson Jamie Oliver in America (.) she watches it all the time so I guess it's just kind of that culture having a bit of pride in what you cook

M: yeah (.) making an effort

L: making an effort (.) that's it

M: for you guys

L: yeah (.) `definitely and the feeling that she needs to provide for her family a substantial meal is a lot of it

Extracts for **theme 1** green; **theme 2** green; **theme 4** purple; **theme 7** purple  
(healthy eating, acquiring aspirational food style away from time and space of being with other, young men; as making personal progress as a young adult; aspirant food style and 'savvy consumption'.)

(time 32.30)

(.) a lot of friends that have gone to uni (.) they start to look at themselves as they (.) they start to think about what they're eating and they're cooking and bringing it together (.) a lot of friends that are still at home and working (.) they're not really bothered (.) they work all day and they're not really bothered and food is an afterthought (.) and they'll eat as they go along (.) lots of trips to KFC in the evening

M: just picking stuff up

L: yeah (.) just picking stuff up

M: but the priority's with doing stuff (.) with friends or whatever

L: yeah (.) and exercise isn't probably a priority (.) it's just going out in the evening and socialising and food is what tastes nice and is easy

M: so do you say that the agenda changes when personally people start to notice that something is happening to their body

L: definitely yeah (.) I definitely think so (.) yeah

L: I have a lot of friends who put weight on (.) not because of metabolism but because they're fit and healthy (.) they're really not bothered, you know (1)

five fried breakfasts a week, *Greggs* for lunchtime (.) fish and chips for evening (.) people like myself are probably a couple of years ago begin to put a little bit of weight on (.) will feel guilty if they start to eat that way erm and will start to make more of an effort to have home-cooked food (.) because you can see every aspect that's gone into that (.) (He gestures toward the video screen ie. his mother's cooked food.)

(Note: L's performance may be affected by his sense that he may perceive me as 'into food' and the location that we have met at, a stylish tapas bar and restaurant in the city centre, but it also represents a sense of personal progression. Earlier he had said that he might take a girlfriend out to a place like this, to communicate a personal 'style':

L: ...food says about you that you're in the know (.) you're in the new, nice posh place to be and the food's similar (.) something different (.) it (.) yeah you're definitely making a comment about yourself

M: and there are a lot of blokes getting into it now

L: yeah (.) it's very cosmopolitan now (.) very new age don't you think (.) to care about what you eat

M: it's quite acceptable now to see a bloke into food/

L: yeah (.) definitely (.) it's almost seen as cooler as it were for a guy to care about food and people would say (.) at uni (.) if you're eating frozen food all the time people will make comments like (.) "all he eats is frozen food god (.) geeez he eats bad doesn't he?" (.) yeah definitely it's regarded as cooler in young people's eyes to eat well (.) definitely and yet again you get that lad culture where it doesn't matter because it's about the whole experience and just having a good time and a few beers

(Note: He associates 'healthy food' and consumer 'style' discourses to present himself to me as someone who is aware of how food can be a cultural resource for self-projection, as being someone who is beginning to 'make it' 'out there' in the 'bigger world'. It is Liam who defines what he thinks that cultural capital is. He depicts this life stage (20/21 years old) as an in between stage - between the old certainties and comforts of male friendships and home

and the uncertain future of greater independence, requiring a cultural knowledge to negotiate the choices ahead and to construct a representation of himself that will impress, including partners of the opposite sex.)

***In the interview with Alan (re. video 1):***

- Theme 1 (**healthy eating**) and theme 2 (managing 'balance') are weaker than in Liam, and is not a means of social differentiation from the others/ family in the holiday setting, as in Liam; but there is an awareness, an ethic of 'moderation', associated with maternal food wisdom to whom he attributes a healthy foundation to his own food practices, and acceptance of the need for deregulation. Deregulation is justified by **celebrating the affect of the social**. The exception from everyday control (healthy eating) centres on the pleasure of holiday and being a part of family and friends (themes 3 and 5). This replicates mainstream notion of 'balance' in food practices (Theme 2).
- Theme 4 (**extending food knowledge**) is heavily accented toward a 'democratic' self -production and his position to food as unpretentious. He does not distance himself from the food of male sociality, or personal family, and their pleasures, which are represented in the video.
- As in ref. to themes 1 and 2, above, the pleasure of immersion in the settings and socialities represented in the video, is the context of not making gendered food work an issue in the interview - with the exception of the reference to his father, as not having sufficient food knowledge and proficiency. Again this may be a part of an association with the presentation of himself to me as aspirant (theme 4), and theme 7 - making personal progression/ projecting himself into the future.
- Theme 5 (construction of masculinity) is repeated, and seems to be a part of his negotiation with me as male interviewer, and normalising the eating of what may be considered 'unhealthy food' on screen.

- Theme 7 (**personal progression**) is robust in association with his sense of himself as a personal project, a person with ambition; being adventurous with food is a metaphor for personal aspiration as an adult, and associated with the themes of self-responsibility and education and investment made in him by others (including parents and university).

### ***illustrative interview extracts for Alan***

Extracts for **theme 2** green; **theme 3** purple; **theme 7** purple  
*(legitimising family's food; eating for physical performance)*

(Note: Watching his own family being observed (at times almost satirised by Liam, the camera operator), does some 'repair work' on that exposure of his family. Alan legitimises his own and his family's food consumption; he would know that there are later sequences that show them eating 'healthy food' eg. on the promenade.)

(time:2.00 )

(on screen: fried eggs being shown in pan by Alan's mother and Liam's ironising v/o)

A: that was just something we eat a lot while we were in the caravan (.) it's easy and it builds you up for the rest of the day

M and A watching to the end of the sequence

M: that's Liam's emotional close-up at the end

(Note: M intends to just acknowledge the fun the boys are having with the filming, their clever verbal and 'expressive' performances to camera, eg. spoofing documentary/ reality tv genres; at this moment, Liam's 'star-struck' performance.)

A: yeah Liam does that quite a lot (.) `every time we brought the camera out he adopts this (.) strange voice (.) or way of speaking

(3.27)

(Note: Further 'repair work' by Alan, in justifying his family's food as fuel for worthy performance. On-screen, Liam's v/o ironises the 'healthiness' of the fried food in the breakfast sequence).

(time: 8.30)

M: you all say that a lot about "being set up for the day"

A: yeah (.) at uni lots of people just go without but I just hate not eating breakfast

M: (obscure words on recording) (M. shares that he sometimes doesn't get breakfast but regrets it.)

(on screen, Andy says, "it's the best meal of the day. It starts your metabolism doesn't it."

M: (having heard on tape "let's burn it off") burn off (.) it's just like a car

A: yeah (.) that's just what it is (.) you need that food

(on screen Liam says how if you don't you feel "light headed") I hate that feeling though when you feel light-headed (2) you got nothing in you (5) That's what a lot of swimmers eat (.) they eat a lot of pasta because they've got to have a lot of energy.

#### Extracts for Themes 4 and 7

(ethical positioning as co-spectator / individual independence, imagining extending self-responsibility, ethical positioning as co-spectator)

(time: 11.09)

(On screen cut to barbecue - close-up of sizzling burgers on grill)

A: it doesn't look like an animal and when it's cooked you like the taste but if you saw the animal being killed and the whole process of it you'd probably be put off eating it (3) I think I would just like the opportunity to kill an animal by myself

M: to be completely responsible

A: yeah (1) you know (.) I've made that choice

M: and seen it through



A: yeah (.) I don't think it should be (.) unless you accept that I don't think you should be able to eat it (2) you shouldn't just eat it unknowingly

Extracts for **theme 2** blue; **theme 5** blue; **theme 7** purple

(male sociality; absorption/ pleasure in family holiday place and practice; I'll be more ambitious with food than my dad)

(Note: I observe Alan drawn to stare at the images of the barbecue on screen, captivated. Sometimes, though, he seems distracted by the verbal exchanges between his mother (off-screen) and father, as though he needs to shield her discomfort from this meeting with me. He maintains the focus upon an appreciation of the social moment.)

A: everybody loves a barbecue (1) I think you could put most things on the barbecue (.) and it really tastes nice (2) my mum hates that though (.) like the char-grill

M: is it the food/ or is it the event/

A: I think it's the event as well

(M asks for A to describe the difference between this food cooked here on a barbecue and in a conventional grill in a kitchen.)

A: (12.50) there is a different flavour a little bit (.) but it's just the preparation (.) it's like something everyone can gather round (.) you can all have a little go and spin the meat and you know it's quite a communal thing (.) it's like a community way of cooking (.) it's nice

M: rather than if someone cooks in the kitchen usually

A: it's one person

(Note: There's clearly a family issue on the margin of this ideal of the barbecue which is kept off the agenda by Alan. What he does do is add to the social value of the barbecue, a construction of his own identity as a contrast to his father's; that is that he would be more involved/ participatory in domestic food work.)

(time: 13.00)

A: (in amusement) it always seems to be the male role (.) standing by the barbecue (.) it's always the man cooking the barbecue (.) if it was anything else (1) I said to him last night(.) I'd love to see you cook a meal for the family before you die (something obscured) I've seen him cook a pancake (laughs) I swear that's all he knows what to do

M: at Christmas maybe (.) does he do/ anything then/

A: yeah\_ (.) cut the turkey maybe (laughs) (2) yeah \_ (.) a very traditional role

(Note: Another positive, affective moment that engaged with the social value of eating focused upon the place of eating/ the history of eating re. the place of many seaside holidays - his staring at the screen (15.00). Alan doesn't pick up on the conversation on screen - Liam's camerawork and Andy's complaint about the quality of the camera - and seems lost for a moment, watching the screen:

A: it's a nice pitch (1) you can see the sea from there

(reminds me of his absorption in the sense of place a moment ago at the beginning of the barbecue sequence.)

(15.23)

Extracts for **theme 3** blue; **theme 5** blue; **theme 7** purple

(delight in male sociality; male parodies, sharing simple, holiday food, democratic food style; pleasure in eating together)

(This is another moment when watching the video together helps me to understand Alan's delight in eating together - here, in male company in the parody of 'foodie' preferences, following on from the barbecue: he watches the onscreen male banter and celebration of personal preferences, ways of combining burger, salads and sauces in the 'best way'. There is parody here of tele-chef on-screen performances but the food is simple; the rules and procedures are known; you can show a little bit of yourself, have mock criticisms of other's preferences but only to stress the delight in what you are doing; there is no 'high culture', no silences and worries and embarrassments; it's all known and knowable and there seem to be no hazards.)

Alan tells the story of his relative who appeared on *Come Dine With Me*:  
(18.00)

A: he's probably a lot like me (.) he knows a bit about food because he works on the market (.) but he doesn't know everything (.) like there'll be certain things on the menu that he'll say "what's that/" and I think you have to experience it before you know what it is (he gestures toward the screen) and `this (.) it's just very simple food (.) it's easy and everyone knows what they like

M: it's free of pretension isn't/ it

(onscreen Andy celebrates "this kind of food") (Note: this perhaps has the function of repairing the impression of himself as reticent in eating and reticent in participating in the male sociality - the earlier awkwardness over tasting the crab and seafood.)

Alan laughs appreciatively at the pleasures displayed on-screen, for example the eating of strawberries and Liam's display of extreme (exaggerated) contentment.

(Note: Alan returns to the subject of the 'Come Dine With Me' and his approval of the ordinariness of people featured, and of the food, and of the function of the programme's narrator, as an Everyman, likely puncturing pretentiousness, extends the on-screen parody of 'foodie' discourse.)

A: ... it's a little bit quirky compared to a lot of them because it's got (.) I was saying the other day it is a bit like Big Brother because they get several people that aren't going to get on er classic characters (.) big characters err it's not (.) you know (.) they're normal people (.) you know (.) like you would meet out in the street (.) it's not like a restaurant setting with professional chefs you know it's very average and I think the best thing about the programme is the narration (.) I really (.) because he seems to be saying exactly what everyone is thinking like a bit like you were doing when you're watching it and thinking he'll say that and they say that then so you'll be thinking something and he'll say it you connect with it more...

Extracts for theme 2 green; theme 3 blue; theme 5 blue

(legitimising deregulation from healthy eating/ holiday food; pleasure in social eating)

(Note: As the barbecue scene of the video plays, in which Alan and his friends enjoy eating the food, and playing at being tele-chefs, competing in their recommendations of the best way to eat a burger and accompany it with different salads and sauces, he laughs and explains/ justifies the indulgence - hypothetically a balance between the positive affect of eating as social event and external judgment of 'unhealthy eating'.)

(time: 23.30)

A: yeah, I think we all want to be a part of something (1) It's strange that when you're all on holiday (.) you're eating all these things (1) it's almost like

M: you're spoiling yourself

A: I don't eat like this everyday (.) just look at that (1) if you ate like this everyday (.) let's put all the bad food in now while we can

(Note: both M and A amusedly observe the size of portions and the relish with which all eat, absorbed; we ironically admire Liam's cinematic 'craft'.)

A: good shot (.) he's being more artistic now

M: it's that book he read (.) on directors (Note: the reference is back to an earlier moment in the sequence, of Liam's shot of his own book about film directors, and banter about it with Andy.)

Extracts for theme 4 purple; theme 7 purple

(personal progress and self-entrepreneurial attitude)

(Note: In answer to an observation that I share about Andy's reticence and Alan's and Liam's adventurousness with food, Alan associates being in transition (going to university) with having a disposition to being open to new experiences. He produces a sense of himself as projected into the future, making progress in life, having approved attitudes - being adventurous)

(42.00)

A: When you go to university I think it just makes you a really open-minded person anyway (.) most people (.) things they teach you just kind of (.) well I always think of that freedom of thinking and err and I don't know but just the few people I've spoken about food erm (.) you know certainly if you try it you'll know (.) so I just shouldn't be allowed to say I don't like something if you haven't (0.25) you can't judge something if you haven't tried it.

(Note: He continues a contrast between what was done for him (past) and his own agency (present and future). The past was about the foundation, the wisdom and health given to him by his mother; the future is about extending his horizons.)

A: ...so I know my mum's quite health-wise so I know she'll always be encouraging us to eat well (.) you know (.) eat breakfast rather than not eat breakfast and eat healthy stuff as well and you know just vegetables and things like that you know and all of those old wives tales carrots make you see in the dark and milk makes your bones strong and things like that (1) for me I'm not keen on fish (.) some fish I do (.) and I'm trying to kind of broaden (.) I had some octopus when I went to Malta and I found that quite a challenge but I quite liked the challenge because it looked like a (.) it had tentacles on it and it looked like (.) and I thought I'm going to eat this because it looks quite nice

***In the e-mail exchanges with Jane E. (re. video 2)***

- Theme 1 (younger female experience of the consumption of food as conflict and trauma) is robust in the second email exchange; the sense of confusion in younger female experience is strong. This theme is extended in the depiction of younger females having to do the 'head work' of making sense of contradictory adult discourses/ of meeting all of the social expectations which are associated with eating - to be thin, healthy, sociable, to be focused on career, have families and provide for them, be responsible for their health. The distinction of young, female experience (themes 1 and 3).
- The structure of age, in respect to females, in themes 1 (younger female's dysfunctional relationship to food), 2 (older women's functional relationship to food) and 3 (food as focus of younger women's self-improvement) is

central to the second e-mail, but is also there in association with **making the most of herself** at university, and hoping to find a voice in film-making. Time as the basis of experience of self - is there in reference to memories, which are a burden, as much as making the video as a link to thoughts of a possible, better future. The personal responsibility for making progress - changing self/ being adult (more like the older females) is made more robust.

- Yellow: Theme 3 (**the personal project**) - the product of the video (of the family) is parallel, as personal achievement, to the product of the family which has been made by the older women. The sense of 'finding a voice', as an emerging authority through film, is robust: centering identity in family (within) space rather than in consumptive engagement with media and products (which mess you up) - collecting/ curating 'family' ('family' is beyond the strictly biological).

### ***illustrative e-mail extracts***

#### Extract for **theme 3** yellow

*(therapeutic process: being agentic; making film to represent different relationships to food; and seeking a voice through it)*

M: Your choice of form - 8 different accounts/ 8 different voices/ you kept out of it until your contribution: what attracted you to that idea? Why did you do it like that? Was it to represent ideas of 'family' or was it meant to make us think about the differences between different people's relationship to food?

J: I think that this was definitely the latter, originally I wanted to just focus on family, but the more I talked to people about the project, the more people voiced their opinions about food, each that was different and interesting. In a way, this does create a family on film, of the people I know and love, so I guess in that way it's quite personal.

J: the subject matter each of them chose to talk about, and the fact that each individual interviewee had four different answers and I went through and

selected what to me at the time seemed like the most interesting answers, but looking back I think I also selected answers that reminded me (in a positive way) of those people the most ...

M: Did you feel that being a film-maker gave you a kind of authority?

J: A little bit, looking back I think it gave me a chance to look at my voice, and what was trying to be said. Doing a filmmaking degree is meaning that as soon as I think I've found my voice it's changed once again, which is refreshing but also means that I've not yet found an authority/my voice.

(Note - J positions herself, in reply to the 'auteur' language of the question, as being in a long-term process of finding her voice, in terms of film-making/ the degree - this video being a reflexive moment in it; and the aspirational language (and self-effacement) of a student.)

Extract for theme 1 yellow; theme 2 yellow; theme 2 blue; theme 3 yellow  
(comparing other, older women's relationships to food to those of her sister and herself; objectifying other, empowered ways of living (older women) as role-models for the future)

(Note - the second email addresses a contrast between herself, and her younger sister, and the older women who feature in her video. She celebrates their achievement - to have incorporated food into a successfully functioning life and to have found positive meanings for it. She begins by disputing my leading question about what she felt was the most 'powerful' part of her sister's contribution, and typifies her sister (and herself) generationally and as being in specific and problematic relationships to food and eating.)

J: The most powerful? There was not a particular part of this that I found powerful, apart from maybe the use of the word 'disgust' which I found unusual and quite strong. However, the overall message about how young people at the moment deal and relate to food I found intriguing because it was

so drastically different to answers of the older participants and much more insecure and uncomfortable.

(Note: In answer to the question, 'Did you want to say something about the relationship of power and food?', she extends this thinking, moving 'power' away from people like herself (generational and gender distinction) to food itself. She articulates personal knowledge with some force. The distinction she emphasises is that food does not offer power, but has powerful effects upon a person like her sister and herself, the power then lying in the memories and ideas evoked, and how life is lived as a consequence of that.)

J: I feel that the power OF food, to impact on our memories and ideas and living is powerful, but to that the particular people I interviewed, and myself included that power and food weren't a combination.

(Note: In answer to my question, as to whether the older women were in the film as some kind of comparison, and that there was a message of personal hope in her own contribution in the film, she replied,

J: I think you've definitely read that right, when choosing to use my mum, Sam's Aunt and Grandmother in the film I always look up to them as women who see food as something positive, as well as it not being the only thing in their lives (they are all still professional working women), and this combination of food still being there in a busy modern lifestyle, but also still being at the heart of things and being a positive.

(Note: Jane's email response particularly resonates with her sister's contribution in the video, in its sense of difficulty and discomfort in negotiating food practices. Here she uses the image of bombardment, depicts an incessant assault from all directions that is impossible to deal with. The syntax dramatises the disturbing effect of those invitations. This is in answer to my question, What do you think I need to realize about what food means to young people (notionally 16-24)?)



J: I think food is a very sticky issue for young people, we are bombarded with so many different messages, not to eat fast food but then watching MacDonald's adverts that tell us fast food is now healthy AND cheap (completely unlikely). Also the pressure to be thin and also healthy and go out, and have careers and families and still do all this whilst cooking healthy feels (sic), drinking 15 pints of water and not ever snacking. I don't think there's one definite meaning for young people as a whole as we're constantly asked and challenged to accept many different perceptions.<sup>1</sup>

### ***Interview with Faye (re. video 3)***

- Theme 1 (personal family food culture) is robust and is associated with theme 2 (healthy eating) - also robust - and is extended in terms of generations of relatives and associated with personal identity as not in the food cultural 'mainstream'. This is then a position of family cultural capital; family history of growing food deepens this.
- Theme 3 is robust (personal food knowledge/ personal responsibility): person identity re. being resourceful and responsible further extended by biographical reference to coping as a student (not being stereotype of 'student'): eating healthily; engaging with mediated food culture.
- Theme 4 (making personal progression) is massively important here - in a sense intersecting all other themes eg. becoming an independent, self-sufficient, resourceful, responsible individual – and is associated, here, with the sense of being self-determining. There is further extension of theme 1 here, too, in producing a sense of self as free of simply learnt behaviour (rule bound culture/ 'normal' family food practices). Movement across time important, particularly representation of possible future self (note development in personal food culture).

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<sup>1</sup> The question asked was, 'What do you think I need to realize about what food means to young people (notionally 16-24)?'

- self-regulation/ policing of food/ personal resourcefulness and effort as signs of socially approved attitudes is an important theme throughout; tied in with production of video makes her vulnerable to social judgments.
- **the economics of food choice** is thought of as an extension of theme 3.
- ethical food is thought of as an extension of themes 1 and 3, particularly in reference to managing food on a budget.

### ***illustrative interview extracts for Faye***

Extracts for **theme 1** purple; **theme 2** purple; **theme 3** purple

(personal identity constructed in opposition to fast food and social myth of student food culture; healthy eater; consumer savvy)

6.30: Onscreen, Faye's video has been playing uninterrupted for a couple of minutes. Onscreen she has been talking to camera about her plans to be "adventurous" with food and to travel to other countries and get to know other food cultures. Onscreen, she has just commented, about becoming familiar with other food cultures, that she doesn't want to be one of those people who eats chips everywhere: "that's not really the point is it/". The onscreen comment now refers to the quick pasta and bought sauce meal that she is making, and how she hated to be judged re, the food she ate just because she was a student. Watching this, she interjects.)

(6.16) F: I like that phrase "when I `was a student".

Onscreen, she is describing her aversion to 'fast food': "I hate *MacDonald's*, I hate *Burger King* even more". In the interview, she positions herself, with me, in terms of her food culture. The binary opposite to 'fast food' (and 'student food') is healthy food and a meal cooked with knowledge and skill (a "really nice meal" - extended later in terms of her account of using the *BBC Food* website, to prepare a special meal, once per week, with her partner.) The tone of mock disgust accompanies her account of her recent visit to *MacDonalds* (only did it to please her friend). She is working to distance her identity from the social myth of the student and student food culture.)

F: oh fast food it's `so horrible (1) ooh fast food

M: your life ended

F: ooh yeah (.) the food is so horrible (.) he made me have it and it was disgusting

M: that was your first visit to *MacDonald's*/

F: I was forced into by a friend I only had a chicken burger and that was revolting and I'm 'sure that that wasn't mayonnaise that was in it as well (3) )mm I like to think that I am slightly healthier than the stereotype of the student and as well as most people that I actually knew at university (.) there were only a couple who lived like complete slob `all of the time (.) it was like cheaper to live better I think because some of the time when you have the choice between buying in pasta and sauce to last you a week and maybe one really nice meal you're going to take what will last you all week

(Note: It's interesting how Faye does distance herself from the 'student food stereotype' in this interview. At first, she stated her initial discomfort with the video-making task, thinking she might be expected to perform according to a standard set by mediated food cultural values/ a new 'high' food culture ("I'm not a foodie," she said). She does a lot of work, here, as extracts of her video are played (note sequence of her preparing food in the kitchen at home - basic, quickly prepared food) to counter a judgment of her food culture based on what is seen in the video. Here she corrects what she thinks is the dominant association of student food (cheap, simple, fast) with an attitude - failure of work ethic, personal resourcefulness, effort; and begins to distance herself from those attitudes. )

(Note: She has just been asked a general question about what she wanted to do in her video.)

(15.00).

F: things kept occurring to me (.) I thought right this is about how young people view food (.) I'm going to try and do something about the student food stereotype because if one more person comes up to me and asks how many times I had beans on toast I'm going to scream (.) I don't like baked beans (.) sorry (.) never (.) so from that it sort of went on to why I think students live as

they do and it's not some sort of sloppy don't care sort of thing it's more, you only have a certain amount of money that's got to last until this point then it would what else is in the stereotype with fast food and takeaways and things like that and there's more and more things

M: You had to get that in there about going to *MacDonald's* for the first time

F: oh yeah oh yeah I had to make a point (cresc.) don't go

M: and to break the stereotype of students and fast food/

F: oh yeah

(Note: She once more attempts to counter and complicate the social myth of student food, in response to my question about what I should be concentrating on in my study. Young people/ young adults live constantly with the expectation that they are personally responsible for their consumption of food; and live constantly with the cultural contradictions of being self-restricting and self-indulgent consumers of food.)

M: Any ideas about topic priorities for my investigation/ (24.09)

F: I dunno (.) attitudes to healthy foods because I think there are lots of ways younger people (.) and I find with my friends and parents that younger people actually eat healthier because as long as I can remember there's been this whole sort of healthy food thing (.) there's been attacks on school dinners and making school dinners healthier (.) and five a day

M: yeah

F: all this sort of stuff (.) and it's been this kind of massive movement that as far as I'm aware has happened very recently and wasn't really (.) happening some years ago (.) and people are much more aware of what they should eat (.) whether they do or not they are aware that they should do and especially now that you've got GM foods and counting calories (.) it's become almost like an obsession now (.) people are much more aware of what they're eating and what goes into their food than probably they were

M: but does/ that become a pain in the neck/

F: (cresc.) 'yes (laughs as though in response to the force of her reply) (1) I don't really think about it (.) but I have friends who say I've had this many calories today (.) and usually if you go out for dinner (.) they will only have certain things because they don't want to go above a certain amount of

calories (1) sometimes you've got to let go a little bit (.) don't go mental obviously (.) don't go and eat nothing but chocolate food

M: it seems very controlled

F: it's quite repressive

M: I think so

F: all the time

M: takes a lot of living with doesn't/ it

F: yeah (2) my grandma's attitude to food (.) she (1) I mean she was quite young during world war two but she still grew up with ration books and things (1) when suddenly you could (.) you could just have what you want when you want it (.) she still has that mentality because she can remember when she wasn't allowed to do that and when you could have what you want she didn't want people to do that (1) but now it seems to have gone through that (.) and now it's "you `can have what you want (.) but you `shouldn't" there's this real thing (2) I dunno (.) there's this cons (.) (note: seems to be beginning of "constant".) back to tv again (.) all these diet programmes and stuff you read about these celebrities who think they are not too fat or whatever and then there's all these cookery programmes around about making good food and it just seems to be a strange combination (1) they want you to cook nice food but they don't want you to eat too much of it (laughs)

M: that's an interesting way of putting it (1) on the one hand you're told do this and then you're being told do that and you're caught in the middle

F: yeah

M: is that (.) is that a particular (.) a particular pressure for females or/ is that a distinction that might have been once/ but isn't now

F: I think it still is to an extent (.) but I would say that a lot of my male friends (.) not so much about their looks and their figure but about fitness and health (.) I've got one friend who cycles to work everyday and he counts (.) he's stringent about it (.) how many minutes he exercised (.) how hard it was (1) and then calculates his calorie intake based on that (.) he wants to be at a certain fitness level.

Extract for theme 1 purple

(personal family food culture as distant from the social expectation of 'proper meals'; pragmatism v conformity)

(9.30)

M: you referred to breakfast and lunch but it's almost like these are other people's typologies

F: yeah (.) breakfast though I always have breakfast (.) lunch is something that happens to other people

(10.00) (Note: F talks about the difference between her pattern and style of eating at home compared to those of her other friends.)

M: There's another existence going on out there which other people have decided what to call it and then there's the reality of your life

F: yeah when I've stayed with mm friends or if we (obscured word) they've all sat down to breakfast together (.) they've had a lunchtime (.) even if it's dinner time and everyone's out doing different things and then everyone's sat down at supper together every evening (.) and it's very weird (1) I feel quite awkward (.) it's just not (.) I don't really know how to sort of interact with them sit down just don't do that (.) I'm quite rude if I'm honest (.) after dinner especially if I've just made it especially if other people have sat down after me I'll probably just sit there and read a book (.) generally people sit and watch television and things (.) it's not now we'll sit down and have a conversation about everyone's day while we eat dinner (.) that doesn't (.) that's what our family does (.) and when people do the more formal thing it feels very awkward (.) it feels like an event that's happening

M: what/ are the rules/

F: I'm so worried about making a faux pas and when people come to stay at my house (.) after a while they really like (.) my brother's girlfriend she loves coming to our house because she can just help herself to anything and she knows we won't mind (.) in other people's houses I don't even like to go and get myself a drink and I don't (laughs) want them to sort of frown at me (1) if they do come with us, they feel all right if they don't like a bit or they leave stuff they don't feel in shit (.) or if I go to other people's houses and they give me meal with something I don't like on it and they give me an enormous plate

and it's just too much for me I feel just so rude (.) I feel completely obliged to finish (1) buffets are just the best things in the world

(Note: in reference to an example of 'foodie' culture, she defines a pragmatic attitude to preparing, and serving up food to others as characterising her own (family's) food practices.)(13.42)

M: sometimes people have got all these other purposes around food

F: yeah (.) I like watching food programmes but sometimes when they have a lovely plate of food but then they (.) whoever's making the masterchef competition they go "your textures are good, your flavours are good (.) but it didn't look very nice" `oh (laughter) once it's demolished and she's eaten it all it's going to look like a clean plate isn't it/ so it shouldn't matter that much really. (Note: see next note below.)

Extract for theme 1 green; theme 2 green; theme 2 purple

(healthy food; growing food extends view of family food culture.)

(Note: sequence of video playing at the time features photography of 'healthy' ingredients just unpacked and sitting on kitchen work surface and bowls of fruit). F. gestures to the screen.)

F: no it's a real (.) I love fruit (.) I was so annoyed when I learnt I was allergic to Kiwi fruit

M: are/ the plums from the garden/

F: no although I would like to grow (.) I would like to grow things (.) we grow tomatoes and peppers

M: mm

F: and we're going to try and grow potatoes (.) I quite like that (.) just because it's quite exciting to be able to go out and pick them

M: yes

F: off the stork

M: yes (.) seeing things (.) it's actually happening not like in a shop (.) I don't like particularly going to supermarkets and doing all that stuff

F: no (.) `tedious

M: it is tedious (.) but to say o I don't have a roasted pepper now and there's two hanging there that would be fun

F: it would (.) we've got a friend who's got a `massive vegetable garden and a massive greenhouse full of things she's grown (.) like tomatoes as `big as apples (.) everything is massive (.) she has too many tomatoes to get through cos her daughter's gone to university her husband's away on business all the time so it's just `all this veg

M: sixty eight jars of chutney later what/ do I do/ with it all/

F: so she'll just give us a bag of tomatoes (Note: an excited tone throughout this account of the friend's growing food) so we just make tomato soup (.) there's a ridiculous amount of tomato soup in our house at the moment because we've just had them err

#### Extracts for theme 4 purple

(personal progression: adventure/ cultural growth/ leaving the past)

(31.20)

M: thinking about you talking as well as listening to you talking there's quite a lot of adventurousness (.) on the one hand you say `look food's no big deal to me (.) I just eat when I'm hungry it doesn't really bother me (.) I know what I like (.) and `then you're saying when you went to France you were the most adventurous person around when it came to food (.) you talked about Japan (.) which sounds exciting when you're going to do it and you're up for whatever Japan's got.

F: yeah

M: you're almost making yourself break through a barrier of

F: I was `so fussy when I was little (.) I wouldn't eat anything (.) I was (.) I say my sister's fussy and I make fun of her for being fussy but I was worse than she was (1) I couldn't eat (.) I could barely eat anything (.) I think I only ever eat a bag of crisps because the whole idea of eating made me feel ill but

M: is/ there any way you can con yourself/

F: I don't know (.) I might have to although thankfully make me a fish (.) something with fish in it and I'll have to do it (.) that might be the way to do it (.) but now (.) so now I eventually started making myself (obscure) (.) I



wouldn't even eat pasta or pizza when I was little (1) I don't know what (.) it was almost (.) if I'd never had it before I didn't know if I would like it so I wouldn't eat it incase I didn't like it (.) I didn't want to risk not liking something so I just wouldn't eat anything (2) It was very weird! (laughs)

M: and now you've gone all revisionist on yourself

F: yeah 9.) like right, ok I've got to thank years of not eating anything so now I'm going to eat things (1) I quite liked coming back from France and going "yeah, I've eaten frogs' legs" (.) and I went to Scotland staying with my boyfriends' grandparents and I ate haggis and I'm so proud of myself for eating haggis

M: wow (.) because lots of people are really squeamish about that

F: when I looked at it (.) it actually just looked like shepherd's pie (.) I knew what was in it but I thought you know I'm going to try it and you know it was really delicious (.) I thought, I've just eaten the contents of a sheep (laughs) it was really tasty (.) so there really is a sense (.) I dunno (.) eating.

M:mm

F: yeah I've done it (.) I'll conquer Everest and eat a fish (laughs)

(34.19) M: really it sounds pompous of me saying (.) and you're right it's an overused word but you really seem to be into empowerment really (.) you're like into this "I will not be restricted by anything really"

F: yeah (.) I think part of it is (.) I've not travelled much so I really want to travel (.) and when I say travel I don't want to just go to the tourist spots I actually want to see the country as a whole and not just the bits that they would like you to see and part of that is just eating what

M: yeah

F: what's there

M: when you were talking earlier about "I wouldn't eat it when I was really hungry if I thought that I might not like it" (.) you know (.) I've got this image of you (laughs) dressed in armour with a sword at this sort of like I dunno this portcullis at this entrance to the castle (laughs) "you `can't (Faye laughs) come in here"

F: I'm going to change that (1) `now it's charging at the castle going (cresc.) "right, `food"

M: you've got a big sign out, saying "this way for a Faye experience"

F: (laughs) yeah (.) so far it's (.) there are some things that I've had that I thought oh God I'll never have that again (.) but now I think (.) it's not just weird (.) immediate dislikes and prejudice against food (.) now I know it's "no I don't like that (.) I'm not going to have that again"

Extracts for **theme 3** purple; **theme 4** purple

(pleasure in food programming and food website; use of it to position herself as aspirant; balanced against personal pragmatism and aversion to 'foodie' culture)

(Note: following F.s comment about how irritated she is about the stereotype of students and fast food, M adds perhaps his study will contribute to breaking that stereotype. F. agrees. I make the comment, "what isn't there in the film for us to see/" meaning, "I'm sure your film will break the stereotype. This is read as an expectation; and she has to do repair work in advance for what will be seen in her film. Her comment upon what she thought making the video was all about - as social investigation - and implicit judgment of her, is telling.)  
(18.30)

F: I'm trying to sort of branch out in what I eat and things like that but I'm not a 'food person' (.) I wouldn't describe myself as a foodie

M: was the topic kind of like scary/ did it have connotations of "oh this is going to be about people who are 'into food'" or something/ was/ that the premise/

F: yeah (.) I just went away and thought if you give me a recipe I could probably go away and cook something but I'm not (.) I don't actually `care that much about food and people who (1) I sort of thought it was going to be about people who only eat this kind of food with this kind of wine and that kind

M: oh (cresc.)` really

F: of thing (.) I don't know (.) I don't know (.) I don't care if I've got a nice plate of food and a nice glass of wine (.) I don't care so long as they go together or (laughs) or `not (M and F say these last 2 words together).

M: it wasn't meant to be about 'posh' food or

F: I just wasn't really sure that my experience of food cos I don't really care that much was going to be relevant

M: the expectation/ that you might be into 'good food' and to take an attitude about 'bad food'/'

F: yeah (1) there's so much stuff on tv about food (.) and it's generally about "I know how to" (.) it's cookery programmes rather than

M: rather than about food (.) instructional stuff

F: yeah

(Note there is a one minute discussion about *Fairtrade*)

(41.26) F: there were several student activists who were quite intense but there were some times when we would say we're going to make a nice meal tonight and we'd go (.) and it would have chicken in it or lamb or something like that and you'd think (.) right ok (.) with everything else that went into this dish we can't spend nearly `twenty `pounds on some meat that would just eat tonight (.) we're going to cook it tonight and we're going to eat it tonight (.) it'll probably be delicious (.) but we're not going to get our money back (laughs)

M: so an awful lot of the people on television (.) chefs and all the rest of it (.) have/ they just lost touch with this kind of decision making that people have to do when they are on a low/

F: yeah

M: budget/

F: I think some people pay lip service to it (.) but they don't (.) `realise the reality of it (.) I mean er things like Sainsbury's advert Jamie Oliver's a family meal for a fiver (.) absolutely brilliant and it looks really good and we've actually done it before (.) but that's a fiver every day and (5) it does still add up (.) and that's without (.) that's just for a dinner without all the extra stuff that you've got to buy

(Note: M tells a story about watching Hugh Fearnley-Whittenstall's campaign on a working class Axminster estate. On mentioning his name, at the beginning, she interjects, "Oh the well spoken guy from Eton". She replies by making comment about how amused she is by chefs on television who used "handfuls of saffron in their dishes"; "amusing viewing after hangovers: very funny but not all relevant to anyone watching". Then she makes a comparison.)

(45.28)

F: I like watching *Masterchef* (.) they get to cook with Michel Roux junior (.) I think his name is (.) it's very funny when you get to watch him walking around the kitchen watching them cook and it pauses to watch their faces

M: I saw it (.) was/ it on yesterday/

F: yeah, yeah (delighted) it was and you watch his eyes widen or (.) it's quite good to (2) I thought yesterday it's very weird that here I am watching two men eat food and say whether they like it or not but erm I quite like their recipes and things on their website and the BBC Good Food website is just the best thing in the world (1) he would cut open their cooked chicken and it would bleed and you would see their faces fall

(Note. the interest she presents, and the subject of the scrutiny of contestants' food in *Masterchef*, contrasts with what is on screen/ actual personal food practice shown at this moment in her video; is the pleasure articulated re. in the scariness of Roux as judge prompted by being vulnerable to judgements of the video of her cooking pasta? Is the reference to her engagement with tv food/ aspirational food repair work to possible disparaging judgment?)

Extract for theme 3 purple

(the economics of food choice)

(Note. In the interview, to some extent in response to my cue (social justice) she balances a presentation of herself as engaged with mediated food culture, and ethical consumption, and knowing about surviving economically. Note also, though, persistence of healthy food as a key category of 'good' food in the context of talking about poor people. This extract precedes the last extract (above).)

(38.00)

M: does it matter where food comes from/

F: that was something else that came out of price because our family would always always buy free range eggs and there's only about twenty pence difference (.) but we couldn't afford free range chicken (1) I felt bad (1) my uncle is a vegan (.) he's very strict (.) so I feel bad every time (1) I could be a vegetarian up to the point that you offer me a bacon sandwich and all bets are

off (2) I would hope that when I can afford to buy my own food I would love to buy from my local butchers who could tell me exactly where my food has come from er I always buy free range eggs and I always try to buy things that are um o God my mind's gone blank

M: Fairtrade/

F: *Fairtrade*, that's the one (.) although (2) I can't ever recall the argument (1) my friend made a convincing argument against *Fairtrade* (.) not in favour of exploitation but that *Fairtrade* is not the best way of going about it (.) till there's a system in place that proves to be better than *Fairtrade* then, as far as I'm concerned that's the way to go erm I mean (.) as my friend says either way they'll get you in the end (.) but they might not starve as much (laughs) with *Fairtrade* erm so (.) yeah (wailing baby with family have entered the room) you can be too high (obscured) about that (.) things like that but it's not an ideology I want to be associated with (.) "take care of the problems at home and don't worry about them" kind of thing (22.00) (1) people who I dunno I guess people who are unemployed single parents who have got kids to feed and why don't you give them healthy food cos they're probably working in three jobs

M: yeah

F: and they get very little money and they haven't got time to make a home-made meal from scratch (.) if they give them cheap micro meals then it'll leave the kids fat (.) maybe someone like Michael Moore can do a really angry documentary about the poor

M: but it's a point isn't it/ you know (.) a lot of people get looked at by people who have got lots and

F: so an awful lot of the people on television (.) chefs and all the rest of it (.) have/ they just lost touch with this kind of decision making that people have to do when they are on a low

budget/

M: yeah

F: I think some people pay lip service to it (.) but they don't (.) realise the reality of it (.) I mean er things like Sainsbury's advert Jamie Oliver's a family meal for a fiver (.) absolutely brilliant and it looks really good and we've actually done it before (.) but that's a fiver every day and (5) it does still add up

(.) and that's without (.) that's just for a dinner without all the extra stuff that you've got to buy

***Interview with Joel (re. video 4)***

- theme 1 (**personal progression in food knowledge** and his own identity as teacher of others) is very robust. This is extended by full and detailed biographical reference to family and friends. Contrasts with family and friends, and personal improvement, is reconciled through identity work of being working class (theme 3, here), loyalty to class and a discourse of self-entrepreneurialism (theme 4).
- theme of self-entrepreneurialism (theme 4) **is associated with tele-chef role models**, tele-chef discourses (televisual and literary). It is associated with narratives of personal progression in culinary skill and taste, and in an educative role - in showing others ways of progressing in food knowledge.
- class identity, as new theme 3, is **extended by reference to tele-chefs** (Gordon Ramsay in particular). Time, and the contrast between past, present and possible future selves is associated with sense of personal responsibility to realise self-potential (entrepreneurial) and also maintain loyalty to family, friends, class.
- theme 2 (**socialities of food consumption**) is made robust. Note affective orientation to valorise 'ordinary' food and improve the preparation skills of working class audiences (again association with entrepreneurial, tele-chef figures).
- Theme 4, **food authenticity**, is new. This is associated with food education and, reflexively, his own sense of progression and his reading of tele-chef values.

### ***Illustrative interview extracts for Joel***

#### Extract for **theme 1** purple

(personal progression: training the pallet to new tastes)

(Note: Joel illustrates how the restaurant he worked at became a place of learning new ways of cooking and eating food. He makes a contrast between his own progress, in acquiring new food knowledge which puts him in touch with a larger and prestigious food culture and the habitual style of generations of his family (eating only well cooked meat.) His description employs chef discourse/ chef performance as he gestures the application of oil, garlic and the cutting of the meat.)

(approx. 5.30; we have both just seen the opening chapter of his video; he had described his pleasure in making the video and his aspiration to show an entire meal being prepared by him on film; he had described how working in a chef's kitchen (Michelin star) had made him rethink even foods that he had been familiar with. He characterises 'posh' people who eat at the restaurant, here, as 'Miss Porsche'.)

J: everyone in my family used to eat steaks well done (2) so it just carries on (.) your mum cooks it for dad well done and it virtually just carries on (1) my grandparents will only have it 'well done (.) they won't have it done rare or anything but

M: when you went to the restaurant (.) did that give you different ideas/

J: yeah well (.) me mate (.) well he used to try raw steak

M: mm

J: and err we had steak tartare one morning (note: he's referring here to starting work in the professional kitchen, in the morning, with someone he works with.)

M: mm

J: but then 'Miss Porsche' who's eating raw (.) you think 'ugh raw meat (.) but when you're tasting it (2) you like to taste it with like Carpaccio (.) with just a little bit of parmesan and there was a bit of olive oil and a rub of garlic on it (1) but when you're trying that it was like (.) cold ham in a way kind of thing

M: mm

J: really thin but you could actually taste the meat in it (.) it wasn't all bloody cos it was out the fridge and all that (.) when you slice it obviously it just becomes (.) meat and you change your ways about that so now instead of having the well done steak (.) I'll have it medium rare.

M: mm mm

J: you start off working with that (.) from medium well

M: yeah

J: then medium (.) and you get to the point where (.) it's the blood it's 'nice (.) you can taste the 'actual 'meat (.) instead of just cooking it (1) cos it doesn't taste of nothing when you cook it up (.) well done (.) if you ask me

M: no

Extracts for theme 1 purple; theme 4 purple

(authenticity in food/ consumer savviness/ educative purpose of video and personal progression: training the pallet to new tastes)

(on-screen, the pizza restaurant scene, stilled)

(Note: Joel had just explained that he has just begun to eat pizza; he has explained that his liking of it is associated with getting to taste an Italian method. It is also about trying to find authenticity in foods, and to get past the 'imitation' of foods, that through habituation to processed foods has left the 'ordinary' person misrecognising what these foods are. This commentary upon British food culture was a strong theme later in the interview (18.00ff below). It had been Joel's idea for him and his friends to come to *Zizzi's* pizzeria, not *Nando's*, which his friends were familiar with: J: "with *Nando's* it's basically just like going to *MacDonald's* but a posh version of (.) just burger and chips and I thought if we go to *Zizzi's* it's within the price range of a nice Italian restaurant (.) see what the atmosphere's like and everything (.) and it's quite a nice place

M: did/ you enjoy it/

J: yeah which he (pointing at the image of a friend on screen) describes as a posh")

(13.06)



M: what/ did you want to come across with this/

J: basically to show what Italian pizza (.) how they differ to the normal British kind of feel for pizzas (1) normally if you get pizza

M: mm

J: out of a packet or from *Dominos* and everything or from *Pizza Hut* (.) it's always aligned symmetrically as if it's been manufactured but (.) when you go somewhere like *Zizzi's* you want to see how (1) the Italians (.) kind of (.) do pizzas

M: mm

J: cos (.) if I'd shown you that compared to something from *Domino's* or *Pizza Hut*

M:mm

J: you'd look at *Domino's* and *Pizza Hut* and you'd find it more appealing to look at (.) but the Italians kind of make it more rustic and the base is different

(Note: J. recalls having been to a French resort near to the Italian border and describes a properly made pizza.)

J: It was a holiday resort but it was a basic French village and no one spoke English around there and we used to have pizza from there and the difference (.) it's all crisp (J says this appreciatively)

M: mm

J: and really thin

M: really thin

J: yeah not compared

(M gestures the wooden 'spoon' going into the pizza oven)

J: yeah into the (.) wooden fire (.) charcoal fire

M: yeah

J: they were really thin and crisp compared to something the British (.) and around the world now they seem to be a bit thicker but *Zizzi's* portrays what rustic Italian pizzas look like

M: It's like you're on a hunt

J: yeah

M: you know what I mean (.) you're searching out good stuff (.) trying to find good stuff

J: yeah (.) to show what it's `meant to be like.

M: In your head who/ are you thinking of showing this to

J: more like people that haven't got a lot (.) aren't (.) have not got a lot of food knowledge

M: so you're like opening a door for them

Extract for theme 1 purple; theme 3 purple; theme 4 purple

(loyalty to working-class food; consumer savviness)

(Note. Joel takes real care not to be superior in his judgments about processed food, or patronising toward working people who use it; he explained that such people are exhausted by their work and feel the need to take short-cuts. He illustrates from friends, people he knows in his community, and his working-class family. He ensures that he does not represent his mother's food in a disrespectful way. Before that, he explained how eating manufactured food becomes normalised in 'ordinary' people's everyday living, how the eye and the pallet learn to accept the imitation of an absent, authentic version. He elides from describing images on supermarket packets to the preference for an imitation of Indian food rather than properly made food, from basic ingredients. Then he negotiates his position toward his mother's food: he respects what she makes but hopes that she will learn new approaches to food. This seems to contextualise his educative mission, and hints at what his original purposes for his video might have been.)

(18.00; Note: this follows from the comment upon pizzas (above) which then moved onto packaged food)

J: they try to capture it with light and all that

M: yeah

J: if people had seen a curry all messed up (.) if you see what a `proper Indian curry compared to a manufactured one (.) they kind of

M: so people are more used to seek out the image or something

J: or something yeah

M: than what it really is

J: people will think “Oh everyone else eats that” (1) people follow the trends with food

M: yeah

J: “everyone else eats that (.) I’ll eat that” (1) I think people’s taste buds have changed as well (1) because (1) if you keep putting something in your mouth (.) and you’re eating it and everything (.) you kind of adapt to (.) it’s like different kind of (.) basically it’s like starting to drink alcohol in a way (.) eventually you start to enjoy the taste

M: you’re not showing this and saying (.) this isn’t my idea of the very best stuff

J: no (.) it’s just what people (.) if someone provides food for ya (.) you gotta be grateful and

M: yeah

J: (note ref. to his mother) cos she hates me getting involved and saying “don’t do it this way” and “don’t do it that way”

M: does/ she feel you’re being critical

J: yeah (.) because she thinks (.) she doesn’t know

M: not appreciating what she’s doing

J: yeah (.) which if someone told me that this is not the way you should do it I (.) it wouldn’t bother me because I `like to learn

M: yeah

J: but when you’re brought up for so many years (.) you’ve (note: gestures to me) been teaching for so many years and someone comes up to you and tells you you’re doing it wrong (.) `do it this way (.) you’ll be like

M: defensive

J: keep out me way (.) ‘leave me to get on with it

M: yeah

J: I think now (.) what with all these new programmes that are on all the while (.) it will help people cook better I think (.) more people are getting involved

Extracts for theme 1 purple; theme 2 blue; theme 3 purple; theme 4 purple

(teaching his friends and family, being a chef-entrepreneur, negotiating a new, adult identity amongst his own just like Ramsey)

(Note. Later, he explains his purposes in beginning his video (which is paused onscreen during this exchange) as a demonstration of a better way of making an 'ordinary' working-class food (a bacon butty). He associates this purpose with the philosophy of Gordon Ramsay, one of his chef-heroes. He associates his own teaching of his friends with a tele-chef mission (so reference to Jamie Oliver). The association of Ramsay's loyalty to his working-class background, combined with aspiration, seemed to represent Joel's own positioning to food and his identity work in this interview. Note the use of gesture and facial expression as a part of the tele-chef performance: \*1 hand-gesture away from body; \*2 hand brought close to mouth; \*3 quick right hand (staccato movement; \*4 and \*5 right hand raised slightly as if adding an ingredient.)

(approx.4.00. Note: my question is about why he made a chapter of his video about making an improved 'bacon butty'.)

M: what/ did you want to show/

J: just to show what we do in the morning (.) when Richard's gone off to the bakery (.) just to kick start the day (note: in the restaurant kitchen where he works) (.) when it's 'thrown(\*1) in the oven like this (.) the more slower cooking you do the more fat will render down (.) when you fry it off you just taste (\*2) oil a lot of the time (.) when you're in the oven and there's nothing on it it's the pure taste of bacon (.) it becomes a lot softer (1) this is the bacon butty kind of thing (.) everyone enjoys (.) even higher class people who go to nice restaurants and all that (.) and if they're eating posh food all the while then everyone enjoys a nice bacon sandwich in the morning (.) people still enjoy the simple things (.) just a different style to make it taste better (.) food is food in the end (1) when I used to do the barbecues and all of that (.) when we finished college in year 12 every lunchtime me and a few mates (.) this happened for about two months when the weather was nice (.) they'd all come back to mine (.) get the barbecue (.) I'd teach 'em how (\*3) to chop onions small (.) how to make a burger (.) (\*4) tabasco (.) (\*5) add a bit of tomato sauce to it and they used to help me make all the burgers and everything (.) I used to enjoy it because I was passing on something I knew (.) and we used to eat all the burgers and one time we even made our own baps (.) Johnny Walker (.) the Youth Olympics he used to come down as well (.) he used to

enjoy my food because he wanted to eat fast food but control the amount of salt and fat he used to put inside him

(Note: M asks if J would recreate a dish from home if he was living away from home: he nominates a form of cheese pie that is cooked, every Thursday, in his home and those of both his maternal and paternal grandparents.

(23.00) Now J talks about how he used (before his current job) to cook most nights at home: his family didn't used to complain if they didn't like something he cooked because it was strange to them; but J also extends themes already expressed re. Gordon Ramsey and traditional working class food and re. food authenticity and food traditions being eroded by modern life (note following comment that his parents recognised some of the dishes prepared at the restaurant where Joel works.)

J: (gesturing to the screen) they were used to being brought up on this kind of food

M; what/ kind of thing

J (struggling for a moment to remember specific dishes) basically fish dishes and err quite a lot of stuff from the restaurant (1) my dad would be honest with me (.) he'd say like if it was a risotto (.) that's too salty and everything but (.) cos it's quite hard to make your

M: but/ he `didn't say "I don't want any of that muck"

J: yeah (.) he says "Oh it was \_all \_right" and making your own risotto is making your own stock at home (.) you can't really do it on a normal oven gas hob kind of thing because it's quite hard to change (note: seems to mean to adapt from cooking on the professional kitchen hob at work to the domestic cooker at home, as well as have the necessary ingredients to hand) (.) I mean the bays and that cost a lot of money (.) well not a lot but more than buying a stock cube.

(25.02) (Note: M asks if J would recreate a dish from home if he was living away from home: he nominates a form of cheese pie that is cooked, every Thursday, in his home and those of both his maternal and paternal grandparents. J describes how his mother used to make homemade cheese pie every Thursday at the time when J was doing most of the evening meals,

and how all of his extended family share the tradition of eating that same cheese pie every Thursday. He has just said that, if he was away from home, working in another part of the country, it is this dish that he would want to eat.)

J: yeah (.) it keeps the normality going (.) it brings you back to home (1) from reading Gordon Ramsay's book (.) some of the dishes that he's got on his menu now (.) in not so high up restaurants but the normal class restaurants sort of thing he went to (.) the cottage pies and stuff he does (.) that's on his menu because of his mum

M: he's quite a family guy isn't/ he

J: well he's been brought up on nothing (1) he's been brought up on meals and everything er on life as it is (obscure word/s) and his dad used to beat his mum up (.) but at the end of the day (.) after `every day (.) because he used to be quite a famous footballer didn't he err his mum would always have a meal cooked on the table (.) tripe and stuff

M: yeah yeah

J: it'd just be on the table

(Note: seven minutes later, in the context of discussing different tele-chefs, Joel reaffirms his admiration for Gordon Ramsey, a recognition of both his business success, his educational inspiration, and his being a model for Joel's aspiration to self-betterment.)

J: I like him as well because he's come from nothing (.) he's made a lot of money through something he enjoys (.) and he has actually like through every person (.) like me he's changed my ways on (1) for every person like me he can change what we eat (.) how we are cooking (.) inspiring (0.5) that's one less person who's going to be buying factory farmed chickens.

(Note: Joel makes comparison between Gordon Ramsey and Jamie Oliver. The comparison readdresses the theme of loyalty to class. Oliver put himself first, and turned his back on his own, working-class people when, in his school food campaign, he humiliated the women who worked in school kitchens. Joel's rehabilitation of him is through a mature masculine discourse (a position mediated between us/ informed by a 'democratic' value): Oliver has got older and wiser, appreciating the way things really are.)

J: I never used to enjoy what he was doing and everything because he always used to be banging on about changing school meals and trying to change this (.) but now he's across America (.) he seems to be getting through to people who want a bit of flair (.) do/ you see what I'm saying/

M: are you saying they don't/ want to be lectured at/

J: yeah, exactly (.) let people do what they want but instead of telling them ban the school meal help em out like when Heston Blumenthal done to the *Little Chefs* (.) he didn't come and say you're `not doing that (1) he says like don't microwave the egg (.) do it this way (.) put a bit of seasoning into it

M: he went into schools a bit didn't/ he

J: what Jamie Oliver/ (.) yeah

M: but do you think/ he went in too critical/

J: yeah (.) but when he was slating the dinner ladies (1) it's not their fault

M: disrespectful

J: they're underpaid (obscured word/s ) (.) it's a job to them (.) if you see what I'm saying (1) well (.) it pays the mortgage for them and provides for the family (1) but when he come and say to them (.) I thought that were a bit wrong (.) but now (.) it seems that (.) he's got a bit older and he seems to (.) he's given people more of a flair to

M: he's into his family a lot now isn't he

J: yeah (.) it makes (.) everyone can relate to him and Gordon Ramsay (.) people that come from nothing

M: yeah

J: cos Jamie Oliver's mum and dad owned a pub and he's bin part o that (.) running the bar and waitering

M: do/ you think he's put himself back into people's affections/ more now/

J: yeah it's more about ordinary people (.) if you see what I'm saying

M; yeah (.) that comes through big time on this American thing

J: yeah (.) instead of just (.) on all of his other programmes it's like he's in this for the publicity (.) if you know/ what I mean/

M: it's more about Jamie Oliver than/ the people he meets/

J: I kind of get that fake view from him (.) but now he seems to be a bit more (1) I don't think he meant that (.) but it's how it comes across on the editing and all that

M; he's probably just got a bit older

J: yeah (.) he was a bit wild (.) he's relating to people a bit more now.

***In the interview, and email exchange, with Jane H. (re. video 5):***

- theme 1 (being more integrated in adult food culture) is addressed again; sense of her present self **being different from younger version of herself** (theme 2, younger girls' food practices) produced through memory work - because she has learnt to self-regulate food intake; and sense of distance from girl fads and resistance: more rational, adult self is constructed in interview.
- theme 3 (contrast between personal family food culture and 'others') is robust; healthiness is key and is developed here; even though (with extension of themes 4 and 5 – father's polemical and mother's pragmatic stances to food consumption) lived family tensions are described, she buys into resultant quality of family experience.
- parental power, as something that she has resisted as a younger girl, is thought of, here, as extensions of themes 1 (being more integrated in adult food culture) and 4 (reflection on parental stances to food consumption).
- media targeting of young females ('perfect' women/ sexual messages) and young female pressure on other females, is defined as a new theme 6.
- the pressure of demonstrating self-responsibility, as a social expectation, that crosses food consumption, is thought of as an extension to theme 1.
- the need to deregulate (from bombardment of expectations ("stress")), in eating junk food, is a new theme, but may also be thought of as an address to the 'healthy eating' of themes 3 and 1.



Extract for **theme 1** green; **theme 2** yellow

*(being older and being past confrontations with parents over eating; legitimising present aversion to health issue)*

(Note: In a discussion about aversion to foods or reluctance to eat certain foods, she recalls early experiences of visiting an ill grandfather as a young girl and the parental warnings never to eat the pills. Alongside this early association of ingestion and danger, comes another memory, from the same period in her life, three years of age, of her refusal to eat. Jane talks about her refusal as a strategy, a sort of experiment in power relations with her parents. Now, it's a marker of how Jane has changed: she distances herself from the younger girl who was wrong and how her parents were right to teach her a lesson. She recalls, amusedly, how she always eat broccoli afterwards, as if to distance herself further from the young girl. She remembers how her parents called her bluff and removed the whole meal and how desperately hungry she was afterwards, and how her parents were right to teach her a lesson.)

Jane: (email)

I was about three when the broccoli incident happened, and yes, afterwards I remembered the feeling of hunger and it always reminded me to eat all my food and not act wrongly, but I don't remember it being the smell, more, just my stubborn three year old behaviour!

(Note: Her gluten allergy meant that from an early age, she had to learn to police her diet. She describes how, even now, the smell of bread sends powerful signals to her, prompting a memory of when she and her sister eat a slice of bread each and how both were violently ill. Jane had eaten fudge with the bread: now she has a strong aversion to that food item too.)

Extract for **theme 3** green; **theme 3** purple; **theme 4** purple; **theme 5** purple  
*(family food culture scrutinised by film; legitimising it as healthy; aligning healthiness and sociality of own family eating; (hypothetical) differentiation from other families.)*

(Note: paraphrase of stretches of interview. In response to a question about how the filming had gone at home, and a comment that I had made about the intrusiveness of a camera, Jane said that her mum was the most self-conscious.

In response to my recalling her dad's words on camera, about the importance of eating together as a family each day, Jane affirmed how this was a big thing for him; and that eating "three square meals" (his words) was something he would stress at home. Jane also referred to the coexistence of other kinds of eating in the family home. In response to my recalling her mum's words on camera ('I eat to live; I don't live to eat.'), Jane said that this revealed a bone of contention at home: that Jane and her mum were 'grazers' and that her brother and her dad were into 'four square meals'. Jane said how she was 'fussy like mum' and said how both of them rarely felt like breakfast (but knew that she should eat something because the consequence of not doing so, if she was at school, was that she would feel terrible later.

Jane returned to the subject of her dad's preference for 'three square meals' and explained how he drives a routine each day, working at home, beginning with making the packed lunches for the family and the breakfast; begins to work in his office (at home) by 9 o'clock; then makes a lunch (which mum returns from her school to have with him); and then how he shares the preparation of the evening meal with mum. Jane said that her mum 'fits in with dad's routine.' Jane said how important it was, not just for her dad, but for all of the family to talk and share each other's day at the evening meal. Jane said, 'I really like to do that, we all do.' Later, she contrasted her family to other families. Jane thought that I should look at the difference between healthy and unhealthy relationships with food. Jane developed this by pointing out to me just how differently some families carried on: she suggested I look at where teenagers eat and with whom – in family group/ or on their own/ together or in separate rooms?

Jane said how close her dad and brother were, both of them liking to be in the kitchen, preparing food. Their love of spicy food sometimes resulted in challenges between them to see who could eat the spiciest.

Extract for **theme 1** green; theme 4

*(apologising for moments of personal deregulation of healthy eating)*

(Note, again paraphrase of stretch of interview: In contrast to the healthiness of home-cooked food, Jane mentioned her own 'weaknesses' for chocolate, chicken nuggets (KFC) and chips. I reminded Jane about her dad's words on the film, that he liked just about everything 'except manufactured food'. Jane, humorously, repeated 'manufactured food' and excused herself: 'I know, but it tastes so nice.' In response to my suggestion that we all need moments of 'deregulation' and 'pigging out' to cope with the stresses of life, she talked about those who get drunk and about how over structured and planned and pressured her weeks are. Jane mentioned how in the holidays, the structures of eating tend to go out of the window as the structure of time-driven, regulated days falls away.

Extract for theme; 1; **theme 6** yellow

*(media pressure on females, robbing girls of youth and childhood; the burden of personal responsibility)*

(Note, again a paraphrase of a stretch of interview: Linking from this idea of 'pressure' in life, she talked about media targeting of females, and how this kind of pressure leads to unhealthy relationships to food and body. She said how annoying it is to be targeted continually by magazines, as a female, Jane referred to working part-time in a local supermarket and being constantly presented with shelves of magazines, with covers showing so many 'perfect' women and so many about diets. Jane said how 'annoying' it was to be constantly compared to such models. Jane told me how such messages are so 'unhealthy' and hinted at how unhealthy the relationship was with food for some girls/ young women that she had known: 'If you're a teenage girl, it's really bad; they struggle massively with food, bulimia and anorexia.'

Jane corrected my reference to pressure being put on girls by pointing out that what was particularly unhealthy was 'girls putting pressure upon themselves'; 'the age I've got, the pressure is enormous. It is a massive thing.' In later

email contact, she illustrated how extreme this pressure was, and how early it begins: 'I saw a vulgar thing the other day. Nine year old girls using low calorie diets and spray tans. It was so undignified, like everyone has got to look the same. The vulgar TV programme I saw was on BBC 3, it was very expose, the little girls were preparing for a beauty pageant, they were around the ages of seven to eleven, it was truly worrying and awful. They were having spray tans, eye brows plucked and fake eye lashes put on. That's not what eight or even eleven year old girls should be doing, they should be eating sweets and playing at the park!'

Jane picked up on the word 'stress' and emphasized how stressful school is, especially at GCSE time. She gave an example of how adults can really not understand how bad it is, by referring to a visit to an aunt who had picked her up on the use of the word 'stress'. Jane said how the constant stream of messages about so many subjects gets so 'annoying' and 'confusing'. Jane mentioned the subject of cancer and food, how so many different and contradictory messages are given out: 'What is right and what is wrong?' she asked. Jane also recalled how she and a friend at school had pointed out how pressurizing some notices placed in the toilets at college had been. The posters were about sex-ed. Her point of view was, 'It's good to be educated in the basics then people have to find out for themselves.'

### ***In the interview with Imogen (re. video 6)***

(Note: In the notebook evaluation of the videos, I had speculated about the reasons for Imogen's non-completion of the task, of making much of a video. Twenty minutes in to this interview, she explained that it was a part of trying to avoid arguments, at home, about being continually asked about what she is doing and why she is doing it. With respect to her friends' and others' food practices, the camera was too intrusive and would, for her, have meant that she would have had to defend her use of the camera in such circumstances. She was also worried about the reactions of other members of the public.

Following 20 min. point of interview:

- theme 1 (healthy food) and theme 2 (self-provision), nascent in the brief video, were associated with negotiating what she buys to eat when she is at home during the day, and in terms of indulging herself - chocolate/ ice-cream - and managing emotional states (so new theme 3 below).
- theme 3: the need to deregulate, in eating junk food, is a new theme.
- dieting and the pressure to be thin, and diet, is a new theme, 4.
- the politics of food consumption, (eg. vegetarianism) in the home, is a new theme, 5.

### ***illustrative interview extracts for Imogen***

#### Extracts for theme 2: theme 4 yellow

*(resisting having food intake regulated; personal distance from dieting culture; attempt to keep food as a normal pleasure; personal independence and consumer savviness)*

I: Well, I guess sometimes it (my note: being conscious about what you eat (from question asked)) might be a positive thing but I find it a negative thing like everyone dieting all the time er (.) I don't (.) I don't really know (.) I just like to eat food (laughs) rather than stopping myself (1) I think there is (.) I don't really know anyone who er is like really like militant about what you eat but erm it's just like everywhere I guess in the media and it's what you see (1) you hear about the metabolic syndrome and calories and that (.) all the different sorts of diets that you can go on

M: so we're surrounded by messages about dieting (.) I say 'we're' surrounded but are females surrounded more by messages about dieting do you think than males/ or is that just stereotyping and it's not like that/

I: er it was usually females but now (2) that was more in the media like females and body image but now they're sort of like bringing forward all the things like er well males think about it as well

M: yeah

I: there's been like programmes about thinking about body building and things like that

M: taking steroids and

I: yeah

M taking anything (.) so it's a different kind of it's a different kind of body image but it's again comparing yourself to some some somebody's idea of an ideal/

I: yeah

M: do you feel strongly about that/ do you feel strongly about these images that are coming at you/

I: I just don't think people should be told what's right and what's wrong (.) like how to look and (.) I just like to eat food (laughs) rather than stopping myself

(Note: The use of the second person voice represents her statements as reasonable for all.)

(30.39) M: Are there times when you will eat differently/ select food differently at other times/

I: sometimes er (2) yeah when you want like just don't really care (laughs) and just like eat (3) you just do things for your own good (2) like sometimes it's good (1) like I want to eat but I don't feel hungry(.) so "should I/ shouldn't I/" and I do

M: and sometimes what has happened to lead you into 'I don't care moments'?

I: um when I'm upset or annoyed or just really bored and something like that

Extract for theme 2 purple; theme 5 purple

(personal independence; father's attempted influence over family food)

(Note: She explained that her father has a central role in sourcing and buying the family food: he buys organic, carbon-friendly food; he routinely informs the children about the reasons for eating or not eating certain foods, and the reasons for his Veganism. There are books on veganism in the house which she has read. She is vegetarian. The constant taking up of positions to political food issues had resulted in a strategic ignoring of the father and a deliberate distancing of Imogen to checking ingredients and all food issues there. She has come to a settlement that her father has a good intention, to explain the world to her. Her association of his disliking her brother's interest

in label/Nike and his concern with food seems to be about the limitation of her interest to keep a personal distance from father's 'policing' of the family's consumption.

I: it's always been a thing that my dad looks at if he's buying food like he doesn't buy it if it's come from miles and miles away.

M: carbon miles and all that stuff

I: yeah (.) it's just been always a part of (.) just what I remember from like just forever (indistinct word) (1) it's like Nike chains and things (.) my dad used to say like my brother couldn't have (.) now he gets like things from Nike

M: so your dad had an aspiration/

I: yeah (1) I think after he got more things (indistinct 2 words) to order he just couldn't maintain it

M: do you feel that is your dad most (.) does your dad think more like that than your mum/

I: Yeah (laughs) he doesn't (.) every now and then he tells us like if we're drinking milk and stuff like (1) he doesn't really get annoyed but he tells us about what happens and how it's made (and an indistinct word) (.) he makes you feel guilty for drinking it but

M: has your mum had some influence on him to sort of not say those things too much/

I: yeah, probably (laughs) (.) I never heard well (.) sometimes she tells him to like just stop (.) if she really enjoys something (.) because she drinks milk as well (.) he can't stop us from (laughs) really make us

M: she wants you to be happy

I: yeah (laughs)

M: and if you're happy she's really pleased

I: yeah (.) he wants us to understand the world it comes from.

(Note: It seems that Imogen has strategically avoided direct negotiation of a 'position' to food consumption with her father, whilst informing herself (reading a book on veganism, reflecting upon what her father says, being aware of dieting regimes in the media) and having inner dialogue about the necessity of eating, so exercising personal control, including not eating meat.)

### ***In the interview with Yal (re. video 7)***

- theme 2 (**distinction of personal family food culture**) is very robust, working with the same binary of contrast to 'others'. It is so robust, and intersects many other themes, as if this is the primary lens through which to orientate herself to any food issue. Theme 2 is extended by biographical reference to family food culture. The memory work, here, marks a different affective orientation to food.
- The theme of national and religious heritage extends theme 2, as described above, and, also does so as a binary contrast to contemporary British food culture.
- Making **personal progress in acquiring food knowledge**, in reference to theme 4 (food education) is a means of extending theme 2. It is also means of sharpening comment about what is lacking in others/ British society: lack of food knowledge, and is associated with description of the lack of self-responsibility and lack of good family upbringing/ poor parenting.
- Theme 4 is also associated with the **contrast between 'slow food' and 'fast food'** in public consumption of food.
- **'Healthy eating'** (theme 1) is a prominent discourse in the distinction of themes 2 and 3. r

### ***Illustrative interview extracts for Yal***

(Note: A number of times in the interview, Yal uses the shared viewing of the video as a means of generating an ethical discursive position, shocked at the state of the nation. This is in comparison to her own and that of her family who are enlightened, culturally informed, and knowledgeable.)

Extracts for **theme 1** green; **theme 2** purple; **theme 4** purple



*(personal responsibility, food knowledge, family cultures compared; proper meals)*

(Note: about three minutes in, watching a 2nd sequence of her video of friends talking about how much they participate in food preparation at home, Yal talks over animatedly.)

Y: the fact they didn't know the price of food I found shocking (and a word obscured)

M: I think he said something like "I am not the head of the household"

Y: his parents are like (.) it's like his mum does all the cooking and the shopping and all of that and it's a really traditional family

(Note: Even though this is an example of what she does elsewhere, of explaining the way things are/ food in modern life to me (often in terms of crisis), and, to some extent she includes her own family in that, still she stresses what of value was done in her family: a foundation of food education and parent to child responsibility. Yal looks back to an early memory of coming home to find her mother cooking. It is articulated as an ethical position: her mother was working part-time as a teacher in order to allow her to make room for the important family responsibilities of parenting and teaching food tradition: she would cook and encourage the children to join in with her, learning all of the time. In the next extract, the contrast between the poor quality of meat that other mothers buy for their families and the higher quality of the meat bought by her mother.)

Y: she would be home by 4 o'clock so by the time we come home she would be cooking dinner

M: she liked to do that/

Y: yeah she liked everyone to sit down and have a family meal but now we're older (.) because of people's commitments and time and stuff it doesn't happen at all except once a week perhaps a sunday we have like a family dinner (.) and that's what like a lot of people and I talk to them and a lot of kids are on the computer while eating their dinner

M: really/

Y: yeah most of the people I talk to

(6.00)

most people go cheaper (obscured 4 words) and my mum still will buy that good quality meat (.) it's one of the things she's quite picky about but a lot of people I talk to their parents just go for the cheapest piece of meat that they have (.) like Iceland or Asda (.) their own brand (.) like my mum doesn't buy that kind of meat

(10.00)

(Note: Yal's account of a dinner party - about the different levels of skills that her peers have (some had never cooked before, some needed help, others, like Yal, cooked all the time) - has been a 'snapshot' of the contrasts that exist in cooking capability. This develops into an anecdote about a friend who can't cook and knows so little about food and its diversity: this functions to criticise her upbringing. There is, in the extension of this theme of the inadequate food knowledge, and unhealthy eating, of many of her friends (and mainstream British food culture), a contrast and a celebration of her own food cultural capital.)

Y: my friend [REDACTED] (.) she's hopeless at cooking food (.) she's been raised just to eat certain set food (.) last week was the first time she had had a meatball (.) we went out to a tapas bar

M: I remember you saying

Y: and she had a meatball (.)

M: yeah (.) you said that on your entry (note: referring to her comment in the coda of her video)

Y: yeah (.) I was really shocked by that though that someone had (.) it's quite a common food and she'd never had it like certain foods that we've eaten and she's never had (.) she just lives off pizza chips and pasta

M: yeah

Y: she's got such a bad diet

Extracts for **theme 2** purple; **theme 4** purple

(the cultural capital of Pakistani food heritage; proper meals)

(Note. Her celebration of her family culture (functional, intergenerational, elders teaching, sharing experience) intersects with her mixed food heritage, particularly with her father's Pakistani food culture, which is a resource of differentiation from the 'mainstream' of her peers, for example over what is now a British food, curry.)

(12.30)

(Note: M has just asked Y how she deals with any culturally specific food requirements.)

Y: We have to be like quite picky because obviously we're Muslims so we don't eat pork so all my friends know that so like they make something without it

M: they take that into account/

Y: yeah (.) and a couple of my friends are vegetarian so I make two dishes (.) like I made this pasta and I used quorn instead of using meat in one of them and then I made the same dish then I used chicken and I made a curry as well and I was quite shocked because a lot of them don't (.) the only curries they know are the ones from the takeaway and they are `not proper curries if you think about it

M: no

Y: the taste is completely different (.) and like because of my dad who's taught me to make different curries and stuff

M: your dad cooks/

Y: yeah (.) my dad cooks curries all the time

M: he makes a fantastic one

Y: he makes some really cool ones like because my sister's vegetarian and stuff like he makes special vegetable ones and they're really nice and it's a treat when we get them (.) when he makes them (.) and like I took a curry like and most people were like I've never tried (.) the curry at the takeaway doesn't taste like this at all and like no it doesn't

M: they make them for English people

Y: exactly (.) so when you say you're going for an Indian (.) you're not really are you

M: who taught him/

Y: he was brought up in Pakistan and he had a really nice family and he had 5 brothers and 2 sisters and he was like the youngest of the family and he was at home most out of everyone (1) he used to sit and watch his mum cook and just like taught him like that (.) my grandmother (.) she used to teach him how to cook (name of dish obscured by video) and things like that (.) I remember coming home from like [REDACTED] (note, the name of her junior school) and she'd be cooking and she'd say come and look at this like and just watch as she made these different types of curries (1) It was like interesting (.) I found it really interesting (.) I used to watch (.) I found it like interesting how all these ingredients came together yet by themselves probably wouldn't taste that great

(Note: The comparison with not only the food practices of many of her English friends, but of some of the English schools appalls her. M has just asked what she thought were interesting moments in the video she had made, when she looked back over it.)

(15.20)

Y: when I asked Lisa about like what they'd learnt from cooking at school and stuff

M: ooh (.) paper sandwiches! (note: a reference to what this student had said about her food education, in response to Yal' questioning; it had included a description of a food education lesson consisting of pretending to make food out of paper, cutting out shapes.)

Y: took paper sandwiches where they had to (.) I asked how she took them in and she had to make sandwiches out of paper (.) obviously the school didn't have the facilities at the time and I find that quite shocking the fact that they didn't like they weren't even allowed to cook or anything

(Note: Y extends this example to others, about how so many of her peers cannot cook anything - an egg, toast even - and to people's dependence on ready meals.)

Y: ready meals I can't `stand them at all and I know someone in my year (.) she used to basically (.) because her mum was at work all the time and her dad and she use to come home from college and everyday she'd have a ready meal.

Extracts for theme 4 purple; theme 3 purple; theme 2 purple; theme 1 green

(campaigning tele-chefs as a means of positioning self against the ignorance/ lack of family food culture in the British mainstream, poor food education and lack of self-responsibility)

(Note. As she explains why she likes Ramsay and his programmes, and she criticises Oliver and his, similar themes of home culture, food education, healthy eating are focused upon the need for a social change and the problem in young people's food in Britain home food culture and the development of self-responsibility in personal food practices.

(time: 48.00)

Y: I do like Gordon Ramsay (.) people do always say that they don't like him cos he just swears all the time

M; that's his trademark

Y: yeah (.) I guess it's kinda he wants things done in a certain way (.) and do kinda find him quite interesting (.) he did a programme where he raised like different sheeps and stuff like that and he raised (.) he raised them in his garden with his kids and he raised chickens and stuff

M; yeah

Y: and then later er he showed you how they were being slaughtered and that and I found that quite interesting (.) I'm

M; sort of behind the scenes

Y: you don't think about that when you're eating a meal (.) you don't think "oh I wonder how this chicken was killed/" or whatever

(Y describes how she was shocked by programmes that have shown how chickens are reared and it has led her to want to buy free-range.)

(51.30)

Y: I think Jamie Oliver is pushy (.) like I think most people find that he's trying to push his ideals and stuff onto people

M: yeah

Y: and I guess I do (.) but I respect him for what he's trying to do (.) he's trying to make kids eat healthily (.) I guess teaching people how to eat from a young age has more of an impact than if you tried to teach a 15 year old cos they're more likely to rebel against it

M: did he miss the idea by going for the people making school meals/

Y: exactly

M: was he missing the point/

Y: it's not really about school meals (.) I think it's at home (.) it's your home life out of school (.) cos at school it's the time that you're likely to eat healthy throughout the whole day whereas when you're at home it's just kind of like whatever cos you've got no one making you a meal whereas at college everyone knows that you can use your hotdogs and your sandwiches and you've got the cooked meal and most people will go for the cooked meal and most of my friends go for the cooked meal cos it's the only time that they will get a cooked meal in the whole day cos their parents don't really have the time to do it (1) a lot of people seem to think that healthy food is really not nice (.) do you know what I mean

M: like 'healthy' is a bad word

Y: yeah it's like when you think (.) if someone says "this is a healthy meal" it's like "awwww it's `not gonna taste nice"

M: is that like adults telling you to eat something/

Y: yeah they just think of healthy vegetables (.) it's vegetables

M: everybody mentions broccoli

Y: (laughs) broccoli (.) it's vegetables (.) whenever they think of a healthy meal they think of vegetables

M: you've had vegetables and you've eaten them and thought "beautiful"

Y: yeah

M: vegetables (.) the idea of something just being boiled and put on a side plate that you've got to eat just cause

Y: and its (.) people have been forced to (.) and I guess if your parents were kind of forcing you you're more likely to think "oh now I'm older and can make my own decisions I don't really want to"

M; that's right

Y: so

M: like when Leanne said it was almost like defiant (.) "chocolate, chips with mayo" (note: making reference to what one of her respondents had said was her idea of 'good food', in the video)

Y: `exactly

Extracts for theme 2 purple; theme 4 purple

(lack of breadth of food knowledge as the norm in Britain; comparison with her own family)

(Note. The link from reference to her sister - who is a model of entrepreneurial attitudes and achievements (again with a global extension of food culture) - to the food ignorance of her peers (with the exception of her friend, Ami, - is a contrast. She narrates with pride the story of her older sister opening a restaurant in Thailand, how her food is big on "taste and quality" and is exotic - "octopus and everything, crab". She admires her food knowledge, cooking competence, resourcefulness and adventurousness. She makes comment about a participant in her video (Ben) who she now wants to make an exception for, from her general criticism of their food cultures, because, she recalls, he had talked of his trip to Hong Kong and the diversity of the food that he had eaten there. By contrast, her recent meal out in the city with friends had been more typical.)

Y: my older sister, she went traveling in Thailand for a year, so sh'e got, she opened a restaurant out there actually with some friends she met out there, and she likes exotic food, like octopus and everything, whenever we would go out she would order crab and everything, and she's really big on quality of food, and er when she's been watching like CDWM and stuff, and the kind of thing's that she would make, I don't know anyone who would think of that like with Ben I was really shocked to hear about his trip to Hong Kong and how he

was into octopus and everything and how he enjoyed it and he's going again this year and he's all I can't wait to try out all the food out there and (obscure words)(27.27) when we went to Wagammas with college a lot of people didn't know what things on the menu were (.) they were like I don't know what to get (.) I don't know what that is (.) you know what I mean and I was quite shocked that like (.) Ami was explaining to like Jo the difference in the type of dishes

M: Ami's like an adult

Y: Yeah (.) she'd had it all (.) she'd been traveling and stuff in different countries

M: so it's a lot about your culture (.) isn't/ it

Y: knowledge (.) it's a lot about your knowledge as well

M: knowledge (.) knowledge you've got from what you've done with your family and knowledge from what you've done on your own and that gives you a different attitude to things/

Y: yeah

### ***In the interview and email exchange with Harry (re. video 8)***

theme 1 (**personal style and engagement with wider food culture**) is, here, associated with his agency in a kitchen space, his consumer knowledge, his discernment in food taste and his developing relationship with a gay partner.

theme 2 (eating as emotional self-maintenance) is extended to the construction of personal identity.

theme 3 (vegetarianism as normal) is extended in terms of personal identity/ **ethical eating**.

theme 4 (policing the body and body image) partly addressed in reference to feeling good about who you are/ identity; and in terms of **authenticity** in having pleasure.

distrust of adult food scare discourses is a new theme, but is thought of here as an extension of themes 3 and 4, in its association with the pleasure of eating – so it's about achieving a 'balance' in food consumption.



### ***interview and e-mail extracts for Harry***

(note the technical problem with recording after 10 mins. and the following exchanges, meant recall, note-taking and confirmation through email).

#### Extracts for **theme 1** purple

*(food practice and identity being looked at: making a video)*

(time: beginning of interview)

(Note: As Harry orientates himself to the interview, to the experience of a video-diary being looked at, to possible judgments being made about what he ate and what he said, it's noticeable that he begins to show an 'ownership' over what he eats (self-maintenance/ food knowledge), kitchen spaces (eg "my fridge", his friend's kitchen), and after he checks that I am fine with his gay relationship, a growing pleasure in self-presentation in the interview.)

M: do you want to skip ahead/ was/ there a favourite bit of yours/

H: not really (.) it was really quite weird (.) I just thought it was weird really (.) because to an extent it's basically evaluating your life (.) looking at your life and not many people want to do that really do/ we (.) you know how you just take a moment and just think what/ do I like/ what/ don't I like

M: yeah.

H: I started to find I started to justify what I did (.) I just found it was what was natural to me

M: I found out of all the people that helped me it was the closest thing to a diary

H: I felt like when they have these things on tv when they have night cams and stuff and when they want to go to talk to it and I felt I was just waffling in a way

..

M: I thought you enjoyed it

H: yes, I did in a way (1) what's/ the word/ (1) yeah it was quite explorative (.) in that sense it helped me look at myself (1) and look in my fridge (laugh)

(Note: approx. 5 mins. into interview.)

(Note: Both H and M looking at sequence filmed in friend's kitchen in Leeds, in which he is describing his friend's preparation of complex meals for him/ showing of care to him through the food he prepared.)

H: I waited until the guy I was staying with was out (.) I didn't want anyone watching me (.) I felt like (.) obviously I was being filmed doing it (.) I would feel uncomfortable (.) I don't know why but

M: it would only make you feel self-conscious

H: yeah (.) it's a very personal account really (.) I don't mind anybody hearing me talk about food but basically when I'm opening myself out (1) it's a bit much

Extracts for **theme 1** purple; **theme 2** green

(food as self-maintenance, pleasure and consumer savviness)

(Note: watching the video together (note approx. 2 mins. into interview); on screen, H prepares breakfast.)

M: here's your bran flakes with fruit on

H: and my coffee (.) I'm obsessed with coffee (1) I could live off bananas

M: so could I

H: apparently they've got something in them that can affect your mood

M: yeah I heard that (.) it's not potassium is it/

H: they've got lots of potassium in them anyway but they've got something else (.) it lifts you apparently (.) stops you going flat

M: I better get another dozen.

H: but you're not supposed to eat more than two a day though

M: are you not/

H: no (.) apparently they're particularly high in sugars (.) no I think I am quite obsessed with bananas (laugh) (.) and coffee (.) coffee is my mainstay

M: coffee has now become quite a nice thing

H: yeah it's become better now in recent years because there's more of an emphasis on what comes before it comes into your cup

M: yeah (.) I would pay more for a cup of coffee if I thought the people who grew it weren't being exploited

H: that's what's made them so successful because people thought that people are more bothered about the world

(Note: In response to email, H thinks of how 'logic' (which seems to mean adult discourses on food health/ the science about danger in eating) has to be balanced with pleasure. The association of food with pleasure and making personal relationships/ sociality work was strong in the interview. The listing and hyperbole dramatise the force of adult warnings that threaten to rob food consumption of pleasure.)

H: I think its really important that we let go of everything and enjoy the moment for its sensual pleasures, ignoring what our logic tells us. This is relative to many parts of life, but in more recent years food is quite a good example. Cancer, coronary heart disease, cholesterol, obesity, diabetes, anemia, gout, food poisoning, allergies, death. Food nowadays kills us. Even balanced diets are being proven wrong, calorie counts are being revised! It's probably better to just ignore it all, and just eat in moderation and occasionally go for it and just enjoy food

Extracts for theme 1 purple; theme 3 purple  
(vegetarianism as normal)

(Note: The language he had used to describe his aversion to meat eating was strong and repeated in the interview, most notably his aversion to the cruelty of the meat industry, a profound position. In response to my summary of some of the things he had said, his stress on personal 'identity', not group identity, and on the personal meaningfulness of his food choices, is important.)

M's summary to H, by email:

You mentioned your mum was vegetarian too, but you said that that wasn't why you became a vegetarian. You explained that you just didn't want to be associated with something so repulsive/ bad/ cruel as killing animals. You mentioned chickens as the example that represented your feelings here, that it

was just the idea of how they were made to live and were treated that you didn't want anything to do with. In his response to the email, he develops this sense of not wanting to be a part of a system of exploitation, and empathises with animals.

M: You said that you didn't want to be like a stereotype 'Vegetarian' (I think you said like a hippy vegetarian?) ; I think you said that that was all about it being your own private conviction and life choice and that "It is just a *part* of me; it is not me". Did I remember that right?

H: Yeah, that was a particularly important point to me. Identity is really important to all of us, its what makes us different. Ironical though that despite this, we feel the need to categorise everything: carnivore, omnivore, herbivore; meat eater, vegetarian, pescatarian, vegan, cosha, halal etc. the problem with this is that you will always get someone that won't fit; that's why the individual is important, not their choices

(Note: Further answers extended the theme of personal integrity, and personal, ethical choice rather than generalised 'positions' to food. M, summarising to H in the email:

'I asked you what you felt that I (as an older researcher) would have to bear in mind when thinking about what food means to younger people (aged 16-24) and you said something like: keep on thinking about how each 'young person' is more than just 'a young person' and keep your mind open to how different we all are; and how to talk about food is to talk about our identities. I remember you using that word 'identity': could you just say again what you were thinking of when you said that, please?'

H's reply: 'In terms of food, maybe food is an explanation of other attributes eg animal rights activist - vegan. Also, with younger people, they will have different experiences of life, eg childhood/ education etc which is relevant to how they have developed as people.'

Again,

M: We talked more generally about delaying rewards eg when you're working in your kitchen, surrounded by food etc. I think that you talked about the mental approach that you have developed toward, not just food, in terms of not letting yourself have what you want so that, later, you have much better choices. H's response to the email extended the earlier responses about identity being about having a personally justified ethical position on "how to live life. Not only can choices improve, but there's that reward feeling afterwards."

***In the Interview with Heidi (re. video 9)***

- theme 1 (**own healthy food**, compared to others' unhealthy food practices) is robust. The theme intersects with the healthiness of her food and the subject of body control, family food practices; the contrast with other, unhealthy practices is there through reference to her friends; but also there as self-control and the contrast between healthy and unhealthy food practices as a battle.
- theme 2 (**autonomy in healthy food practices**) is strong, further demonstrated in the present, in terms of cooking for others, exercise regime, preferences in healthy food. It is intersected by a discourse of personal progression, and having an **adventurous disposition to food consumption**, and to new foods (theme 3) eg expanding cultural knowledge through travel; moving away from home
- theme 3 (personal progression) underpins the performance of 'doing well', coping and **being autonomous** and planning for the future.
- theme 4 (being under surveillance): this underpins all of her 'performance' to camera, and is closely related to themes 3, 2 and 1 as conformity to social and cultural norms of aspirational behaviour with food.

### ***Illustrative interview extracts for Heidi***

Extracts for **theme 1** green; **theme 2** purple; **theme 4** purple

*(being a healthy eater but being frustrated (I can do more than what you have seen))*

(Note: It seems that Heidi's defensiveness is understandably about constant adult judgment of her, through a judgment of her food practise, and because the video made is based in the home with the unwanted mediation of her mother, that adult judgment brings with it a whole history of family judgment and power. Articulation of that power through 'healthy food' discourse, brings understandable frustration: with the format organised by her mother (taking over the video at this point (onscreen) and simplistically demonstrating to an outside audience that she represent herself responsibly in relation to healthy eating); and to the genre of this spoken event - being asked questions about her food practices. In her negative judgment of her friends' eating, as part of their unhealthy living, broadened out to include lack of exercise, yes she conforms to the 'healthy eating' agenda (a part of managing this interview with me) but she also wields the power that has been used on her, against others. She does also value her home food culture. She expresses her frustration with how the video was used in terms of not being able to demonstrate her own agency: she has an interest to demonstrate her individual progress as an independent, more adult person, through food.)

(approx. 10.00; there has been some four minutes of discussion about how uncomfortable this chapter of the video was for her - to be filmed making responses to questions fired at her; we had both talked openly about her performance, to build a picture for an outside audience about the family's food and about how well she had been equipped to be a 'healthy eater' and a knowledgeable eater.

M: (gesturing toward the screen) and that's the *Coke* can and that's the fork

H: yeah

M: that you talk about (.) and you (1) when you think about the questions that were asked are you comfortable hearing those questions and are you comfortable with what you say/

H: yeah (.) I'll answer anything but I'm just worried that I'll trip up or miss something out or something (.) or I won't answer

M: mmm (.) so it sounded like what you were trying to do was 'a good job' as it were

H: mmm (.) yeah yeah (1) put all the information in (1) I notice I said "because it's healthy" quite a lot but I don't know

M: mm (.) again that sounds like your mum (.) every time you say something (.) asking you why you said that (.) but mm you also said when asked about what healthy food was you just listed then blah blah (1)

M: so your mum says "what's healthy food/" and you're trying out this list (.) and you're saying to her (.) what/ are you saying to her by saying blah blah blah blah

H: you `know what healthy food is (.) why're/ you asking me/ (laughs)

M: I know and everybody knows what 'healthy food' is (.) you know what I mean (.) and if someone said to me "what/ is healthy" and "what/ is unhealthy" I'd draw a line down the middle of the page for them and I'll fill it out

H: yeah it's easy yeah (we watch the interview onscreen).

(As the onscreen interview stops) I think I would have preferred to make my own film mm because then I can manage what gets deleted and what gets kept

M: and like you could have said something else or done something else

H: yeah

M; other that `that

H: yeah I would have liked to have shown me cooking with some of my friends (.) like a typical day with my friends (.) what they eat (.) and for myself we could have prepared something (word obscured) to eat. I would have tried to film as much food as possible and to contrast what I like and what I don't like (.) and what's good and what's not

(Note: This frustration as not showing her pleasure in the preparation and sharing of food is further corroborated, later as she finds no problem with

thinking of herself as food provider. She positions herself as someone who can make food, and 'good' food. That is associated with 'healthy food' (eating fruit and vegetables) and a comparison with her friends. My later questions are not very useful because they could be seen to have an interest to reinforce her mother's power and not her own.)

(37.24)

H: I `love making something that other people like because it's like you're giving things to people (.) and also especially if it's good food as well you feel like (.) especially if they don't normally have good food

(M shares Nigel Slater's description of having a "buzz" when placing food in front of others) he said it's the `best buzz

H: yeah (.) it's great.

M: can you give me a clue as to how/ your friends eat or how/ they don't eat/

H: yeah because some of them have bad eating habits and (.) err quite a few of them are bigger than me and I don't think it's (.) err a lot (.) because a lot of my friends can drive now and don't do any exercise now (.) just get in the car (.) it's not just like err the food but they `are really bad eaters

M: you've said that twice now (.) how/ are they bad eaters

H: some er (.) some don't eat fruit well they do but they haven't eaten a fruit or a veg in God knows how long (1) a lot eat a lot of freak things (.) and (.) also their parents don't cook (.) they eat things like packets and can't really cook (.) just go for the micro-wave

M: so your mum's cooking has influenced you

H: mm (.) I can't eat packets of food or

M: so your mum's given you a message that you didn't refuse

H: mm

M: which is fresh is best

H: definitely

M: and possibly that fresh is more interesting

H: yes (.) definitely

(Note: in reference to an onscreen sequence, in which she talks about her preferences for kinds of fruit and vegetables, she extends the sense that her preferences matter, and perhaps distinguishes herself from being a 'picky



eater' (child) to having reasons and therefore being an autonomous consumer of food, and equal to other adults as that kind of subject, like me or anyone else.)

H: I'm put off by smell a lot (.) I think it has to look good as well (.) but I will still try it

M: yeah

H: but I would say that smell puts me off (.) for example roasted peppers  
`aghh I can't stand that smell

M: really/

H: yeah (.) but theres' a lot of (.) but I think (.) the thing about fruit and vegetables that are attractive because they're colourful whereas if they're cooked they're all brown

M: yeah when you see a stall (.) big mounds (.) they're really beautiful

H: you want to buy everything

M: it's great isn't it

H: mmm

(M relates pleasure of seeing fruits on the market this morning on the way to the interview) M: does what food feels like bother you /

H: (cresc.) `no (.) I'm not too bothered by touch (.) I'm bothered by texture you know like in your mouth (.) like for example mushrooms (.) I can't stand the texture that makes you feel bad

M: slimey/

H: yeah

M: yeah err and you talk about some beans (.) runner beans/

H: `ughh (.) green beans `ughh

M: and they're really soggy and full of water

H: yeah and they've got like little seeds in them that stick in your teeth

Extract for theme 3 purple; theme 4 purple

(personal progression; looking forwards to more engagement with food cultures)

(Note: She corrects any impression of being someone who is faddish (child-like) by positioning herself to the future, to other places, as someone who

wishes to travel, who is adventurous, has adventurous attitude to food, and has a disposition to self-betterment/ learning. The association of going to university and self-betterment/ more autonomy is obvious. This identity work is prompted by this 'tutorial' event, and hypothetically the place of the trendy wine-bar/ restaurant that we are meeting in.)

M takes a cue from H saying that there isn't that much that's "interesting' at home for her to experiment with to ask about whether she would like to try other foods? Note that in the background of the onscreen video, there is a male guest (young man) from Sicily, and that her mother is Italian (British): hypothetically, her nomination of cuisine from other countries is a statement of autonomy.)

H: yeah (.) there's a lot in Middle Eastern countries I think (.) I've not been to any Middle Eastern countries

M: yeah I'd love to go to a really good Lebanese restaurant, I've never been to one

H: yeah

M: what because you don't anything about Middle Eastern food/

H: no (.) I've seen programmes of Tunisia I think it was (1) when I go to uni I'll get the chance to do more (.) I know I'm quite fussy but I still want to try everything and I wish I wasn't in a way

M; yeah

H: and that I could eat anything

Extracts for **theme 1** green; **theme 2** green; **theme 4** yellow

*(healthy eating and weight control)*

(Note: her interest to demonstrate her investment in exercise is about autonomy, and self-responsibility, that the inspiration to do it it comes from her; the interest in demonstrating an attitudinal stance (autonomy, self-responsibility, energy) continues in her explanation of sourcing healthy food for herself. On reflection, I'm uncomfortable about the question because it is intrusive and seems to align me with her mother's knowledge of her. However, it is of interest how she maintains her attitudinal stance - in her extension of 'healthy lifestyle' away from food (retrospective view to negative emotional

habit and food) to physical exercise and a present view of a young woman in control (not, for instance into the cycle of diets or dysfunctional relationships to food, but someone with a forward momentum.)

(12.00) M: (gestures toward the video-screen) what/ is the story behind the story here (.) your mum once said "like you used to"

H: oh yeah (.) I used to be quite err (.) big (short ironic laugh) and mm I lost quite a lot of weight let's say (1) I used to be about ten and a half or eleven stone and now I'm eight and a half, nine so

M: wow (.) you pleased/ with that

H: yeah `definitely (.) I didn't do freaky eating or anything (.) I just stopped with the rubbish and carried on with the exercise

M: yeah (.) do you do a lot/ of exercise

H: yeah (.) well I `do like to do a lot of exercise

M: is that/ swimming and stuff/ or

H: I used to be in a gym

M: really/

H: I cut that cos it costs so much (.) running (.) sit-ups (.) push-ups and stuff like that before I go to bed

M; wow (.) can you sleep/

H (laughs) I sleep well after all that exercise

(M and H exchange comment about how exercise relieves restlessness and helps sleep)

(Note: H explained how she checks the ingredients of foods, particularly snacks, fat content being the most significant one for her because of its potential to make her put on fat.

H: fat is virtually eating to make you fat.

(Note: She explained that, when away from home, the two greatest factors in preventing her from eating when she is hungry, are money and friends; but, in answer to my obvious question as to whether peer pressure has a bearing upon this, she has an interest to stress that this is about her self-responsibility.)

H: money (.) who I'm with (.) if they're not eating I'll feel bad if I am

M: would that be female friends mostly/

H: yeah

M; is it a weight thing/

H: yeah (.) and I'm thinking about the calories I could be putting on or not putting on

M; and your girlfriends kind of like putting pressure on you not to eat as well (.) what's/ that like (.) or are you/ putting pressure on `yourself not to eat

H: no (.) it's mostly me

(Note. H. goes on to explain that emotional lows are the trigger to her letting go of such self-control occasionally; but, what is important in her account is that she has an interest not to have her identity as someone who is in control, and is not to be conflated into social stereotypes of young females and dysfunctional eating.)

M: Do you have moments/

H: mm, yeah but I don't have that many moments actually (.) I tend to eat the same things everyday (.) I don't have a binge or (.) I don't tend to but obviously (.) again (.) do I eat something bad and put loads of (laugh) of calories on

M; what/ would make you say sod it (.) I'm just going to and I don't care

H: if something bad's happened and I just don't care

M; you're so fed up (.) nothing could make it worst

H: yeah (.) it just makes me want to eat loads

### ***In the Interview with Noemi (re. video 10)***

- The reference to family food practices in theme1 (learning the domestic management of food) is developed importantly here, both in reference to the personal significances of eating at home and **new configurations of family** (integration of partner into family and **reformulation of family** at university, in student house). Judgement of the ordinariness of her everyday food, in reference to being under surveillance (theme 4, in reference to the video in the setting of the interview, with me) also extends the reference to the

**unhealthiness of her food**, anticipating poor response, and class judgment (lack of refinement).

- The sense of personal progression underpinning all three of the earlier themes (ie. 'learning to ...') is robust in all of the themes of the interview, including the autonomous development of a family ideal at university and at home, in returning from university (above) and **becoming a savvy consumer** eg. the autonomous learning from food television and eating out (theme 2, autonomous and independent food practice outside of the home). Biographical reference to the category of 'treat', embedded in family experience, associated with the affect of something lost, as been reinvented in the expeditions outside of the home, independently, in an adult practice.
- Theme 3 (**managing food work within an adult working life**) is addressed in reference to the routine of working life and to the Friday shopping expedition. Again theme 4 (being under surveillance), is about the video producing a sense of not meeting socially aspirational expectations.

### ***Illustrative interview and email extracts for Noemi***

Extract for **theme 3** yellow; **theme 4** green; **theme 4** yellow

(own food practice being seen in film: the judgement of self work, 'healthy food' discourse and 'balance' in diet)

(4.23; we have just watched a chapter of Noemi talking to camera about the food that she ate that day.)

N: doing this though made me realise just how much junk I eat and how much you eat but you don't realise you're eating it until you actually think (.) ooh what/ have I eaten in a day

M: did it make you feel not happy/ about the things you eat/

N: when I watched this I thought `fine (.) I felt a bit bad then (.) err sometimes (.) I think I probably should eat a bit more fruit (.) I `do eat quite a lot of vegetables though

M: mm

N: but then I `do like junk food (.) but you have `got to treat yourself sometimes (.) you can't be good all the time can/ you

M: no (.) so it's like a balancing act isn't/ it really/ (1) you know your lunch pack (.) your lunch-box that you take with you for the day (.) I mean (.) perhaps that's a balance too/

N: yes.

M: do you like that fruit that you have in there/ is it your mum's idea/

N (laughs acknowledgement and nods) but it is quite refreshing (.) though actually (.) in the afternoons (2) but I would say that my packed lunch is pretty typical of anyone's packed lunch at school or work

Extracts for theme 1 yellow; theme 1 blue; theme 2 purple; theme 4 yellow  
creating family through eating at table

(Note just before this we had concluded watching the video. I had asked her a question about what it showed and did not show, which prompts two kinds of response: first, a kind of apology for a disappointing film/ disappointing view of her interest in food/ disappointing view of her as a person/ her positive dispositions (to which I attempt to reassure her, and prevent her as seeing me as judgmental/ differentiating class and so on; second, after nominating her favourite food, she has an interest to show that she wishes to get away from the food work connected to it.

M: (about the video) what/ does it show/ and what/ doesn't it show of you/

N: that I'm tired

M: that's because you're doing what most of us do (.) and that's work hard (1) do you think your love of food comes through on this/

N: probably not (2) (M switches off food film) no it doesn't (.) because all I'm doing is listing off what I've had (.) I'm not really going into any detail

(M reassures her that he made no adverse judgments about her food, and that if she thought it ordinary, then I eat and like most of the food she referred to; that he enjoys a whole diversity of foods.)

11.01:

M: what/ sort of things do you love/

N: like all time favourite/

M: yeah

N: sunday dinner (.) roast beef and Yorkshire pudding

M: how/ does it make you feel

N: it's nice and homely and comfort and (1) I don't know

(Note. She returns to the preference of a Sunday dinner, later, in an email (see below); and makes very different meanings about its signifying family belonging.)

(Email.N: I think I have already covered the point about sitting around a table but to me this conjures up the picture of family and togetherness a good example being Christmas day lunch. This is one meal that has to be eaten together as family and being together is what Christmas is all about. For me therefore this image is one that does recreate memories and recaptures times gone by particularly as those times were happier times.)

Later in the interview, she explained how she used food to include all of the family with her boyfriend, around the table (the example of using fajitas as a way of negotiating the awkwardness of her assuming the role of organising family food is in play here: she had just described the "battles" she has with her mother when she, N, wishes to cook, and with her younger brother, when he won't eat his vegetables. M has asked what kind of thing she prefers to make for others when she can choose.)

(13.00)

N: fajitas (.) they're quite nice because they're something where you all `have to sit down together to eat together (.) because when Don comes round Stephen and mum tend to eat in the lounge or somewhere different

M: really/

N: mm yes and Don will sit at the table

M: does/ that make you feel uncomfortable/

N: yes (.) a little bit because when I go around to his house and we have dinner everybody sits down around a table

M: you like/ that/

N: yes, I think that's how it should be but erm when he comes to my house (.) it's a bit different and I think that looks a bit rude

M: I see what you mean (.) you don't think it looks welcoming

N: no

M: a little bit off (.) you want him to feel welcome

N: `exactly yes.

M: at the heart of it all

N: so if I do frajitas there's no way they can eat them anywhere else (.) they have to eat down at the table

M: so basically you want everybody down at that table

N: yes (.) cause I think dinner times (.) that's how dinner times should be

M: and what/ makes dinner around the table really nice/

N: everyone's together (.) and it's about the only time of the day when you `actually are all together

(Note: Later, in the context of her reflecting upon her own situation, on living at home, of seeing the similarities to still being a child, at home, of her considering her mum and how hard things are for her, being on her own, on her recognition that her mum does want her and her brother to move on and live their own lives - although she is responding to what I said, the Sunday lunch is made to signify a continuity of family, to fix a meaning to meet the emotion.

(21.00)

M: do you think/ there'll be a time when you'll find yourself cooking something (.) that there are certain foods that you will/ associate with being at home/ that you might/ find yourself making/

N: definitely (.) it's what you've been brought up to carry on eating really (plates cleared away from us in the meal that we are eating in the restaurant where the interview is taking place)

M: is the Sunday lunch the thing that's most about family do you think/

N: I think that's why I like it so much

(Note. The way that N thinks about the significance of sitting together around a table, as binding and unifying (again the idea of family is important)



conditions the way that she thinks about the divisory pretensions of 'foodies', as their discourse signifies the social distinction of class. N. is also positioning herself between the discomfort of her mother toward her boyfriend's affectations of foodie class and her own desire to be her own person and have new experiences.)

(email response)

I find Don a little snobby with food sometimes in that he doesn't really like going to chain restaurants and he is very much what has become known as a 'foody' in that he watches all the chefs on TV and likes his fine dining and is even talking about going to a Michelin star restaurant for his birthday next year. I am uncomfortable with this as posher restaurants are more expensive and often I don't think worth the money that you pay. This mainly gets on my nerves for financial reasons between me and Don which is a very long story! Having said this we have been to posher restaurants for special occasions and I am always left a little disappointed. I look forward to going as it is something different and you expect to get very good food as you are paying more but I find that the atmosphere is often lacking and it is all very pretentious and conceited. I think this goes back to what we were saying about sitting around a table. It was apparent on Wednesday that I obviously like the togetherness of meal times as it means home and family to me whereas I don't think you really get this in fine dining restaurants as to me they seem very sterile and characterless and not a place where families would go to eat.

Extract for theme 1 in yellow; theme 1 in blue

*(creating family at university through food preparation and generosity to her housemates; sociality; (home food culture and identity; sociality)*

(30.00)

(Note: M asked N whether going to university had been important for the way that she had thought and felt about food.)

M: was/ it important about the way that you thought about yourself/

N: yes because (.) because that's the first time you're away from `everything (.) you've not got your mum there and you've got to start thinking about how you're going to survive (.) pretty much (2)

(M offers a memory of the first moment of being left at university; N exchanges her memory of that.)

N: cooking was important in the way that I thought about myself because (.) because that's the first time you're away from everything (1) you've not got your mum there and you've got to start thinking about how you're going to survive (.) pretty much (2) before you've only got you to think about (1) when I moved into a house with three other friends it changed again (.) because you had other people to think about (1) in the first year we all just cooked for ourselves (.) but in the final year we decided to take it in turns to cook for each other and we became much closer (.) there was me two girls and a boy and the boy was Indian and he used to make lots of curries and I was never a big fan until going to uni (1) so that was quite nice because different people introduce you to different things and they each did things that their mum had done or they had at home (.) so I would generally do (.) things like sausage casserole cottage pie and the Indian boy always used to say I made good English food (laughs)

M: do you remember that first time you put something on the table for everybody/

N: that was `really good because that's pretty much a part of you really (2) there's a time when you're living with people that you don't know (.) and you've got to get to know them and they sort of become your family away from your family (.) especially when you live in a house (1) we pretty much did everything together (.) I was with these people from the minute I woke up to the minute I went asleep (mimics exasperation and laughs) so you did sort of get that connection (2) it's funny though because even though you move back home and you probably won't see each other for long periods of time I `still consider them as my best friends

(Note: In her email response, she finds, in her fascination with *Come Dine With Me*, resonance with the participants of the programme:)

N: This brings us back to the idea that actually cooking food for people is quite nerve wracking as you are pretty much presenting yourself, what you have been brought up with and what you know on a plate and this will either be received positively, negatively or will not leave any impression at all. So the cook will want the guests to like the food as by doing so it will mean the cook in turn is liked and accepted. It may also allow the contestants to realise things about themselves that perhaps they didn't know before i.e. trying new things and their reaction to trying those new things. I think the format of the programme is really good because all of the participants start off as strangers so they have to get to know each other and find out about one another and this is helped along by the food that each of them cook. As we discussed people tend to cook what they are familiar with and what represents them, so by having to design their own menus, the contestants have to put a lot of thought into choosing dishes that will represent themselves in a good way and will allow themselves to be perceived in a good way. We often see in the first episode that the guests will try and guess what kind of person the cook will be like by judging the food they have chosen to cook. So this shows that certain foods give out certain expectations. So the idea of linking food with a sort of social experiment I think is a good one.

Extracts for theme 1 purple; theme 2 purple

(eating outside of the home as 'treat' / balance in diet; 'treat' as part of family culture; the pleasure of eating differently/ deregulation as a family; sociality)

(Note: The category of 'treat' is a long established one in her food culture. In the first exchange it is about a pleasure associated with youth, and, by contrast, not associated in this example with present practice. This contrast is made before my unfortunate questions that seem to set an agenda of approval/ disapproval. In the following email, the association of treat and family, particularly in recreating a sense of co-presence with brother, as well as explaining the motivation of returning to a time before the loss of childhood and destruction of family a lost sense of childhood, is strong. In the construction of a present identity, there is repair work of distancing self from

an audience's judgement (including mine) that unhealthy eating practices are a part of her present food practices.

(25.00; Note: M. asks how what food means to her has changed from when she was five or six years younger to now. She actually goes back a little further. The comparison with her younger brother (particularly that between her boyfriend and him) produces a contradictory sense of herself as both as restricted by food work and engaged in wider food culture, a sign of adulthood, and an escape from the ordinariness of gendered food work.)

N: obviously your tastes change (.) when you're sixteen it's all about *McDonalds* and *Burger King*

M: was it really for you/ do you remember all/ of the time going to *McDonalds*/

N: I think so (.) I remember going every Friday night for a *Happy Meal* (.) and that was a `treat

M: but you weren't there Monday and Tuesday (.) it was a treat

N: yeah

M: and what's your younger brother like/

N: I don't think he really thinks about food (1) it's really a means to an end really (1) he's got to eat so he'll eat and he tends to eat quite a lot of junk food

M: so volume of food he tends to eat/

N: yeah (.) he tends to pig out but when I think about Don (.) he's `really into his food 1) he likes cooking (.) he `loves going out for meals (.) he likes to really think about what he eats

M: and likes talking about it

N: mm (asserts) (.) so maybe we're not so different

M: so is/ it more about age/ (.) as you develop and become more independent (.) as you start to think about yourself as a separate person

N: `yeah I think so (.) because as you get older you normally have to make your own decisions don't/ you (.) you've not got someone there to do it for you (.) so once you move out and start to cook for yourself (.) then thinking about food might change (.) but at the moment (.) it's put in front of him

(She describes how every Friday, her mother and herself do the shopping at *Morrisons*, and how her younger brother, Stephen does not help.

N: he doesn't think it involves him (1) he's only interested in what, (.) something he can get out of it (1) by going to *Morrisons* (.) it 'doesn't appeal (.) there's nothing for him to get out of it

M: it's going to be done anyway

N: exactly (.) whether he goes or not (.) it will\_ be\_ done

(Note. In the email response, references to age continue to be a means of thinking through a sense of the present self, both as beyond childhood and being exposed to change (some traumatic - loss of father/ separation of family members from eating together).

I have fond memories of going to McDonalds when I was younger because I thought of it as a treat (though I don't think of going to McDonalds now as a treat which brings us back to the question of age again). We would go to McDonalds before doing the food shopping on a Friday and it was something we would all do together as a family. I think this is why it was such a special thing because that was a time when we were all together, which is not something that happens very often now (as I said my brother will often eat in his bedroom and obviously my dad was still with us). I think I would have been about 16 and my brother 14 so just before everything changed for us really, no doubt the reason why I look back on it as being a happy time. I mentioned the happy meals because I remember me and my brother always having them even though we were perhaps too old to be having them, so it was sort of a way to recapture childhood as we were both growing up.

Extract for **theme two** and **theme 3** purple(home food as ordinary, becoming independent and engaging with a wider food culture)

(Note: Running through the interview is the presentation of herself and of her food as ordinary. (Above) When describing where the home shopping was done, at Morrisons, she described how tired both her mother and herself were when they did it. She also emphasised the routine quality, not just of the practice, but of the food and laughed ironically. However, it seemed that what she was also doing was justifying it to me: (7.30): 'the same sort of thing in the week (laughs) because you just need things that are quick and easy really'.

When describing what she prepared for her university flat mates, she laughed ironically as she described it as 'good English food'. Now when she talks about the food television that she prefers, her reference point is what she represents as 'normal'; she does not identify with what is signified as class, pretension or a kind of 'high' food culture.)

(38.00) (Note: Noemi picks out 'Masterchef' as a cooking/chef programme that she watches and like.)

M: what is it that you like about that/

N: because it's just normal people (.) and I like (.) is it Greg/ he seems quite normal whereas sometimes some of the chefs can be a bit snobby and a bit (1)

M: have attitude/

N: yeah

M: that's your favourite/ programme/

N: I do like *Masterchef*

M: do you like/ *Come Dine With Me*/

N: I `love *Come Dine With Me*

N: why/ do you like *Come Dine With Me*

N: because again you get just normal people cooking what normal people cook (.) there's no snobbery about it (.) there's nothing too refined

### **Summary of most robust themes across phase 1 participants:**

#### **1) *Being a healthy eater.***

Demonstrating autonomy and self-responsibility in healthy eating - through self-regulation of eating/ exercise/ achieving balance in emotional and bodily well-being. This is the most dominant social expectation, across both females and males, and the most important means of showing personal progression as an adult. As identity work, it addresses an awareness that healthy eating is a social obligation and is a means of judgement by others (including the viewers of the videos made and the researcher in the interview).

Demonstrating that this work is underway is a part of showing that one is an

adult and no longer a child. An important part of demonstrating that one is a healthy eater is to show the work of self-regulation. An important cultural meaning in this work is 'balance'. It is a means of negotiating the reasonableness of permitting exceptional deregulation eg holiday food, treats, suspending personal rules of healthy eating in the interest of social bonding, managing emotional lows. Resistance to, or critical reading of, the social expectation to be a healthy eater, include addressing the undermining of pleasure in eating, the disruption of habituated patterns of consumption, and the myriad female gendered contradictory expectations. The latter include learning how to value food as a means of building family and of showing care to others; and of learning how to reproduce 'good' families through the demonstration of having a 'good' family food culture, and the avoidance of the stigma of producing 'bad' families, judged by a range of standards, primarily measuring the healthiness of food consumed and the sociality of eating as a family.

## **2) *Being able to make qualitative distinction in food.***

This includes learning how to make the distinction between 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' foods. It is also about showing that one has the resourcefulness of knowing how to make distinctions that signal the merit of your own food practices. This is a means of social differentiation, but not in terms of a reading off of traditional class identities from the consumption of particular food items or the articulation of fixed hierarchy of 'taste'. It is more about making distinction according to a variety of agendas of value - kinds of distinction. All of these forms of agenda setting demonstrate a personal, self-entrepreneurial disposition, an orientation to self-improvement and effort, and an engagement with adult culture, a looking to the future and distinguishing the self from a younger, child version.

## **3) *Building sociality and showing care to others with food.***

There is a gendered and age negotiation of this learning. In female participants, there is a clearer address to the role of food in the family, and in older, females a sense of active engagement in reproducing 'good' families a

‘good’ family food culture. There is an address to the social stigma of ‘bad’ food practices (primarily measuring the healthiness of food consumed and the sociality of eating as a family) associated with the production of ‘bad’ families. Across gender, the pleasure of eating together with friends and family, and the use of food as a means of being with others and belonging to a sociality, is highly valued.

#### **4) *Justifying family food culture.***

Clearly, this draws directly upon legitimizing the family that one belongs to in terms of its food culture, and avoiding social stigma (above 3); and it also draws upon the agenda setting of social distinction (above 2). The participants of phase one show that, in these settings, that has to include an address to the ‘healthiness’ of family food.

#### **5) *Being competent in making your own food.***

As with point 3 (above) there are different critical pathways for this learning, and this expression of independence, according to age and gender. As a cultural resource, its usefulness and value varies according to the kind of gender and age identity construction underway in specific settings. Although an interest in most younger and older female participants, it becomes of some interest to male participants when relocation – for example, living away from home, at university – forces it upon them. The agenda setting, described in connection to all of the points above, in attributing value to food, is important to the identity construction of all participants in reference to their being competent makers of their own food.



## PHASE TWO

### Themes in the focus groups of phase two fieldwork.

#### *Themes in female focus group*

1. **the importance of personal autonomy**. This is associated with self-respect and being your own person; and is opposed to 'mindless' conformity to media representation of 'ideal' female bodies and the self-policing of food consumption/ narcissism that follows or the policing by other females.
2. the aspiration for a good personal life as a good, integrated social life.
3. the maintenance of **personal health** as an obligation to oneself.
4. **dysfunctional eating**/ 'eating disorders' as a social problem, to be recognised as real and important to them and others.
5. supporting each other, as young women; empathy for women in jeopardy.
6. deregulation in eating; associated with the achievement of 'balance' in consumption, and **avoidance of obsessional policing** of consumption
7. **making personal progress as young women** - leaving behind the experience of being girls and their 'hang-ups' and being more agentive

#### ***section of initial analysis about how the female group worked, giving illustration of themes***

Note. The female group was characterised by a wide range of communicative practices. The two most prominent opinion makers, a standard feature of focus groups, demonstrate this. Their competition produced markedly, differentiated performances. Imogen's conversational style contrasts with Jane's drama. However competitive they are, two things are happening: both are engaging and including their audience, and representing, through their communicative acts, a female social style; and both are drawing upon discourses of personal freedom and health, making those more prominent for the benefit of the group.

Extract for theme 1 yellow (the importance of personal autonomy; resistance to mindless conformity to media representation of 'ideal bodies'); theme 2 (remaining socially integrated); theme 3 yellow; theme 3 green (importance of maintaining personal health); theme 4 yellow (putting dysfunctional eating on the agenda); theme 5 (supporting other young women) yellow; theme 7 yellow (making personal progress as young women - leaving behind repressive emotional habits and being more agentic)

(Note: the prompt is Situations 4(of the 'Situations' prompt sheet, shown in Appendix 5), featuring the girl with an eating disorder.)

Participants' use of spoken mode invites corroboration on these themes in order to build consensus/ representation of female experience and negotiation of female social subject. It is a position-taking to dysfunctional eating which both respects the social problem, shows awareness that there may be members of the group who have experience of it, and seeks strategies which realise the themes/ use discursive knowledge of the nature of 'eating disorders' as routed in 'repressive emotional habits' (to borrow Giddens' phrase, 1994); and show respect for any female's negotiation with the phenomenon of eating, and for her right to personal autonomy. In the use of spoken mode, note: combination of 'subjective' and 'objective modalities' (van Leeuwen, 2008, after Halliday): use of pausing as points at which others could contribute, and as means of foregrounding process of thought (not expert); initial use of first person voice and lower modality eg. 'whatever' and 'kind of/ 'sort of'; use of second person voice as means of exploring consensual point of view.

Jane foregrounds personal knowledge of kinds of social problems to do with eating (from unhealthy diets of students to a friend with an eating disorder): she uses 'high objective modality' to assert that knowledge and her right to speak on the subject; she uses narrative 'abstracts' as both 'pitches' to the group, about the stories she has on offer, and as rapid evidencing of her relative authority on the subject. The telling of the brief abstracts use direct speech and frequent stress on words to dramatise them. As well as competitive strategies within the group, they work to address the themes by

stressing the importance of social problems of dysfunctional relationships to food, thereby the importance of the individual responsibility to maintain personal health and the importance of looking out for each other, as young women, with respect to these social issues. The delivery of Jane's extracts also foregrounds the cultural practice of storytelling and (particularly in her depiction of such narrative features of dire consequence, adult misunderstanding, peer confrontation) the cultural resource of the soap/melodrama as a useful means of establishing a position to these social problems. Combined with her linguistic performance, her dramatic gesturing with arms and hands use of emphasis and tone (including acerbic irony) makes further address to soap/melodrama, and 'sells' her story to the others.)

Both, in the successive interacts, offer positions, for others in the group to share, to social problems to do with eating. These positions negotiate with both discourses about personal freedom and the responsibility to be your own person and the discourse of individual responsibility for personal health.

Imogen: 4 (note - meaning 'scenario 4 on the prompt sheet) because it's such a `massive deal at the minute with the media and everything and the way that it has affected people (.) shocking

Jane: 7 as well I think because I know that a lot of my older friends (.) they all go away to uni (.) they haven't got much money to spend on food and they eat things like baked beans and a lot of my friends have lost a lot of weight (.) because they've come back and "I've been on a uni diet" and like "you've just been eating baked beans which is unhealthy" (.) "you've also lost a lot of weight and you're drinking and all your nutrition's from beer and stuff"

Imogen: I think I'd start by talking to her and asking her why she feels the need to throw her food away kind of thing (.) and what has made her feel like that (.) and then you could work backwards sort of thing to help sort it out (.) but it's difficult because what one person thinks isn't what another person thinks (.) so it's that kind of line between telling them what you think's best for them health-

wise but also respecting their opinion and not forcing them into something they don't want to do

Jane: I think as well (.) because I've had friends like that (.) and not just like that but more to do with eating disorders and stuff (.) like people always think you need to tell the parents and you need to tell them because they're going to `die (.) well it's kind of like (.) I've actually been really close to a girl and her parents got told and then they actually sat her down and `forced her and they sat there until she had eaten `everything on the plate (.) and through that (.) not only was she anorexic she become bulimic because she was `so pressured (.) "eat this because you `will eat this because you've been so unwell" that she then went and threw it up instead (.) so it was almost like mounted pressure

Extracts for **theme 2** yellow (aspiration for a good personal life as integrated social life; and the fear of loss of that integration as the individual in jeopardy); **theme 2** blue (food practices as means of realising that integration); **theme 3** green (maintaining personal health)

Although there is brief reference to a consumer self and address to a wider food culture (and food consumption as a sign of social aspiration), the most robust association for Jane is with family co-presence. For Lily, there is a robust association of the priority to maintain individual health and family integration. Lily has been talking about how eating healthily is a priority for her, to control her eczema (14.00 mins. in). There is reference to a health discourse, but, perhaps, the most significant discursive movement here, is the use of the discourse of family and motherhood, and the way that Jane is stilled for a moment by it.

(32.00)

Jane: what I said about working having a priority over eating (.) that really isn't how it should be (.) because eating is a really important thing "by the way, don't eat (.) (cresc.)you're going to `die" (.) I would like to manage it better because I'm quite disorganised anyway (.) so if I could manage my time better so I can have like a better relationship with food because when I'm working it

kind of interrupts what I'm doing (.) so I want to change that because it's not enjoyable (.) because food can be amazing (.) you can do like present in amazing ways and taste amazing and stuff (.) I kind of want to enjoy it again (.) I used to like cook with my mum and stuff sort of thing and that's what I want to change my own habits with eating (.) everybody seems pretty good with like what they do but I'm (.) I don't want to (.) if I have any children (.) I don't want to pass that on to my children that like it's not important to like sit down with your family and have a good old meal

Lily: I think like what Jane said (.) it's about your childhood (.) I used to like (.) you used to cook with your mum and make cakes and stuff with her and now (.) like I want to like carry that on and err it's not necessarily pressure but to eat healthy in my house is good because like I've got allergies so mum puts the pressure on me to eat healthily (.) not necessarily in a bad way but in a good way just to help me through like to help me regain (1) good skin again (.) yeah

Jane: yeah

themes: the responsibility to be your own person, in opposition to the 'mindlessness' of conformity to media representation of 'ideal' female bodies; female policing of other female's conformity

A consensual position to these themes is established through confident dialogic performance<sup>2</sup>, a social practice of storytelling in play outside of the focus group - consistent with both the social practices of classroom discussion and lunchtime or pre-college discussion among peers.

Lily's evaluation of the social process of girls comparing themselves to media images (of female 'perfection'), her purposes of inviting others into her reading of the scenario as demonstrating the importance of independence and her assertion of personal viewpoint - is offered to the group. Imogen matches her evaluation in a form that broadens the subject out to the rest of the group and supports Lily's representation (the second person voice 'you' moving the

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2 Here using Halliday's term (1985) in his sense, to describe the females' skilled understanding that giving implied receiving and that demanding implies response; again, see Van Leeuwen (ibid p117f).

assertion away from subjective modality<sup>3</sup>). Imogen's representation of 'the other girls' as passive, intolerant and misguided further legitimises Lily's point of view, by generalising the problem (using the second person voice) and using 'high objective modality' to represent the problem of female passivity, in relation to media representation of 'ideal' female bodies and female pressure upon other females to conform to it (using the modal auxiliary 'will' alongside the frequency modality 'always'): "you will always see that." Imogen then offers her information in the form of an abstract of a story to 'hook' attention. This use of this genre delays the contribution of others, except for Lily's request for more information, and allows Imogen to assert her values before the rest of the group, in her forceful evaluation of the 'sensory' (van Leeuwen, 2008) visual modality of magazine representations of female models - a cultural practice of production and representation that complicates the self-realisation of young women. The consensual, oppositional reading of media representation helps to identify what should guide self-realisation - a 'commonsense' prioritisation of self-respect and difference and the need for pleasure in eating.

Lily: I thought number two was interesting cos it's like one girl is doing her own thing (.) not following like what the others are doing (.) if you know what I mean (.) the other girls are like comparing themselves to the media which is (.) I don't agree with (.) and the other girl is standing out from the crowd and being herself

Imogen: if you look for it you will always see that (.) you know you always see girls crowded round on a table (.) they just sit there and they don't eat anything (.) and I'm lucky (.) I'm really fortunate because I'm in a group of friends who (.) you know just eat what you want and you just get on with it (.) you know what I mean and if somebody's different (.) fair enough but you just worry for some people (.) I've got a friend in a younger year (.) she tells me things that her friends tell her and urgh it alarms you because you just

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3 Discussion of the young person's use of 'modality resources' draws upon Halliday, 1985 (ibid) as cited in Van Leeuwen (ibid p 162 ff)

Lily: what kind of things do they/ say/

Imogen: well you know pressuring really (.) it's not in a bullying way (.) it's in a way that's so indirect that you still understand what they're putting across you know (.) you want to be a smaller size cos that's how people who look good look in magazines celebrities whatever but at the end of the day that's not real (.) they don't understand it's about air-brushing or whatever and it's you just kind of think 'ugh (.) that's not right you know

Extract for **theme 3** green (assertion of value of pleasure in eating); **theme 3** yellow (avoidance of obsessional self-policing of consumption of food by females); **theme 5** yellow (support each other as young women).

The articulation of tone, and expressive gesture and expression (including laughter), from the social practice of storytelling, serves the assertion of a consensual position: breaking the rules of female self-regulation of eating, and the role of cake in coy pleasure taking. Cake, here, is incorporated in a drama of escape from the constant, female social practice of self-regulation in eating. Cake, here, is not used as a part of the consumerist "girlie" feminism<sup>4</sup>, even though it is about celebrating the right to have fun, as young women.

(Note: Jane begins by responding to the previous speaker's comment about how girls socialise.

Jane: : I think some girls can connect like that (.) the same thing as eating as well because you know how you said that you're not girls who just sit there and don't eat (.) you're more like (cresc.) "I love this cake" (dramatic hands-out gesture)

Imogen: yeah

(laughter from Imogen, Lily and the rest of the group)

Jane: one of the girls was just doing that and I'm like "do you want a bit/ 'really 'thank you" and everybody wanted a bit and by the time that you got back it

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<sup>4</sup>as critiqued by McRobbie, A, 2009

was this big (cresc.)“ok” (ironic) it was fine for me and fine for everyone else  
(.) but I don’t mind that because it’s just sharing stuff but then in the same way  
that you said that the girls just sit there and they just talk and they don’t eat (.)  
that kind of thing they connect on that level as well with the way that they’re  
kind of like secretly think “I’d just like a piece” but they don’t because they  
think “what would everybody else think/”

Imogen: if we’re all not eating that’s ok (.) if I’m the only one not eating that’s  
not Lily: no

Extract for theme 7 yellow (making personal progress as young women -  
leaving behind the experience of being girls and their hang-ups and being  
more agentive)

Again, in Jane’ performance, a use of the cultural practice of mime, serves the  
assertion of an affective, consensual position: mocking the rules of female  
self-regulation re. presenting the self for the male gaze. Sharing of concrete  
experience is a feature of the female group, rather than dealing in abstraction.  
Note the ‘chronotope’: a group production of being different selves from the  
young girls depicted: even though they shared the anxieties of younger  
students over their looks, there is a realisation about being older and about  
being more powerful than they were as younger girls; that they are in a  
different ‘place’ in their lives to those younger girls, and in a different  
relationship to dominant discourses. There is shared amusement at the extent  
that some, younger female students go to with make-up at school, for example  
their overuse of foundation.

Imogen: I think you’re at that age when you’re coming to a new college and  
you (.) I don’t know you’re at that age when you’re going to a new college and  
adulthood so I need to look good kind of thing and by the time that you’re  
finished with years ten and eleven

Jane: the first day of a new term people come in and they look like they’re  
trying to impress and it literally looks like they’re trying to sell themselves and  
then by the end of year eleven people are wearing hoodies and you just don’t  
care



Lily: in year twelve your hair's gone grey (laughter) and you don't care

Jane: people come in in their trackies and it's like "are you all right/ yeah yeah (.) are you all right (.) cool"

At this point, Jane dramatises younger girls' performances in the toilets, and a comic discovery of being fat, to the laughter of the others in her group.

### ***Themes in male focus group***

1. essential gender difference - essential male and female identities. This was associated with distinguishing what males and females do differently, how their concerns and priorities are different. This is associated with showing others a personal, 'essential', male identity.
2. the above was extended in terms of male interest in body maintenance being about health and fitness, compared to female's interest in appearance.
3. threat to male autonomy in form of obsessional pursuit of ideal male body through steroid use/ gym culture action, compared to threat to female autonomy in narcissism and susceptibility to media 'messages' of 'ideal' female looks, and to dieting. This is about the importance of preserving personal autonomy. Identifying this danger is associated with an aspiration for a good personal life/ good, and not to be isolated/ disempowered.
4. **healthy eating** v consumption of junk food. This is associated with the maintenance of personal health as an obligation to oneself.

### ***Extracts of initial analysis about how the male group worked, giving illustration of these themes***

Extract for theme 1 (masculinity as an essential identity; lack of interest in being consumer savvy about food as masculine style); **theme 2** green (differing of female interest in negotiation of eating, health and 'ideal' female body to interest in negotiation of steroid use, health and 'ideal' male body).

The negotiation of a hegemonic masculine position in the male focus group involved the policing of a version of hegemonic masculine communicative style. This included the non-use of adjacency-pairs and use of non-sequiters,

a commonly observed feature of male to male speech. Subjective modality (van Leeuwen, 2008, after Halliday) was avoided; first-person voice usually introduced statements of objective modality; declarative statements abounded. There was no humour, as was associated with the production of positions resistant to dominant social practices around food, in the female group. There was not the interest to identify with, or negotiate with, the social practices of food work (predominantly done by women). The nomination of steroid use is a strategy to deal with the task given to them in the educational setting, and a means of changing the agenda.

This is related to the lack of interest, which the female group had, to negotiate a future social self through a relationship with food work, or a negotiation with self-policing of food consumption (note their chronotopic strategies (after Bakhtin, 2011). However, there was an affective orientation to the future in terms of maintaining self-autonomy, in the face of powerful media discourses, representing 'ideal' male bodies. This concern, as with the female group, focused upon individual responsibility for maintaining personal health. )

This extract shows two prominent contributors, or opinion makers, Don and Joel. Their roles, though, differ greatly to those prominent in the female group (Imogen and Jane): they police the formation of consensual points of view in line with the construction of a hegemonic masculinity. Even though Don uses phrasing to represent a non-didactic position towards other members of his group, and he begins with a statement of 'subjective modality', and he uses the second person singular to include his audience (as well as to generalise, the intervention closes down Liam's idea that body image is a concern shared by both females and males. It is also a performance of conformity, in attempting to give the discussion a direction, give it a serious tone, in order to complete the task.

Liam: body image (.) I think that's relevant to all people here to be honest (.) I mean women (.) I don't want to be sexist here but women can be kind of (.) bigger and still be like (.) they call it 'curvy' err if a guy's kind of bigger (.) it's kind of (muffled laugh - meaning unacceptable/ object of ridicule).

Travis: I think you have kinds of food according to err (.) heaviness as well

Don (in a deeper tone than is usual for him): I think like with body image and that (.) it's like with your image (.) it's affected by more than just food as well (.) it's like good clothes and all that kind of thing (1) just cos it's so much to do (.) sometimes you don't realise it (.) that food can affect your body image or something more than just like new clothes or something

Following a discussion of girl obsession with body image, and comparison of boys being into their body image in the way that girls were, Don intervenes once more

He makes heavy use of declarative statements, objective statements sought to clarify and distinguish meanings. This was followed by a discussion of girl obsession with body image, and the comparison of boys being into their body image in the way that girls were.

Don distinguishes between the varieties of male policing of their bodies: there were boys, like his mates, who were into sport (and thereby there was an explanation of it - the rationale of sports performance); and there were others who regarded their bodies vainly.

Don uses agreement whenever a contributor uses distinction of boys, and responds with silence to any statement that draws an analogy between boys and girls; he combines a deliberate phrasing and medium modal auxiliary, to connote reasonableness, as he clarifies a distinction: some boys seek to enhance their bodies as a lifestyle choice; but females are too obsessed with body image to make such choices. as the exchanges proceed, he watches the others and listens to see that the two genders are dealt with differently, reinforcing that direction with a declarative statement.

D: there's a difference in only like going to the gym for your own personal health or how you look

J: I always think with boys

T: it's just like a macho thing

D: yeah

J: but girls (.) it's more a media like magazines

T: yeah I

D: yeah with boys like (.) if they can do it (.) if not they're not that bothered (.) but girls (.) even if their body's not that way they'll try even to

T: girls are just into magazines

D: there's more pressure (.) a lot more pressure

L: boys look at media not magazines but like adverts as well like the *Armani* models and stuff like that (.) they want to replicate that on its own

J: girls are like "ooh look at it"

L: yeah (small, awkward laugh)

J: but I think that (.) like boys want to go to the gym (.)

T: I think it's cos they want to be like big (.) not because they're like fat or something and they want to go in to lose weight (1) if I like got really overweight I wouldn't like go to a gym (.) I'd probably run or something

D: yeah `exactly

T: I wouldn't spend my money going to the gym because the reason you go to the gym is to add on the muscle (.) unless you like want to go on a treadmill all the time

L: it would cost you though

T: yeah I know

Don's interventions bring Joel in, who reinforces what Don has had to say about the difference between boys and girls: Joel does this by dramatic parody of female expressiveness ("ooh look at it") as though he is disapproving of the communicative performances of Liam and Travis. One of the effects of Don's and Joel's combined contributions is to police the representation of masculinity. It ends Travis's earlier analogies between males and females (he now focuses upon the choice, as a male, between going to the gym, or exercising in another way); it eventually ends Liam's reference to a male version of visual pleasure, and analogy to female emulation of female models; and it ends Travis's allusion to female knowledge (eg female aspiration to become a specific dress-size in order to become a model).

The 'opinion makers' in the male group resisted analogies of boys being into their body image in the way that girls were. Joel distinguished himself from the the practice of male dieting. Joel used a personal authority, and Don the

authority of expertise to categorize masculine and female discourses of the body. Eating (food/ drugs) was subsumed into these dominant categories.

Extract for theme 1 gender differentiation: not being consumer savvy in sourcing food; theme 4 green (distinguishing between 'healthy eating' and junk food)

Note. It followed that the sourcing and preparation of food were female practices. In attempting to discuss Scenario 7, little knowledge could be constituted and few food discourses could be drawn upon, none showing that they were integral to their social practice. Those employed were discourses of: supermarket advertising (on line/ in store, including price displays of organic food); *McDonalds* retailing publicity; healthy eating/ junk food.

Joel: whenever I watch that website (.) 'have a meal for five pounds' (.) or is it 'feed the family for five pounds'

Travis: yeah (.) probably

Joel: you should (.) get in on to that

Travis: is that/ like *Pizza Hut* or going out/ and that lot/

Joel: no really (.) is it/ *Tesco* or *Marks and Spencers*/

Robin: is it like/ these packet things

Joel: no (.) it's these meal things (.) and you can buy them for five pounds (.) no (.) honestly (.) really (.) I've seen em and I guess if they can feed a whole family they could last a few days

Travis: yeah (ironic tone of disbelief)

Joel: no (,) like proper meals (1) he's got like fifteen pounds (.) that's three healthy meals

Travis: yeah but it's exactly what do you call a meal (.) is that like microwave cheese/

Joel: no (.) it's not microwave (.) it's a proper meal

(one minute later)

Travis: because it's healthy it's going to cost more (.) you're going to get less per pound like the price of bananas you can get a (obscured)

Joel: organic food costs more doesn't/ it

Don/Travis/Robin: yeah

Travis: but the healthier food is (.) it often costs more (.) because he could have dinner for about four pounds at *MacDonalds* (.) but if he wanted something healthy like vegetables and that

Joel: you just went and spent four pounds on *MacDonalds* (.) what/ about the other/ days

Travis: yeah (.) that's true

Liam: you could buy food that fills you up for longer (.) because if you buy junk food (.) an hour or two later you're hungry again (.) you could make it stretch by

Travis: I think his best option is either to not eat healthy food and just like (.) or if he wants to eat healthy get more money (.) somehow (1) he's gonna need more money

Joel: but the question is he's only got fifteen pound

Travis: yeah I `know that

Joel: he's got to eat off it

Travis: I don't know how (.) the people he lives with might not want to eat healthy (.) might like to get a take-away or eat *MacDonalds* every night.

Extract for **theme 3** green (preserving personal autonomy; the jeopardy of steroid abuse)

The two most prominent contributors differentiated their performances from each other. Joel differentiated himself from Don in terms of personal authority: he uses declarative statements to represent the way the world is. Although he uses a subjective modality (two times 'I think'), combination with a high frequency modality, I `always think, with its stress, is median modality. His use of anecdotal reference does contribute to the group's task, in providing living examples of the subject of steroid abuse, but its predominant function is to reinforce his personal authority on the subject. In this example, Don's information does not build upon Joel's illustrative representation.

At this point, the group are discussing strategies appropriate in a documentary, to affect a young male audience. The offer has just been made that they could use examples of young men on-screen, telling their salutary stories about where using steroids had led them in their lives.

J: I read a book about 'The Hammer' (.) he was on steroids and he said it's the worst drug he'd ever taken because he didn't just affect himself (.) it affected everyone around him (.) like his wife like (.) because she like took the main (.) he used to like take it out on her (.) and like nearly broke up their marriage and everything so like if there's a woman somewhere who's with someone on steroids and something and she could watch (.) like sort him out

T: I saw on the news like that wrestler who killed like his son and

D: Chris Benoit

T: his wife and steroids were part of it

J: I remember one bit of it (.) she made his favourite dinner and he threw it against the wall and started smashing chairs

T: I think the more affective it is (.) the more effective it'll be with the audience (39.00)

In this example, the lack of adjacency pairing, from Joel, is a part of not responding to the 'give' of Liam, the only affective self-disclosure of the conversation, and sets the agenda for a consensual viewpoint of the group away from male vulnerability. Travis's contribution is a response, not to Liam, but to Joel, whose persona, and physical posture, gesture and vocal articulation here, is that of a traditional, dominant male. Travis's second contribution is a compromise, to pick up on Liam's subject of going to gyms, but conforms to the avoidance of male vulnerability. His interest is to understand the technology of staying thin and avoiding the social stigma of being fat: this is his framing of questioning the benefits of both 'healthy food' and going to gyms.

L: it's a vicious circle cos sometimes (.) you're scared to go to the gym because you've not the right kind of (.) sometimes you see people like with

muscle (.) people going to the gym and you feel a bit intimidated so (.) your self-loathing continues (.) it just goes round

J: my mate (.) he's twenty now (.) he's five foot (.) five foot six or something (.) he's a midget and he's like the skinny one and he takes steroids (.) and he's just addicted

T: yeah

J: there's so many bad points of it (.) you get all these spots and

T: sometimes it don't work though like (.) my erm brother is really unhealthy in the way he eats and yet he goes to the gym everyday but he's still like (.) I wouldn't say like he was absolutely massive (.) but you can tell he goes to the gym in some ways (.) like when he gets out of the gym he goes to straight to *McDonalds* (.) down the thing and he just doesn't eat healthy at all (.) so in some ways I just don't get it cos some people can eat that much (.) and then I even know some people who eat really unhealthy (.) they don't go to a gym or anything and they just don't put the weight on

D: it's metabolism

T: yeah (elongated)

## **Themes in the documentary coursework of phase two participants**

### ***Themes in female documentary coursework***

1. yellow: **female as victim** (ravaged by eating disorders) (eg. Imogen, Catherine, Kim, Lily). This is associated with a complex affect: both to show pity for those who succumb, and horror at the transformation of the body and the loss physical, emotional well-being.

2. yellow: **female as isolated through eating disorders** (eg. Imogen, Catherine, Kim, Lily). This is associated with a powerful negative affect, of fear at loss of security and sustenance in social belonging (family, friends and functioning membership of social institutions eg. school).

3. yellow: female as protagonist (fighting eating disorders) (eg. Imogen, Kim). This is associated with identifying both social sources that **sustain individual**



**autonomy** (as in the last theme) and feeling pity (see theme 1) at the loss of individual identity and autonomy.

4. yellow: females saving other females from eating disorders (eg. Imogen, Catherine, Kim, Lily). This is associated with demonstrating **the importance of empathy as well as the rational clarity** of recognition of a social problem and the severity of 'dysfunctional eating'.

5. yellow; purple: filmic/ visual codes of truthfulness (eg. Imogen, Catherine, Kim, Lily, Ella). In the role of documentary film maker/ student producing creative work, this is associated with showing others that they are determined to, and have the ability to, invest in rational choices, **resist the 'seduction'/ sensory modalities of advertising and celebrity culture, as well as gendered peer culture, and be 'savvy' consumers.**

6. yellow; purple: trustworthy experts eg doctors, 'good' journalists. This is associated with the **self-determination** described in the last theme, in demonstrating **a knowledge of sources of expertise**, and in conforming.

7. yellow: power of media representations over females eg in fashion, celebrity discourses (eg. Imogen, Catherine, Kim). This is, along with the last theme, associated with complex affect: to be entangled in the visual pleasure of ideal female beauty and to distance themselves from it, **to show personal progression as more autonomous women.**

8. yellow: female conformity and self-policing (eg. Kim, Catherine, Imogen). Again, this is associated with demonstrating developing an **alternative female perspective for women who want to be aspirational, rational and autonomous.**

9. yellow: childhood (eg. Kim, Imogen, Lily, Ella). This is associated with showing an older person's understanding and valuing of 'childhood' as a bulwark against harmful influences on girls; also a means of **constructing a more adult identity for oneself.**

### ***Themes in male documentary coursework***

(Note: during the coding process, a distinction is made from the yellow code, used for the female group: first, obviously because these themes are about being male; but, secondly, because in theme 5 these participants are not deeply concerned for others of their gender, but themselves; and throughout, self-survival is not linked to needing to be able to look after others. There is further distinction in the focus for male participants is not food but steroids.)

1. 'ideal' male body image (Liam, Don, Robin, Travis). Theme extended by Don to be about ideal body image per se for both genders. See description below (theme 4) for an affective position.
2. male as victim (eg of steroid abuse) (Liam, Don, Robin, Travis). This is associated with a communicating/ sharing a sense of horror at the transformation of the victim's body, the loss of physical, emotional well-being, and the loss of power to determine his own life.
3. advertising as delusory and manipulative (Liam, Don, Travis). In the role of documentary film maker/ student producing creative work, this is associated with showing others that they are determined to, and have the ability to, invest in rational choices, resist the sensory modalities of advertising and the representations of 'ideal' male bodies, and be 'savvy' consumers.
4. distancing yourself from the power of media representation of 'ideal' male (Don, Liam, Travis) and female bodies (Don, Liam). In the role of documentary film maker/ student doing creative work, this is associated with showing that they are able to distance themselves from media discourse and occupy a discursive position it. Using filmic/visual codes of truthfulness (Don, Liam, Travis, Robin). In the role of documentary film maker/ student producing creative work, this is associated with showing others that they are able, rational, young men, resisting the sensory modalities of media communication, such as advertising; that they are 'savvy' consumers.
5. saving males from delusion and disaster (Don, Liam, Travis, Robin). This is associated with an imaginative entrance into the precariousness of the victim's situation, and a demonstration of sharing an adult social consensus about the wrongness it, and the need to be independent and autonomous in adult life.

6. global commercial exploitation of child labour (Don)

7. childhood (Don). This is associated with showing an older person's understanding and valuing of 'childhood', but also a means of distancing themselves from it as more adult.

8. motherhood (Don). Again, the position to this theme is that of showing that you share an older, adult perspective upon the lives of children, and social problems that affect them.

***Section of initial analysis of documentary coursework, giving illustration of the themes of female and male participants***

Note. This analysis is extracted from a document produced as a part of the process of analysing the creative work of female and male participants in phase two of the fieldwork.

Section of analysis document

Use of the 'morality tale' to organise narrative in the creative work of the documentary

In the creative work of all of these students, there are highly rhetorical uses of both visual<sup>5</sup> and verbal elements within individual shots, within sequences of film and throughout the narrative of the documentary film as a whole. The articulation of film language - of cinematography, editing and mise-en-scene<sup>6</sup> - and the articulation of genres of storytelling and genres of film-making are

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5 For the purpose of this analysis, I will include details of the scene descriptions of the step-outlines in discussion of visual elements: the point being that, in such places, young people are visualising and deploying a semantic knowledge derived from their visual experience of media. Despite the fact that they are using words to describe, it is a screen, with the 'micro elements' of film used, that they imagine. The formality of their designating the key elements used before the scene description, within the description (bracketed) and in the Reflective Analysis, reinforces the point.

6 'Film language' is the way that participants, as students on the AS Film Studies course, have learnt to discuss film, to think of their choices in this creative work, to discuss them and to write about them formally in the 'Reflective Analysis' document that makes up a part of the coursework submitted for AS examination. In these terms, 'cinematography' includes the composition of each shot, and camera movement; editing refers to the organisation of shots and sound into a sequence, involving cuts and transitions: mise-en-scene refers to the organisation of what is seen and heard in each shot as a setting for the action witnessed, including lighting, sound, costume and make-up, and the organisation of objects and place.

seen, here, as a means of simultaneously positioning the spectator to the actors within the narrative (to their actions, motivations and what happens to them), and, as discourse, to the subject addressed (the subject of the documentary - in all but one case, 'eating disorder'), and the deliberate portrayal of the self- in the eyes of others (the 'im-pression'<sup>7</sup>).

What follows is a focus upon one aspect of these participants' complex articulation of genre and discourse and positioning of the self in this social and institutional context: the use of a genre of narrative organisation which I will call the 'morality tale'. It is a well known paradigm of storytelling, familiar within and without visual media, with a literary and oral history as long as any. That the morality tale has obvious strong conformist authority, does not mean that it has to favour dominant discourses. As a cultural resource, like any genre, it is able to be re-articulated. Its 'illocutionary' function is not restricted, simply to naturalise the ideological dominant as 'myth'<sup>8</sup>, any more than a specific documentary mode. It is interesting to see how the morality tale and the specific resources of the different narrative modes of documentary have allowed these young people to position themselves to the subject of 'eating disorder' both in obvious conformity to dominant social discourses about it - that it is an urgent social concern, that it is dangerous to young people and to others, that we need to understand it and help, and so on; but also in resistance to powerful discourses such as media discourses of fashion and celebrity.

These young people, as students, were aware of some of the adaptive possibilities of documentary mode, through the practices of those film makers that they had seen within their Film Studies classes<sup>9</sup> as well as through their wider experience as spectators.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, they were aware of the way in which elements conventionally typical of one mode, for example the voice-

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7 Guiraud, P, 1972, *La Stylistique*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, cited by van Leeuwen, 2008 p140ff

8 As Barthes has discussed 'the sum of signs', 'the global sign' in 'Myth Today', 1957

9 For example, Spurlock's challenge to powerful discourses used by the commercial giant of MacDonalds, in 'Supersize Me' (2004).

10 For example, most had seen one or more of Michael Moore's documentaries that are characteristically complex in form, combining recognisable elements of expository (Nichols), cinema-verite and participative (Nichols) modes.

over in expository, clearly serving to authorise specific, powerful discourses at one historical moment, may be adapted to different ideological purpose in another mode, and at another time. The point is that genres and modes are not restricted in their content or discourse, even though such relationships may have been or may become patterned and conventional as cultural practice, through repeated use and recognition, production, representation and consumption.

Peremptory functional analysis of their narratives show how in resistance to some powerful discourses, such as fashion, advertising and celebrity, other powerful discourses are found to regulate them, for example those of the family, medical and educational discourses and those of the media itself, as realised in such journalistic practices of film-makers who 'seek truth' and become protagonists, confronting those who exploit others, represented, in these young people's productions, in a reflexive mode of documentary. In such a way, resistance and assimilation are going on hand-in-hand.

#### The functions of the morality tale employed in the documentary films and illustration of themes

1. to identify the malevolent power and the channels of its manifestation: eg the seductive power of media representation of female beauty (Imogen/ Kim/ Lily)/ of 'perfect' male beauty (Travis/ Liam); of both 'perfect' female and male bodies, of celebrity (Don) the anorexia website and female conformity (Kim); steroids and exploiters (Robin); four year old boy and brutalising father in gym (Travis); the seductive power of excitingly packaged junk food and television (Ella).

Female group: **theme 7** (identifying media manipulation) yellow; **theme 7** purple; **theme 5** (exercising rational control as film-makers; identifying social problem) purple

Male group: theme 3 (identifying media manipulation); theme 4 (exercising rational control as film-makers).

2. to present the vulnerability of the victim, the victim's succumbing to temptation, the decline and transformation of the victim (symptoms of physical malady and social isolation); the mirror image of Alice's emaciated torso; (Catherine); Emily in despair, surrounded by magazines (Lily); Daniel's damaged and distorted body (Travis); Robbie's confession in the gym (Don); Lucy's confession (Don).

Female group: **theme 1** yellow (damage done to victim of eating disorder); **theme 8** yellow (female conformity and self-policing of body).

Male group: theme 2 (damage done to victim of steroid abuse).

3. to offer up the suffering victim up to the scrutiny of the spectator: a spectral Hannah confesses but can't change (Imogen); confession of a man whose life has been consumed by steroid use (Robin); Lauren isolates herself in her room and won't eat (Kim); Emily being sick in the toilet, Emily isolated at school, Alice isolated and ill at school (Catherine); Jamie over-exercising under the influence of steroids (Robin); Daniel's confession (Travis); Daniel held to the judgement of passer's by (Travis); Daniel's damaged and distorted body (Travis); Robbie's confession in the gym (Don); Lucy's confession and her isolation at home and in school (Don).

Female group: **theme 2** yellow (social isolation of the victim); **theme 1** yellow (the damage done to the victim of eating disorder); **theme 5** (exercising rational control as film-makers).

Male group: theme 2 (damage done to victim of steroid abuse); theme 4 (exercising rational control as film-makers).

4. to shock the spectator with the severity of the situation; to present the crisis when the fate of the victim hangs in the balance. As in 3, a high 'offer' here in the victim's being held up to the contemplation of the spectator and the powerlessness of those near to the victim: Hannah's life hangs in the balance in hospital (Imogen); gaunt Abbey in the doctor's consultation room (Kim); Alice in hospital bed, family surrounding her (Catherine); Emily in hospital; Nadia's ruined looks, career - her confession (Liam)

Then, the narrative functions bifurcate onto two possible tracks: either -

5. to offer a narrative closure of redemption (as though the victim had suffered enough before the public gaze, and the powerlessness of the victim in the face of a feasible fate had been demonstrated; and that there was a desire to show the strength of good forces to effect a salvation). Female group: theme 3 yellow (females fighting back); theme 4 yellow (females saving other females); theme 6 (identifying sources of help and expertise for the victim of eating disorder).

Male group: theme 5 (saving the victim of steroid abuse from disaster).

or

b. to offer a narrative closure of the destruction of the victim (as though, further to demonstrate the awfulness of the consequences of bad choice; or to show the limitations of good forces in redeeming the situation).

Female group: theme 1 yellow (the damage of eating disorders); theme 2 yellow (the isolation of the victim).

Male group: theme 2 (the damage of steroid abuse).

The destructive route/closure included:

- the function of warning others: narrator's information about steroid abuse (Robin); Emily's warning to other girls - the notice held up, 'Anorexia Kills' (Lily)
- The function to shock with a presentation of death: Alice's grave (Catherine); Jamie's body in the morgue (Robin)

The redemptive route/ closure included:

-the function of showing that there is hope out there for those in this situation; the pivotal moment of recovery and beginning of the process of reintegration to the social whole: Hannah's mother and father begin to feed her (Imogen); the hospital doctor gives advice (Kim); display of healthy food (Ella)

-the function of impressing the spectator with an authoritative source of expertise: the speech of the authority figure, the doctor/ the doctor's warning to other girls (Imogen); Becky's counseling (Kim); doctor's warning to other

young men (Travis); Emily's personal authority of the victim, and her warning to other girls - the notice held up, 'Anorexia Kills' (Lily); the film-maker's delivery of steroid abuse statistics (Liam); the parent reading the nutritional content of foods (Ella)

- to present the reincorporation of the victim and the victim's apology; the presentation of the good social institution: Hannah returns to school and becomes a child again (Imogen); Abby's confession (Kim).

Female group: **theme 6** yellow (identifying sources of help for victims of eating disorders); **theme 2** yellow (the security and sustenance of social belonging).

Male group: theme 5 (saving the victim of steroid abuse from disaster).

Variation from this inventory:

In one example, the narrative closure left the fate of the victim uncertain. This prompts questioning in the spectator: open ending/ closing an episode while the fate of the victim hangs in the balance (Lily) but with a stark warning (Emily holding message, 'Anorexia Kills') - this hovers between destructive and redemptive closures. A flashback is used to show the victim as healthy at a former time (Lily) and make the comparison between a happy past and a lamentable, uncertain present.

#### Use of narrative as referenced in the written Reflective Analysis<sup>11</sup>

That there was interest in the design of narratives, according to their presentation of the social problem to an audience, is clear from their writing of the Reflective Analysis.

Imogen, for example, chose a redemptive narrative. She explains her use of 'disequilibrium', in the opening of her narrative. She uses a part of her school knowledge (Todorov's narrative theory) to explain the rationality of her choice to the academic reader. This address also acts as a frame within which she can imagine an audience, and imagine her film existing:

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<sup>11</sup> The Reflective Analysis being the written evaluation of their creative work, made by these participants, as students of Film Studies, a requirement of the A/S Specification.



Extracts for female group **theme 1** yellow (contemplating the damage done by eating disorder); **theme 3** yellow (female fighting back); yellow: **theme 5** (being rational and in control as a film-maker).

‘This is to make the audience see how difficult it is for the characters involved to even remember what the original equilibrium was before the illness occurred. We feel compelled throughout the narrative trajectory to see Hannah as the protagonist fighting against the antagonist (anorexia) ... and with this, we feel and empathise with Hannah throughout, feeling low when she is admitted into hospital and feeling joyful when she manages to overcome her illness.’

Catherine chose a disastrous or tragic narrative: ‘My aim ... in using the narrative as I did was to create a sense of shock for the audience.’ ‘Shock’ is a common description of the effect sought for the imagined audience, as part of a public service to them, to prevent them becoming victims.

A mode of documentary which has a claim to represent ‘truth’, offers the participants a means of sharing the perspective of (usually) adults who engage with and frame the discourse about social problems. The first paragraph of Imogen’s Reflective Analysis explains her use of ‘expository’ mode of documentary, using school knowledge (after Nichols’ documentary modes, 2001) in terms of an interest to give a clear message of the danger of anorexia to equip her teenage audience:

Extract for Female group: **theme 5** yellow (being rational and in control as a film-maker)

‘I believe that this form is most appropriate as it offers the most authority to the audience. Anorexia is a subject that cannot have many relative truths as it can end people’s lives; therefore I believe it has one absolute truth, that it must be prevented from occurring at all cost. Therefore the ‘voice of God’ technique, used in this form, provides the audience with a truth that needs to be understood.’

In Kim's documentary, her use of mixed documentary modes ('observational' and 'participatory') is explained in terms of the first's usefulness in representing 'fact' and what is 'real' rather than what is 'artificial'. The second is useful in representing the idea of her audience being given opportunities to engage with the social problem represented, to gain more knowledge and approach truth:

'This form allows spectators to secretly enter the world of another person and witness what truly happens behind closed doors ... I aimed to capture the realistic state of an anorexia sufferer. However, I have also included reflexive mode by incorporating the film maker, David into some scenes. reflexive mode enables the audience to learn as the documentary develops, following David on his journey of discovering the truth.

Unlike female participants male participants' narrative design plays into an identification not with a female victim, and not with a victim of an eating disorder. Don's narrative, about steroid abuse, is typical of the male narratives, in shifting the social concern from food to a masculinised body image problem, and in encouraging audience's judgment of a male individual's failure of self-responsibility: 'as my film shows such shocking scenes of disaster, it wouldn't just inform the spectator of possible dangers, as a result of body-image, but also give a sense of fulfillment to their shameful indulgence.'

#### Use of visual mode in service of a morality tale

Images are designed with the interest of articulating the argument about the victim's delusory perspective and our (audience and film-maker's) grasp on truth.

Extract for male group: theme 4 (distancing of the film-maker from the manipulation of the victim); theme 5 (adopting an adult, authoritative perspective upon steroid abuse).

Liam's 'double articulation' of modalities, eliding from 'natural' and 'sensory modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008), in his opening scene, establishes the delusory

nature of advertising discourses to do with body image. Furthermore, he assembles these advertising discourses as a montage, within a meta-text, drawing upon the convention of using the vertical dimension of the image, to make ironic comment in his documentary about advertising, and its misrepresentation of visual modality. His breaking into the space of the image, makes further comment about the advertiser's liberty to control the matrix. Seconds before, we had seen the left-right dimension of composition, throwing the aspirational gaze of the spectator to the right-side image of the model, after the weight-loss. In such a way, Liam establishes the adversarial relationship between the text of the documentary and the text of such advertisements, in terms of truthfulness, at the outset of his narrative: '... Advert 2 appears in the form of a tv remote, changing channels. A group of women dance to hard dance music, Eric Prydz, 'Call on Me', while the screen halves to reveal a before and after image. A product flashes on screen, to advertise weight loss. the channel changes again, and advert 3 contains a sleek advert for Calvin Klein, featuring male and female models advertising the product, while a stylish background track plays. As these adverts individually play, a single word appears at the bottom of each of them: for advert 1, the word is Ambition? For advert 2, the word is Hope? For advert 3, the word is Expectation? A voice-over proceeds to discuss the problems created by this type of advertising, such as poor self-image and negative self-confidence.'

Extracts for male group: theme 4 (distancing self from emotive manipulation by being a rational film-maker; distancing the self from media emotive manipulation)

This authoritative comment upon media discourses of ideal body-image, contrasts with the sense of powerlessness he had articulated, earlier, in the focus group discussion about gym culture:

Liam: It's a vicious circle cos sometimes (.) you're scared to go to the gym because you've not the right kind of (.) sometimes you see people like with

muscle (.) people going to the gym and you feel a bit intimidated so (.) your self-loathing continues (.) it just goes round

Using the semiotic resources of visual storytelling – narrative function and image design - he develops the conflict between the kinds of ‘sensory modality’ on offer in the advertisements of scene 1, and the ‘naturalistic modality’ of the gritty ‘cinema verite’ interviews in the street, in scene 3. In his representation of the contrast between the slick business discourse of Don Leonard, peddler of steroids, in scene 4 and the apparently improvised nature of the film-maker’s questions and cinematography (to hand-held), there is metaphorical transformation in Liam’s textual discourse, reinforcing the narrative conflict.

By scene 8, the conflict between types of representation of truth is re-articulated in terms of the contrast in tone, both in terms of the interpersonal<sup>12</sup>, between the film-maker and a victim. In terms of Van Leeuwen’s (2008) inventory of social practices, the ‘actions’, ‘manner’ and ‘presentation’ of the film-maker to the victim of steroid abuse, and the role of the actor, Nadia Rogers, as ‘victim’, are most obvious:

By the time that we reach scene 12, the polemical work of the narrative is done. The gym, the location returned to, has no referent of ‘sensory modality’, a claimed glamour, en route to a desired ‘ideal’. The bodybuilder is unable to persuade us that he has bought into something truthful. Liam cites his use of mise-en-scene as being the key element to the impact of this scene. the poster is cited ironically; and, along with his use of the iconography, the voice over, with its connotation of an intimate distance between speaker and spectator, communicates this to be a sinister, menacing space, that his imagined audience will be glad to leave:

‘In the centre of the room we see a poster of a highly toned man, possibly an inspiration to those in the gym. the interview itself is brief, mainly because the

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12 Van Leeuwen ‘inventorises’ the elements of social practices, in terms of ‘actions, manner, actors, presentation, resources needed, times and spaces’, *ibid* page 104.

answers he gives are short and he seems unwilling to expand on the answers he does give. The interviewer soon leaves with a voice-over explaining the unease and discomfort he felt while conducting the interview and being immersed in that environment. as they leave through the door, the scene ends with a lingering look at a syringe, pumped full of drugs, lying discarded on a bench.'

Robin's narrative progresses, on a similar subject, using the resource of a reflexive documentary: film-maker/ presenter as embodiment of the quest for truth and representation of the powerless victim's knowledge, in confrontation with the insensitive/ brutal and powerful entrepreneur. Victim and film-maker co-operate in the construction of a credible truth by the representation of the victim's personal experience ('subjective modality', van Leeuwen, 2008) and narrator's voice-over or use of printed text (white on black background) - displaying statistics ('objective modality', van Leeuwen, 2008). The centrality of the victim in the image, and the film-maker's use of the articulation of heavy shadowing, is used in his confession scene, as if, at once, drawing on judicial and religious social codes: he is accounting for his actions as a witness and as a fallen soul. In his reflective analysis, he explains his introduction of darkness into this final phase of the narrative, which ends in a morgue.

Don, in the opening scene of his step-outline, distantiates us further from the fashion discourse. To do that, he uses a 'frame', a voice over temporally and aurally separated, and a visual metaphor of composition, another 'frame' on the screen. The latter, the metaphor of the chess-board, dislocates the images of the celebrities and fashion icons from their own textual and discursive spaces, and the connotation of manipulative purpose to discourses of fashion and celebrity, through them a game being played with people's lives, is strong:

'The scene would open with an all black screen and a voice-over of a girl explaining her story of being bullied due to her image. Then, in random places of the screen, images of celebrities, top brand logos and expensive fashion merchandise will begin to fill the screen in a random order and position, creating a chessboard-like effect.'

Don uses a resource of the genre, voice-over, and of speech function to transform: the change in tone, as his comment upon his 'key micro element employed' says, is from 'mellifluous' initially to 'a much graver tone when the negative images begin to appear on the screen.' He also uses rearrangement and substitution, to disturb the assemblage of the chessboard. This has a powerful purpose. In including the images of child labour within the larger 'picture' he is constituting another, political discourse in his film. The function of textual separation on pages or screens, as a device to separate off one world from another, one discourse from another is subverted. The function of framing, of bringing the visual elements within it into iterative relationship, also serves to draw upon other discourses, those to do with global, political consciousness, eating disorders, children and family:

'The voice-over of the film-maker can be heard as this happens' (ie the filling of the screen with a chessboard of celebrities) 'and he will explain how, day to day, we are presented with these images that force us to try and obtain the best body image that we can. However the screen will stop filling with pictures when it is half-full and the opposing force will again be introduced as the film-maker states that what we are presented with is not the full picture. the missing spaces will then begin to fill with pictures of children undergoing child labor to produce clothes cheaply, anorexic/ bulimic young people and steroid abusers.'

Female group: **theme 5** yellow (being a rational and in control as film-makers, distanced from the interpellation of media imagery and representation of 'ideal' female bodies)

The contradiction between media representation and the kinds of truths that all of these young people wanted to represent was starkly evident. It was as if the documentary, with its relative distinction from fiction<sup>13</sup>, gave them a space

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<sup>13</sup> In the brief unit of work that we had worked upon, docu-drama, drama-doc, mockumentary, parody and spoof had not featured. Of course, these young people would have some experience of those other modes. However, although they, as students, had been encouraged to think critically about the representations of 'truth' made in all the modes

in which they could articulate filmic and visual codes of representation known to them, alongside some knowledge of specific documentary genres.

Catherine's narrative, according to her Reflective Analysis, intends to use a narrative trajectory to give her audience a sense of the shocking development of an eating disorder: from a girl's aspiration to be 'size 0' to her destruction. The intended shock of the narrative also works in contrasts between sequences: in the visual representation of private and public spaces, for example. The voyeuristic mid-shot of the anorexic Alice's stomach, the image she sees in the mirror of her bedroom, combines with the articulation of low-key lighting and the diegetic sound of the music that plays in her room to interpolate us into her private practices. Other elements function to represent that image as illustrative of the narrative's argument: the voice-over, explaining statistics of this eating disorder and the duration of the shot (an uncomfortable fifty seconds). Then continuity from private experience to public affectation lies not in the performance of the girl, in the transition from shot 8 to 9, but in the signifiers of 'objective modality' for this genre- the diegetic sounds, hand-held camera, shadowing and the salient use of centrality of the girl. Catherine's articulations of these elements are meant to represent an objective truth that transcends what might have been the representation of 'subjective modality', for instance if only the voices of the girls themselves been heard.

#### A note on the contradictory interest in female participants: pleasure and resistance in representing 'ideal' gendered bodies

A strong feature of the step outlines and photo-narratives was the representation of the power of media discourses over young women and young men, and of the difficulty experienced by the 'victims' to resist identifying with the desire for being physically glamorous. The vulnerability of the victims depicted in their narratives was often about not being able to

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that had been investigated in the unit of work, documentary was still differentiated, for the purposes of this task, as a means by which they might explore a food-related issue that they wanted to pursue, truthfully.

understand or resist representations that felt real and desirable to them. In this way their narratives were about the conflict of different modalities (the 'sensory' hyper-real v the 'naturalistic') and the psychological conflicts that result from the young person having to resolve these competing claims. However, the design of the confrontation with the 'sensory' images, by female participants seems to have contradictory interests – to distance themselves from, and enjoy the interpellation.

In the first scene of Imogen's step-analysis, she defines the conflict in terms of warfare. Girls who are vulnerable are depicted as isolated in their struggle. Their weakness is that, regardless of the intellectual judgement in circulation, that these representations of female beauty are untruthful, their 'deonic'<sup>14</sup> logic is difficult to be resisted:

'The conflict in this scene is the constant battle impressionable, vulnerable young girls are faced with having to fight with their own perception of their body image, due to the media's constant stream of computer edited images portraying women in an untruthful, yet desirable way.' Their weakness is that, regardless of the intellectual judgement in circulation, that these representations of female beauty are untruthful, their 'deonic' logic is difficult to be resisted. How the fashion discourse inspires desire is enacted by Imogen in her first scene description. The filmic element that she says she uses most is lighting, but she actually uses cinematography, to organise the exchange of female gazes, such that she actually describes the operation of desire in the interpellation: the transformation of a magazine image into a presence; the loss of the subject/object division and the simultaneity of offer and demand<sup>15</sup>:

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14 'deonic': Defined by Von Wright as 'the logic of obligation and permission', Van Leeuwen moves such a philosophical category toward a multi-modal operation (see Van Leeuwen, *ibid* p165ff).

15 In Kress, G and van Leeuwen, T, 1996, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. (London:Routledge), offer and demand are functional opposites: the direct eye contact 'demands' our visual engagement; the gaze elsewhere 'offer' themselves for a more objective kind of observation. I wanted to conflate these two opposites in order to evoke the Lacanian 'mirror stage' in which recognition and misrecognition of the self and the ideal occur as two aspects of one process. See Lacan, J, 'The Mirror Stage, As Formative of the Function of the I as revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience' (from 1990, *Ecrits: A Selection*) in Storey, J ed, 2006, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, pp 287-292.



'Our eyes immediately focus on the creature on the front of the magazine; a woman with bronzed skin and gleaming eyes surrounded by dark, thick eyelashes. she stares seductively at the camera, tempting us into her world of power and glamour. Whilst her heartbreaking beauty is entrancing us, the non-diegetic soundtrack, 'Vogue' by Madonna, 'It's everywhere that you go, You try everything you can to escape, saturates the spectator's thoughts with the glamour of this fascinating world. On this magazine falls another with yet another flawless face gazing up into our eyes. this repeats again and the screen is filled with pairs of alluring eyes, staring into our own. The camera begins to spiral down into the magazines to create a dizzying effect; we are submerged into a dark screen.'

Extract for female group: theme 5 yellow (being rational and in control as film-maker; and resist the 'seduction'/ sensory modalities of advertising and celebrity culture).

In Kim's step-outline, there was a similar decision to begin the narrative with a depiction of media power; but, unlike Imogen's, this opening scene has a strong framing. Van Leeuwen<sup>16</sup> identifies of the semantic resource of 'framing' and discusses its codification within the genre of advertising copy. What I am doing here is applying that notion of 'spacial' separation to a sequence of film, in order to discuss the meanings that develop in an iterative way across 'frame' boundaries. Imogen opens and closes her initial scene with a blank screen (white/ then black) in an effort to alienate us from the interpellation depicted between those two moments, a space of saturated colour. She does this to make women question their fascination for misrepresentative images of female appearance; but what comes between is so forceful. In Kim's, she deploys two main resources to effect more thought and less identification. She 'offers' the two girls who are reading the magazine for our contemplation; she uses the convention of pov/ response shots twice, to distantiate us from them, and their absorption in the magazine image of catwalk models and in the anorexia website. Both Imogen and Kim invoke the fashion discourse as

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<sup>16</sup> ibid, p7ff

powerful and have begun to evaluate it as dangerous, and by inference their purpose is to position themselves to other discourses, in order to recommend them and their version of the reality of fashion and eating disorder. They have shown us the fashion discourse differently: in Imogen's, their realisation has been in terms of representation; in Kim's, embodiment primarily, in the actions of the girls, alongside representation.<sup>17</sup> Already, Kim has brought a discourse about eating disorders into narrative apposition to the fashion discourse.

Extract for female group: theme 5 yellow (being rational and in control as filmmaker; and resist the 'seduction'/ sensory modalities of advertising and celebrity culture.)

A note on the narratives locating where assistance (to resist the desire for an 'ideal' gendered body) is to be found: reiterating discourses of the family, medicine, school and investigative journalism

It is interesting to see how these young people use a knowledge of the genres of speech, such as the professional interaction of doctor, teacher and journalist, as a means of objectifying the situation of the victim (either of eating disorder or steroid abuse).

It allows participants to imagine themselves into the personal spaces in which their victims 'live' whilst having the means of framing and distancing the victim's experience from themselves. It is the use of these characters in a diversity of visual texts, used to inspect social problems, from soaps to social investigation television, which models their use here. As the embodiment of expertise, doctors, teachers and journalists allow for the confession, on behalf of the victim, which begins change in their circumstance. It is the positioning of participants, through their own use of the meaning-making affordances of a visual narrative that allow a sense of themselves as now being adult, inspecting these victims just as doctors, teachers and journalists do.

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<sup>17</sup> van Leeuwen, in his resume of Foucault, (ibid p92f) and the operation of discourses, reminds us that, as well as having a history and social distribution, they have realisation.

In Imogen's scene 7, even though she claims that she intends to evoke 'empathy, there is more than a hint that she also intends to hold Hannah up as a model warning to the spectator. Imogen says that she uses the element of lighting to display the serious state of Hannah's anorexic body; and that she uses the camera 'to invade her personal space'. these semiotic articulations combine with a display of social subservience. Imogen uses the visual quality of Hannah's instability as a metaphor for her mental state. Her inability to play a part in the narrative trajectory ironises her description of a past sense of power. The subjective modality of her account contrasts with the objective modality of the documentary and its inspection of her through the lens:

'She is ringing her hands and picking at her brittle nails self-consciously. She begins to stutter anxiously as she is perched precariously on the edge of her bed. She talks timidly about how it started, hiding the food under her bed and throwing her packed lunch away at school. she said it made her feel strong, powerful and determined; she was finally in control of something in her life. She proclaims that one day she will have earned her place alongside those women in the magazines. We see her dull eyes, her eyelashes thin and lined with tears, her brittle collarbones with her sallow skin stretched across them. she describes how her body changed, becoming thinner and more frail. The light falls onto half her face, accentuating the jutting bones underneath her pallid skin. Hannah protests her innocence and vulnerability in the situation she didn't consider serious at the time.'

Extract for Female group: theme 5 yellow (being rational and in control as film-makers).

The precariousness of Hannah's situation is realised as Hannah is removed (in scene 14, the next featured scene<sup>18</sup>) from the domestic location of her bedroom at home to the 'centre of a dark, sterile hospital room'.

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18 The step-outline requires the student to sample scenes from across the narrative of the whole documentary, and to visualise those selected scenes. so here, scene 14 follows 7 and is followed by 22.

Hannah is saved, and it is interesting to look at where the power that saves her derives, and how Imogen articulates the semiotic resources at her disposal to represent that power to us. In scene 22, it is in the love and support of her parents, centred in the home: as hannah takes her first tentative steps back to eating healthily again:

This significance of this 'plot-point' is signified further in two ways: in its intensity, by the use of non-diegetic music and the saturation of the colour of the 'fresh, green piece of lettuce'; but also in its removal away from young, fashionable culture: as she is hugged, it is Debussy's 'Clair de lune' that surges into a crescendo.

In scene 35, the expert authority of the doctor has redeemed her too; he is located behind a 'desk laden with books', connoting knowledge, and the salience of his figure is represented by the articulation of contrast: 'his luminous white coat gleaming in contrast to the dull room' in which Hannah and her mother are 'slouched in their seats'. This is the moment for the doctor, located centrally and high in the screen, to deliver the discourse of healthy eating, direct to camera, a moment of simultaneous high 'demand' and high objective modality. The closing scene 45, reiterates the love of parents and the institution of school as powerful. The use of the school gate location and the diegetic sounds of children, represent, with sentimental power, both Hannah's return to a childlike innocence and education, far away from the sexualised images and sounds of the first scene, and media and fashion discourses. Imogen draws upon the discourse of childhood:

'The school building stands tall and proud. children are flooding into the gates and we hear laughing and chatting of people looking forward to a new day. Hannah and her mother stand looking up at the building. they turn to face each other and her mother leans and whispers in Hannah's ear, "Be safe." ... her mother kisses her reverently on the head and releases her from her arms. Hannah turns around and walks slowly, but determinedly through the school gates...'

Extract for female group: theme 6 yellow (identifying sources of help and expertise); theme 4 yellow (females saving females); theme 2 yellow (social integration); theme 5 yellow (being rational and in control as film-makers).

Kim, uses two authoritative points of reference in her narrative, again a hospital doctor, and the documentary maker himself. As in Imogen's representation, here, the elements of composition - the centrality of the doctor in his office, and the salience of icons (desk, chair and diplomas), combined with the performance of personal authority, connote solidity and wisdom, at a time in the narrative when her mother has little influence over her daughter Abby, the anorexic. The permeability of the boundary around his office further connotes the doctor's care and personal authority:

'The calm doctor enters the corridor, almost godly. He turns to Abby and her mother and invites them in to his small, compact office. Pam (the mother) follows willingly although Abby seems as though she is going to run off in the other direction, and needs support, or even force, from her mother to continue through the door to the office. the doctor resumes his luxurious, leather chair, his diplomas and awards displayed proudly on the wall behind him ...'

It is David, the film-maker, who is given the role of personal authority in the plot-point of Abby's realisation/ confession (scene 30). Kim's use of pov to connote Abby's lack of vision and control, compared to the camera's breadth of shot and depth of field, combined with the change in David's tone and his use of proximity to Abby, are all key here to establish David's personal authority. The scene takes place in a park.

'Abby is situated on a swing next to the interviewer David this time ... her body language is shown to be closed up, with her shoulders hunched over and her arms crossed ... The background reveals girls and boys, the same age as her, running and participating in activities such as football. David has a friendly yet professional manner with Abby. He asks about Lauren (anorexic friend now in hospital)... Her full concentration is on the gravel and her feet below her. David pushes Abby more, by asking if she feels responsible. Abby begins to

answer by saying how they were both to blame, but soon she is unable to carry on with her answer... Abby begins to cry. David asks to stop the interview while Abby composes herself...'

As in Imogen's narrative, the discourse of childhood, is one of the most powerful invoked as powerful, and something that can be drawn on to resist the sub-cultural discourses of anorexic websites or dominant media discourses of fashion. In her reflective narrative, she highlights her invocation of childhood. We might see that discursive resource as characterised by its nostalgic 'Englishness', removed from contemporary popular culture: 'Scene 23 is meant to give the spectator a sense of comfort by creating an idyllic place, through 'birds singing' and by having Becky carry a 'wicker tray, balancing two porcelaine cups filled with tea'. I wanted to give a homely feel ... Scene 30 is meant to show how the experience (or anorexia) had changed Abby and how she has been isolated for too long from her age group, as there are 'girls and boys, the same age as her, running and participating in activities such as football' behind her. the use of placing Abby on a swing for the entirety of this scene is to remind spectators that abby is still a child, even if she has gone through a disturbing experience.'

Lucy's confession, in scene 10. The montage of sequences across this scene uses the metaphor of spatial distance to define the powerlessness of the mother and the isolation of Lucy: the sequence of the helpless mother, at home, (in close-up) explaining the bullying of her daughter, is interrupted by mobile shots, following Lucy at school, wandering the corridors alone (the diegetic sound of other children together). The final sequence combines Lucy's isolation with her problem with the differentiation of speech act: in her bedroom Lucy reveals the contradiction implicit in media discourses: 'Lucy would explain her deep sadness but also her wish to have a better body image like those celebrities on TV who have the idyllic image.'

Extracts for male group: theme 1 ('ideal' body images); theme 3 (media manipulation); theme 4 (distancing self from social problem by being the rational film-maker); theme 6 (child exploitation); theme 7 (childhood); theme 8 (motherhood)

Don's narrative centres its authority on the film-maker/ interviewer himself: embodied as actor in the confrontations with the likes of Rydell (cynical representative of the Hugo Boss empire) and as the implied organiser of the text itself. In the narrative's final, confrontational act/exposure of the truth, and in the final articulation of composition, Don resists the array of dominant discourses that address both genders over body image, through his faith in a kind of truth-telling that the media is capable of:

'A split screen will then appear, where the film-maker getting thrown out of the building shall be displayed on the right. On the left, the same screen that the documentary opened with, will appear (the screen full of images of celebrities, top brand logos and expensive merchandise, randomly distributed, then beginning to fill with pictures of children undergoing child labour, anorexic/bulimic young people and steroid abusers). However many of the idyllic images will turn into shocking ones, and the film maker will explain that the appalling consequences of image are growing ; and while this takes place, corporations are earning millions of pounds of ill-gained profit.'

Don's narrative uses a series of confession 'speech acts' as important rhetorical device: Robbie, the steroid abuser's tearful confession in the gym, in scene 5, followed by Lucy, the bullied girl's confession, in her bedroom at home, in scene 10, a replay of Robbie's, cut into a vox-pop piece in a busy high street, in scene 15. Don is the only male participant to draw a parallel between the social problems of both gender 'ideal' body images. He uses them to disrupt a variety of adult speech acts. In scene 5, the unity of social practice amongst the men in the gym, physically embodying the discourses of bodybuilding, is disrupted; and Robbie's confession, combined with a reminder by the interviewer, exposes the contradictions in the bodybuilding discourse:

‘The interview will be between Robbie and the interviewer and Robbie will tell his story, and at parts, well up in tears and cry, as he explains the many troubles caused by steroids. After the story, the interviewer will tell Robbie what his original thoughts on steroids were, about them being a drug that isn’t harmful ...’

#### Note on ‘speaking truth to power’

Don’s narrative closure is not the only one of mixed tone, redolent of defeat: Catherine’s closed on Alice’s grave; Robin’s on Jamie’s mortuary slab, Ella’s, the failure of introducing healthy meals to schools, for example; but what they all do, as a minimum, is to establish truthfulness. As we have seen, this is partly done by transforming dominant discourses associated with eating and body image, particularly over their modality claims, in order to question and resist them. In addition, it is done by establishing alternative sites of power and truth: power in embodied authority, power in alternative or oppositional knowledge about eating and body image and power demonstrated in the organisation of filmic elements in order to site truth in the multi-modal ‘speech acts’ of the documentary itself. Of course, all genres, discourses and styles have histories. In documentaries, the power relations between the documentary maker and the ‘procedures of power’ (Foucault) have changed, and it has been interesting to see how, despite most of their narratives having victims, blame fed back either to institutions or to types of discourse in circulation. In all cases, these young people used their contemporary knowledge of documentary form, to investigate and challenge powerful representations if they felt that they were ‘untruthful’.



**Participants' creative work** - submitted as coursework for AS Film Studies. It comprises of as a series of 'step-outlines' or 'photo-boards' for key scenes in their imagined documentaries; a 'Reflective Analysis' follows.

Key:

Participant 1: Kim

Participant 2: Imogen

Participant 3: Don

Participant 4: Travis

Participant 5: Liam

Participant 6: Lily

Participant 7: Catherine

Participant 8: Robin

Participant 9: Ella

participant  
1

Scene No 1	Page No 1
Slugline	Int. – Home of Abby: Abby's bedroom.
Endpoint of last scene	-
Characters in scene	Abby and Lauren (main characters)
Point of scene	To introduce spectators to Abby, a teenage girl of 15, and introduces them to the issue of pressures by the media.
Conflict	The strong force is the girls being influenced by the magazine and the website. The fear of their parents finding out is the opposite force.
Ending/ Central question	Abby and Lauren access and join an anorexia website/ What do children/ teenagers really get up to?
Key Micro elements Employed	Cinematography and the aspect of mise-en-scene: location.

**Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key Micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing, etc.)**

The two girls sit opposite each other, on a plush purple carpet. Situated in front of them is the latest edition of 'Heat' magazine. The cover is shown. The pages are flicked quickly by Abby's hand. The magazine falls open on a double page spread of famous catwalk models, the majority being size zero such as Kate Moss. The two girls' faces are revealed to be in awe as they admire their idols. Lauren, a healthy size 10 figure, stands and immediately poses the question to Abby and the spectators as to whether she looks fat. Abby, a slender girl for her age, replies by complimenting Lauren on her figure. A contented Lauren resumes her position next to Abby. Abby claims how she has an idea and pulls out her laptop secretively from under her bed. The pair begins to quickly surf an anorexia website showing a collage of images of size zero girls from all over the world. The girls are shown to have full concentration on the web page. The website displays the famous slogan taken by many size zero girls, "nothing tastes as good as skinny feels." The two girls face each other and discuss whether they should join the website. The member page is shown on the screen. Lauren begins to type both of their details into the site.

participant  
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Scene No 7	Page No 2
Slugline	Int. Lauren's home.
Endpoint of last scene	The girls were shown to still be participating in an eating disorder, hiding it from their family members.
Characters in scene	Joan (Lauren's mother), David (the interviewer) and Lauren.
Point of scene	To show how many suffers of eating disorders hide it from their family and to show spectators what to be aware of and what to look out for.
Conflict	Lauren feels guilty about hiding her secret but continues to deny it while her mother is beginning to become worried about Lauren and wants to know the truth.
Ending/ Central question	How families of eating disorder sufferers, suffer to and how parents are unsure of how to help their children. Do we truly know the right course of action when dealing with a problem such as this?
Key Micro elements Employed	Cinematography and aspects of mise-en-scene: costume and sound.

**Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key Micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing, etc.)**

Joan, an approachable character, highlighted through her comfortable clothing of jeans and a cardigan is shown to be at the bottom of the staircase. She shouts up to Lauren asking her to come down for dinner after Lauren continues to reply that she's not hungry. Joan glances up the caramel coloured staircase and exhumes a worried sigh. Joan then reveals how she is extremely worried about her daughter's health and how she has just started to refuse to eat. Joan shouts again, this time with more anger. Full concentration is upon Joan's tight facial expressions showing her worry and rage. After failing to gain a reply from Lauren, Joan embarks up the flight of stairs. As Joan travels further up the staircase, the sound of teen pop music becomes more vivid. She makes her way to Lauren's bedroom, situated at the end of the narrow landing. Joan's manicured hand knocks twice on Lauren's door. Again she asks her to come down for dinner. The documentary creator, David, portrays a worried expression on what's occurring. After Lauren replies how she's not hungry because she ate at school, Joan addresses David and desperately asks him the rhetorical question of what can I do? Joan's pained face is shown as she begins to emit small tears. Joan walks away from Lauren's door, full of fear and despondency.

participant  
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Scene No 15	Page No 3
Slugline	Int. – Health Clinic: waiting room for doctor's office.
Endpoint of last scene	Abby's mother notices a change in Abby and refers her to a health clinic after Lauren was hospitalised with a nutrition deficiency.
Characters in scene	Abby, Pam (Abby's mother), Doctor Naji and David (the interviewer).
Point of scene	To show how to help sufferers of health problems and to show how much help is out there.
Conflict	Abby feels interrogated by the health expert and her mother. Eventually Abby gives in and cooperates. The doctor and her mother is the stronger force.
Ending/ Central question	That there is help out there for suffers who get addicted to becoming and maintaining size zero figures. Was this the right way to help Abby?
Key Micro elements Employed	Aspects of mise-en-scene: location and sound.

**Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key Micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing, etc.)**

An extremely thin, gaunt Abby, wearing a grey tracksuit, sits uncomfortably next to her mother. Many nurses walk by preoccupied showing the busy atmosphere of the hospital. The sound of announcements being made from the hospital radio is noticeable in the corridors. Abby glances at them with terrified eyes and reveals her pale complexion. The calm doctor enters the corridor, almost godly. He turns to Abby and her mother and invites them in to his small, compact office. Pam follows willingly although Abby seems as though she is going to run off in the other direction and needs support, or even force, from her mother to continue through the door to the office. The doctor resumes his luxurious leather chair displaying his diplomas and awards proudly on the wall behind him. The pair sit in front of his large, looming desk. Abby is fidgeting and crosses her arms as a defence tactic. The doctor poses many questions to Abby and her mother. Abby's mother is cooperative and displays concerned expressions when the Doctor describes the conditions that Abby could suffer from if she continues in the same direction. The doctor dismisses the pair for a blood test. Abby hurries out of the office with a look of relief. An interview then begins between Doctor Naji and David. David sits in the same seat as Abby as he asks about the early conditions of anorexia. The Doctor displays a caring nature and answers the questions carefully and thoughtfully.



participant  
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Scene No 23	Page No 4
Slugline	Ext. – Pathway to Becky’s home. Int. – Home of Becky.
Endpoint of last scene	A health specialist recommended Abby to visit the home of a past sufferer of an eating disorder.
Characters in scene	Abby, Becky (Past suffer of anorexia), David.
Point of scene	To show how anorexia can be defeated and to show how many have suffered from the disease.
Conflict	Becky is trying to encourage Abby to discuss her experiences with her eating disorder but she remains closed on the subject.
Ending/ Central question	Did this meeting truly help Abby or is she simply saying it did so people will leave her alone?
Key Micro elements Employed	Editing and aspects of mise-en-scene: location and sound.
<p><b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key Micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing, etc.)</b></p> <p>Abby is shown to timidly walk along Becky’s narrow, inviting path. Birds can be heard in the distance, creating an idyllic feel. Abby’s hand reaches towards the doorbell. After a short wait, Becky’s smiling face and warm, inviting persona greets Abby as she invites her into her home. David is shown to follow the pair through to the small, cosy lounge. Abby takes position on Becky’s leather coach. Her hand is shown to be almost shaking from anxiety. David sits opposite Abby and asks her to comment on how she’s feeling. Abby’s pale face turns to David, tears almost forming in her eyes, and she reveals how scared she is of talking about her experience. Becky enters carefully carrying a small, wicker tray balancing two porcelain cups filled with tea. She closes the door behind her and politely asks David and the crew to leave them alone. David exits, closes the door but doesn’t shut it fully. He leaves a small gap between the door and the door frame to see into the room. Through the crack of the door Abby and Becky are shown to sit opposite each other, Abby looking slightly more comfortable than before while Becky is completely open and fully concentrating on listening to Abby. Their conversation can be heard however it is slightly muffled.</p> <p>After, Abby’s face looks relieved and less tense than it was before. David asks if the meeting has helped her in any way to which she meekly nods her head and comments on how it’s nice to see that she’s not alone in her eating disorder.</p>	

participant  
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Scene No 30	Page No 5
Slugline	Ext. – Local park.
Endpoint of last scene	Lauren, still hospitalised is shown to be getting regular help from a nutritionist and is responding well to her treatment and advice. Abby has recovered more quickly but is still weak therefore showing how long it takes to recover from anorexia.
Characters in scene	Abby and David (the interviewer.)
Point of scene	To show how anorexia can be helped and to show how Lauren and Abby were helped at the right time before their symptoms persisted.
Conflict	The interviewer is trying to provoke as many emotions out of Abby when she's talking about her experience. The opposite conflict is Abby, at first, refusing to show her feelings.
Ending/ Central question	How dramatic the after effects of anorexia can be. Will Abby ever truly recover from her experience?
Key Micro elements Employed	Cinematography and aspect of mise-en-scene: location.
<p><b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key Micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing, etc.)</b></p> <p>Abby is situated on a swing next to the interviewer David this time, wearing colourless jeans to match her pale appearance. Her body language is shown to be closed up with her shoulders hunched over and her arms crossed, again to protect herself from the possible intruding questions posed by David. The background reveals girls and boys, the same age as her, running and participating in activities such as football. David has a friendly yet professional manner with Abby. He asks her about Lauren's present state. Abby appears upset and perhaps guilty from the comment and hesitates on answering. Her full concentration is on the gravel and her feet below her. David pushes Abby more by asking if she feels responsible. Abby begins to answer by saying how they were both to blame but soon she is unable to carry on with her answer. David reacts concerned and begins to comfort Abby. Abby begins to cry. David asks to stop the interview while Abby composes herself. He takes Abby over to the other side of the field and comforts her while she breaks down in tears.</p>	



participant  
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### Reflective Analysis

My step-analysis is focused on mixed mode however I mainly concentrated on using the observational mode for my step-analysis as I felt that this would be the best at provoking shock and fear amongst spectators. This form allows spectators to secretly enter the world of another person and witness what truly happens behind closed doors. I gained inspiration from observational documentaries such as the Bob Dylan documentary from the 1960s which authentically captured the true state of the folk legend whereas I aimed to capture the realistic state of an anorexia sufferer. In addition, I have included reflexive mode by incorporating the film maker, David, into some scenes. Reflexive mode enables the audience to learn as the documentary develops, following David on his journey of discovering the truth. This movement into reflexive mode shows the humanity of David and how the anonymity of the camera man couldn't be maintained because of his pity felt for Abby and Becky. I didn't incorporate expository mode as I felt that this mode would distance the viewer and I aimed to deeply touch the spectator by letting them feel all of the characters emotions and enabling the spectator to go on the journey with them. I have shaped the narrative to exaggerate the emotive effect and the argument with John Grieson's quote that describes a documentary to be "the creative treatment of actuality" in mind.

The key micro-elements of cinematography and mise-en-scene helped my documentary to emit many emotions onto the spectators. I focused upon cinematography to allow the spectator to intimately connect with the sufferer especially in scene 30 when Abby reveals her complex emotions by beginning to "cry" and then having to "compose herself" highlighting the traumatic effect that the experience has had upon Abby. I tried to appeal to my intended audience of teenagers by having the set being in comfortable teenage havens such as Abby's bedroom in scene 1 and by incorporating objects associated with teenagers like "Heat magazine" and "teenage pop music". I also wanted to appeal to parents by including the character of Joan, Abby's mother. Joan is meant to appear as an "approachable" character through her clothing and a protective, worried mother portrayed through her "tight facial expressions" and "pained face." I aimed for this scene to connect with teenagers, to show them how much help family members can provide but, also to provoke the question amongst parents as to whether this was the right way to help Abby and to let them think how they might approach their son/daughter if they were suffering from an eating disorder.

In addition to using cinematography to create effects amongst the spectators, I used the aspects of mise-en-scene, location and sound to emphasize the emotions and personalities of the characters. Scene 15 is meant to highlight Abby's isolation from society by having "many nurses walk by preoccupied" and by having "announcements being made on the hospital radio." When Abby and her mother enter Dr. Naji's office there is a display of "diplomas and awards proudly on the wall behind him" connoting him as an expert in his field and as a figure you can trust. Having a "large, looming desk" connotes Abby and Joan's

participant  
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nervousness of being in the small office talking about Abby's health. Scene 23 is meant to give the spectator a sense of comfort by creating an idyllic place though "birds" singing and by having Becky carry a "wicker tray balancing two porcelain cups filled with tea" I wanted to give a homely feel, to show the spectators Abby's relaxed state and therefore her openness about her encounter with anorexia. Scene 30, is meant to show how the experience had changed Abby and how she has been isolated for too long from her age group as there are "girls and boys, the same age as her, running and participating in activities such as football" behind her. The use of placing Abby on a "swing" for the entirety of this scene is to remind spectators that Abby is still a child even though she has gone through a disturbing experience.

I aimed to create amongst spectators, through my documentary, a personal, intimate bond with the characters. I strived to create a relationship between the spectators and especially Abby thus through this bond, stress to spectators how anyone could be suffering from anorexia, someone close to them or a stranger in the street. The main message of the documentary is to inform and to show the spectator what the actual symptoms of anorexia look like.



participant  
2

### Step-Outline

<b>Scene No. One</b>	Page No. One
<b>Slugline</b>	Int, Luminously white screen.
<b>Endpoint of last scene</b>	-
<b>Characters in scene</b>	-
<b>Point of scene</b>	To show how iconic, yet dangerous fashion and glamour magazines such as Vogue and Cosmopolitan can be. Also to provide a contrast between the media and its consumers, which are represented with a softer piece of music. (Clair De Lune- Clare Debussy)
<b>Conflict</b>	The conflict in this scene is the constant battle impressionable, vulnerable young girls are faced with having to fight with their own perception of their body image; due to the media's constant stream of computer edited images portraying women in an untruthful, yet desirable way.
<b>Ending/Central question</b>	Nearly the whole of the female population are aware that the images we come face-to-face with on a regular basis have a degree of misrepresentation within their production. Yet we still buy these magazines and trawl through them inspecting their aesthetics. Is this because we wish to look like these women? I believe there is a more complex foundation to the reasons as to why women relentlessly accept the message that thousands of magazines distribute: This is the body image that is considered beautiful. I think that women feel the need to use their images as a way of researching how these seemingly powerful and glamorous people live, because these women are so different to us, we feel the urge to understand why and how their lives differ from our own.
<b>Key Micro Elements employed and brief description of their use</b>	Lighting- The expressionistic lighting used in this scene will contrast the darker, moodier lighting used later on in the documentary. This is used to define the two separate lifestyles, both of the glamorous models paid to influence people living in a fascinating, sophisticated world and ordinary people living in the shadow of their significance within the modern society we live in.
<b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing)</b>  We are faced with a luminous yet sterile white screen. Slowly, a gaudy coloured magazine falls onto the austere white, dominating the screen. Our eyes immediately focus on the creature on the front of the magazine; a woman with bronzed skin and gleaming eyes surrounded with dark, thick eyelashes. She stares seductively at the camera tempting us into her world of power and glamour. Whilst her heartbreaking beauty is entrancing us, the non-diegetic soundtrack, Vogue by Madonna, 'It's everywhere that you go, You try everything you can to escape' saturates the spectator's thoughts with the glamour of this fascinating world. On to this magazine falls another with yet another flawless face gazing up into our eyes. This repeats again and the screen is filled with pairs of alluring eyes staring into our own. The camera begins to spiral down into the magazines to create a dizzying effect; we are submerged into a dark screen.	

participant  
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<b>Scene No. 7</b>	Page No. 2
<b>Slugline</b>	Int. Teenage girl, Hannah's bedroom.
<b>Endpoint of last scene</b>	Section of the documentary talking about high-end fashion, and where high street fashion and body image originates. Shot of the catwalk at London's fashion show with wafer-thin models striding down it.
<b>Characters in scene</b>	Teenage girl Hannah who is suffering from anorexia.
<b>Point of scene</b>	To allow the audience to delve deeper into Hannah's feelings about her own body image. Those being that she has never deemed herself as good as the women in magazines, she has always felt the need to change and modify her life to meet the requirements of the media's perception of body image.
<b>Conflict</b>	Showing teenagers endless battle with their own body images.
<b>Ending/Central question</b>	Is it too little too late to try and convince young girls that the medias perception of a desirable body image is not truthful or desirable in reality?
<b>Key Micro Elements employed and brief description of their use</b>	Cinematography- Here the camera is used to invade Hannah's personal space. The spectator is watching to learn about this girl's condition, and so the camera is placed close to her to allow them to empathise with her and understand her situation. Lighting is also used to create a powerful image, to show the audience the seriousness of her condition, and the horrifying effect the medias influence has had.
<b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing)</b>  She is ringing her hands and picking at her brittle nails self-consciously. She begins to stutter anxiously as she is perched precariously on the edge of her bed. She talks timidly about how it started, hiding the food under her bed and throwing her packed lunch away at school. She says it made her feel strong, powerful and determined; she was finally in control of something in her life. She proclaims that one day she will have earned her place along side those women in the magazines. We see her dull eyes, her eyelashes thin and lined with tears, her brittle collarbones with her sallow skin stretched across them. She describes how her body changed, becoming thinner and more frail. The light falls onto half of her face accentuating the jutting bones underneath her pallid skin. Hannah protests her innocence and vulnerability in the situation she didn't consider serious at the time.	



participant  
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<b>Scene No. 14</b>	Page No. 3
<b>Slugline</b>	Int. Hannah's room at the hospital
<b>Endpoint of last scene</b>	Hannah had been rushed to hospital after collapsing at school.
<b>Characters in scene</b>	Hannah and her mother.
<b>Point of scene</b>	To shock the audience into realising the severity of Hannah's condition, and the severity of the catalyst for its hold on Hannah's life.
<b>Conflict</b>	I want to show Hannah at her worst, to show people how far young, impressionable girls like her can fall.
<b>Ending/Central question</b>	How far can the media and its influence and body image go before realising that this image is not worth young girls just like Hannah coming dangerously close to losing their life; or in some cases not being lucky enough to escape.
<b>Key Micro Elements employed and brief description of their use</b>	Lighting- The pool of light cast over Hannah's bed restricts what the audience can see, yet what they do see is a naive girl in a situation that has overcome her life. Performance by Hannah's mother is also used to show the effects that are acting upon family members. The non-diegetic sound of the piano (Clair De Lune by Clare Debussy) is also used to reinforce the delicate situation.
<b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing)</b>  Hannah lies in the bed in the centre of a dark, sterile hospital room. Her mother sits reverently by her side, clasping her daughter's claw-like hand in her palm. A pool of light is cast over Hannah's bed. The lighting is such that we are forced to focus upon her decrepit, still body. Various tubes are coming out of Hannah's nose and arms; a clear liquid is being forced into what's left of her body. We hear a soft piano playing the melancholy opening of 'Clair de Lune', by Claude Debussy in the background to reinforce the delicate girl in this precarious situation. Her mother begins to sob softly, and lays her body gently over her daughters. The scene fades to black, and the piano follows.	

participant  
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<b>Scene No. 22</b>	Page No. 4
<b>Slugline</b>	Int. Hannah's house. Kitchen.
<b>Endpoint of last scene</b>	Hannah leaving hospital.
<b>Characters in scene</b>	Hannah and her parents.
<b>Point of scene</b>	To show that there is hope for Hannah, and girls like her.
<b>Conflict</b>	Hannah's desire to try and get better for her loved ones, yet the physical difficulty she experiences trying to eat.
<b>Ending/Central question</b>	Will Hannah be able to start eating again, or will she relapse again?
<b>Key Micro Elements employed and brief description of their use</b>	Cinematography- I would like to use a mid-shot here to show the people around Hannah, supporting her. But then with a cut to a close up, I also to show that to a degree, she is alone, and it is what she does herself that is most important.
<b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing)</b>  Hannah's mother and father sit either side of Hannah at the dinner table. In the middle, Hannah sits staring solemnly down at a small portion of food in front of her. Her parents watch her face anxiously. We hear the same piano piece playing and recognise the significance of Hannah's next action. She timidly picks up the silver fork and brings a fresh green piece of lettuce to her mouth. Hannah's face is expressionless, she closes her eyes and places it in-between her thin, dry lips. The non-diegetic musical motif of Claude Debussy's 'Clair de lune' surges into more of a crescendo showing the obstacle Hannah has just overcome with that one tiny action, and one tiny mouthful. Her parents both stand up and embrace her. Her face escapes a thin smile and she clings desperately to them both, then screen fades to white.	

participant  
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<b>Scene No. 35</b>	Page No. 5
<b>Slugline</b>	Int. Doctors office
<b>Endpoint of last scene</b>	Hannah leaving the hospital after returning for a check up.
<b>Characters in scene</b>	Hannah, her mother and the doctor.
<b>Point of scene</b>	To show facts and figures about anorexia.
<b>Conflict</b>	I want to show how this disease can be overcome, but you have to have a lot of support and determination.
<b>Ending/Central question</b>	What must be done to overcome this disease?
<b>Key Micro Elements employed and brief description of their use</b>	Cinematography- The camera provides mid-shots to show how admirable the doctor is by having him dominate the majority of the screen and to show how he holds the hope Hannah needs in order to beat her illness. The shots of Hannah and her mother will be high angled to show how the doctor is more authority than them because he is the only one who can help them.
<b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing)</b>  The doctor's desk is laden with books and papers. He sits in the middle of the screen with his hands folded, staring into the camera with his wise eyes that are surrounded with thick-rimmed glasses. We are given a minute to absorb his presence on screen, with his luminous white coat gleaming in contrast to the dull room. Hannah and her mother sit opposite him, both looking very timid and uncomfortable slouched in their seats. The doctor's low, soft voice begins to ask questions about Hannah's progress and her mother answers without delay. He then tells the camera the effects in which not eating can have on one's body and mind and tells of how many girls are likely to contract the illness.	



participant  
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<b>Scene No. 45</b>	Page No. 6
<b>Slugline</b>	Ext. Hannah returns to school.
<b>Endpoint of last scene</b>	Hannah and her mother talking about the risks of returning to school too soon.
<b>Characters in scene</b>	Hannah and her mother
<b>Point of scene</b>	To show that Hannah has managed to beat her illness, but not all are so lucky.
<b>Conflict</b>	To show the difficulty of returning back to a normal life.
<b>Ending/Central question</b>	Hannah's ending is a happy one, but how many people don't get this happy ending?
<b>Key Micro Elements employed and brief description of their use</b>	Cinematography- The use of close up shot and mid-shots allows the audience to share a very important, intimate moment with Hannah and her mother. We have come on this journey with them, and so it feels appropriate to end it with them too. Sound- The sound in this scene is used to signify the significance of Hannah's achievement.
<b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scene, camera, sound, editing)</b>  The school building stands tall and proud. Children are flooding into the gates and we hear laughing and chatting of people looking forward to a new day. Hannah and her mother stand looking up at the building, they turn to face each other and her mother leans and whispers in Hannah's ear, 'Be safe'. Hannah begins to sob gently into her mother's chest and apologises again for letting the illness overcome her. Her mother kisses her reverently on the head and releases her from her arms. Hannah turns around and walks slowly but determinedly through the school gates. The soft, yet triumphant tones of the ending of 'Clair De Lune' begins playing as we watch Hannah walk into her new life, with her mother watching proudly from a distance.	

participant  
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### Reflective Analysis

When writing my step-outline I consciously wrote in order to portray the particular film form of documentary. This particular documentary style would lend itself best to the observational mode, by using the juxtaposition of certain images I was able to create an argument and convey the serious truth of the eating disorder anorexia. I was tempted to use the expository mode as it provides a very authoritative angle that would reinforce the idea that the information I am providing about a potentially life threatening disorder is the absolute truth. However I believe that the observational mode can be just as powerful by selecting certain images and placing them together in order to create a strong line of argument. For example my opening shot shows the appealing yet dangerous power of the media, which is then juxtaposed with the introduction to a girl who is ill because of it. My rhetoric takes the audience through the worst part of Hannah's illness as it begins with a disequilibrium; this is to make the audience see how difficult it is for the characters involved to even remember what the original equilibrium was before the illness occurred. We feel compelled throughout the narrative trajectory to see Hannah as the protagonist fighting against the antagonist (anorexia) in order to attain her original equilibrium again; and with this we feel and empathise with Hannah throughout, feeling low when she is administrated into hospital and feeling joyful when she manages to overcome her illness.

One of the main micro-features I used throughout the sequence was lighting in the first three scenes. I think that the lighting provided an effective way of presenting the contrasts between the bright, sophisticated world of the media and the dark effects it can have on peoples lives; especially the opening shot with the white sterile screen that I wanted to use to unsettle the audience. The use of lighting in the first scene manages to achieve the contrast well, as it connotes that behind the glossy, bright exterior of the magazines there is a dark truth. Another example of lighting is used in the 7<sup>th</sup> scene, the shot of Hannah's face half in shadow shows that she has been plunged into darkness by her illness, and is unable to see the way out. This was used to evoke a sense of morose for Hannah.

The use of the camera's movement and shot selection was another key aspect I used to signify the importance of certain aspects of the documentary. I often used the camera to invade the space of people whilst they were being interviewed such as in scene 7. Although this sounds unethical, I believe it shows the spectator that they are allowed to know the secrets and details of this girl's life, which allows them to feel more involved within the documentary. I also used a selection of shots from mid to close up in the 22<sup>nd</sup> scene, when Hannah takes her first mouthful of food. The close up when she takes the first mouthful shows the significance of this one action and how she is one mouthful closer to a full recovery. This would evoke feelings of hopefulness within the audience. Again cinematography is used to show the admiration the audience should feel for characters within the documentary such as the doctor. The mid-shot used makes the doctor the most significant object in the shot, which reflects his importance with Hannah's recovery; the audience is made to feel appreciation of his willingness to help.

I think that the performance in certain scenes such as the 14<sup>th</sup> in the hospital room is also important. Hannah's mother's reaction to her daughter's illness is important to the success of the documentary as it shows the repercussions of the media's influence, not only on young people but on their loved ones too.

One of the most important features I concentrated on was sound. The first scene uses a soundtrack, 'Vogue by Madonna' to provide an irony to the shot, as it reinforces the idea that the media surrounds its consumers. It also creates the essential contrast of the powerful media and its 'delicate' consumers, which is a main theme running through my documentary. The contrasting music I chose to represent the media's consumers with is, Clair De Lune by Claude Debussy; a delicate piece that climaxes to a powerful crescendo. I think that by using this piece of music throughout the documentary it anchors Hannah strongly within the narrative, which helps to make the documentary more memorable and haunting for the audience. For example in the 14<sup>th</sup> scene in the hospital the soft piano shows Hannah's delicate situation and also stimulates feelings of sadness within the audience. In the final scene I chose to use the triumphant, hopeful tone at the end of the piece to show how far Hannah has come and evokes a sense of achievement to end the documentary on a positive note and to leave the audience remembering the satisfying, absolute truth.



participant  
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Documentary mode: Reflexive

Scene No: 1	Page No: 1
Slugline	Int – Computer generated images
Endpoint of last scene	-
Characters in scene	Film maker (voice only), girl (voice only), celebrities, anorexic youths, children working and steroid abusers are all shown in pictures.
Point Of Scene	The scene is intended to engage with a spectator instantly, on the theme of the documentary – revealing the 'dark side' of body image.
Conflict	The conflict would be between the audience and the message of the scene. The scene would provoke the audience to question their own attempts at trying to produce a good body image. It would convict the spectator into perhaps thinking that they are paying too much a price to have this body image.
Ending/Central Question	Are the audience suffering from the burden of having to conform to an 'ideal image'?
Key Micro Elements Employed	SOUND: The sound of the film maker's voice will start off with a very ordinary, almost mellifluous tone. However the tone of his voice will change to a much graver tone when the negative images begin to appear on the screen.
The scene would open with an all black screen and a voice over of a girl explaining her story of being bullied due to her image. Then in random places of the screen, images of celebrities, top-brand logos and expensive fashion merchandise will begin to fill the screen in a random order and position, creating a chessboard-like effect [EDITING]. The voice over of the film-maker can be heard as this happens and he will explain how day to day we are presented with these images that force us to try and obtain the best body image that we can [SOUND]. However the screen will stop filling with pictures when it is half-full and the opposing force will again be introduced as the film maker states that what we are presented with is not the full picture. The missing spaces will then begin to fill with pictures of children undergoing child labour to produce clothes cheaply, anorexic/bulimic young people and steroid abusers [EDITING]. This whole scene would involve just a black screen filling with the images described and a voice over.	



participant  
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Scene No: 5	Page No: 2
Slugline	Ext of Gym – Entrance Int of Gym
Endpoint of last scene	Film maker talking to camera about steroids – a table in front of him is covered in different types/brands of steroids.
Characters in scene	Robbie, Film maker, others working out in Gym
Point Of Scene	To show the spectator how dangerous the effects of steroids can be but also how easily it is to get drawn into the addiction of using them – the example being Robbie's story.
Conflict	Robbie's story will conflict with the stereotypical thoughts on steroids that the film maker will state.
Ending/Central Question	Why are steroids so widely and commonly used when they can do such severe damage?
Key Micro Elements Employed	SETTING: Robbie's walk through the gym will allow the audience to see people of a different ethnicity, age and gender. CAMERA: The mid shot of Robbie will show how his hands are very shaky – a result of the steroid abuse.
The scene would open with an outside view of 'Power Zone' Gym. The camera will remain stationary and show Robbie, a 25 year-old former steroid abuser, enter the gym [CAMERA]. The camera will then pan slowly across the inside of a gym as Robbie walks to his locker room, showing the numerous other people that surround Robbie in the gym [SETTING]. The camera will then cut to Robbie, showing a mid shot of him [CAMERA]. The interview will be between Robbie and the interviewer and Robbie will tell of his story, and at parts, well up with tears and cry, as he explains of his many troubles caused by steroids. After the story the interviewer will tell Robbie of what his original thoughts on steroids were, about them being a drug that isn't harmful and not very common. However Robbie will tell the film maker how these stereotypical views are untrue and how the dangers he has mentioned can affect anyone who abuses steroids.	

participant  
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Scene No: 10	Page No: 3
Slugline	Int of house, living room, Int of School
Endpoint of last scene	Ends with a doctor's opinion on why depression has taken a rise in cases involving young people.
Characters in scene	Film maker (voice only), parents of Lucy, Lucy
Point Of Scene	The story of Lucy is a practical and real application of the themes that have arisen in the film. The story's strong connections with family and domestic life will also allow a spectator to relate to the situation and witness the damage that not having the idyllic body image can cause.
Conflict	The story of Lucy will reveal the bullying and suffering that the pressure of body image can cause. This will cause a conflict in the reader's mind as to whether they are perhaps putting pressure on someone to conform to have a good body image or even endorsing it.
Ending/Central Question	Challenges the reader to think, do they know a practical application of a consequence for someone who doesn't have the idyllic image?
Key Micro elements employed	EDITING: The shots will show about 5 seconds of an interview and then 5 seconds of Lucy in school, continuously until the interview is over.
<p>The scene would involve an interview with the parents of a girl named Lucy, who has been suffering from depression due to bullying at her local high school. The parents would explain how Lucy started high school very happy until she got bullied for the way she looked. The parents would explain Lucy's story and the camera would remain stationary on them using a close up shot [CAMERA]. As the interview is taking place, alternating shots will occur of the interview and Lucy being filmed walking around her high school [EDITING]. The shots of Lucy will show her walking through school on her own, through the busy crowds and noise of her school corridor [SOUND]. Towards the end of the scene there would be a brief interview with Lucy in her own room, separate to her parents, and the audience would hear Lucy's own opinion on the matter. The room would be lit with just one lamp, making the room fairly dim [LIGHTING]. Lucy would explain of her deep sadness but also of her wish to have a better body image and be like those celebrities on TV who have the idyllic image.</p>	

participant  
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Scene No: 15	Page No: 4
Slugline	Ext – Busy High Street
Endpoint of last scene	Film maker trying to get an interview with Hugo Boss on phone – Is at first denied, then explains how he will take to the streets and get information on body image.
Characters in scene	Film maker, Interviewees
Point Of Scene	To show how people do not think that body image is such a bi deal and hopefully persuade a spectator not to be burdened by it.
Conflict	The views of the spectator are most likely going to be that everyone is concerned with image – however the answers of people contradict this.
Ending/Central Question	Is body image as important as it is made out to be?
Key Micro Elements Employed	EDITING: The scenes that of Robbie and Lucy will last just a few seconds and then the shot will return to the interviewee.
<p>The film maker will place himself in a busy high street and ask passers questions on what they think of body image. There will be a variety of answers however the conclusion will be that the majority of people are more concerned with the personality of someone rather than their image. Then the film maker will ask the same interviewees what they think of steroids and are asked whether they think they are common, dangerous etc... Everyone interviewed will say that they do not know of anyone addicted to steroids and wouldn't know the damage that they could do, then the shot would change to show the scene, shown earlier in the film, of Robbie crying [EDITING]. The film maker will also ask the interviewees if they have ever been bullied as a result of their body image. Everyone asked the question says they haven't been and the camera would then cut to show the scene of Lucy in her dimly lit room [EDITING]. After the interviews the film maker will step in front of the camera and state the conclusion that although in the main the 'dark side' of body image effects people so severely, the majority of people are oblivious to it.</p>	



Scene No: 20	Page No: 5
Slugline	Int or Ext Int of Hugo Boss' CEO's office
Endpoint of last scene	Ends with a Hugo Boss advert stating 'image is everything'.
Characters in scene	Film maker (voice only), CEO of company – Mr Rydell.
Point Of Scene	To expose the true thoughts of Mr Rydell, and represent his company as partially to blame for the suffering of people trying to obtain the right body image.
Conflict	Between the film maker and the CEO. There is a conflict where the film maker consistently tries make Mr Rydell share some of the blame but Rydell will continue to avoid doing this.
Ending/Central Question	Is the idyllic image and those advertising it responsible for the damages it can cause?
Key Micro Elements Employed	SETTING: Luxuries would be a fish tank, top floor window view, leather chairs and a bookcase full of books.
<p>This is the final scene of the documentary and will again be an interview. The filmmaker will start the interview quite calmly by asking Mr Rydell what he thinks Hugo Boss has to offer to its consumer. The film maker will try and expose what Mr Rydell really thinks about whether his corporation is to blame for an increase in bullying and low self-esteem due to the company's idyllic image endorsement. The scene will be filmed in Mr Rydell's top floor office where Mr Rydell will be shot surrounded by his luxuries [SETTING]. A mid shot of Mr Rydell will be used to film the entire argument, although at times when confrontational comments about Rydell's luxuries the camera will pan from side to side slowly, so that his surroundings can be seen on camera clearly. [CAMERA]. The argument will become severely tenser and the film maker will challenge Rydell on the accusations made of his company about child labour and using size zero models, made ill, by their attempts to keep a low weight. Rydell will consistently dismiss and reject any negative claims from the film maker and become more and more angered until the film maker will be thrown out. A split screen will then appear where the film maker getting thrown out of the building shall be displayed on the right. On the left the same screen that the documentary opened with will appear, the screen filled with the pictures. However many of the idyllic body images images will turn into the shocking ones and the film maker will explain how the consequences of image are increasing and whilst this takes place corporations are earning millions of pounds worth of what would seem ill-gained profit [EDITING].</p>	

participant  
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participant  
3

### Reflective Analysis

I chose my documentary to be shot in the style of a reflexive mode as it doesn't just inform the spectator of issues surrounding body image but also shows the cause of these issues and gives the spectator motive to try and put these issues right. There are elements in my documentary that use the fly-on-the-wall method of filming, however this is only the case in scenes, 5 and 10. This allows the documentary to reflect the reality of certain circumstances however the pace and engagement of the film is not lost.

In scene 1 of my film (Page 1) I want what is presented to the spectator, on screen, coinciding with the voice over of the film maker, to challenge the spectator personally on whether they truly know the negative effects that the striving for an idyllic body image can have on a person. The editing of the scene will be done in such a way that the stereotypical and 'perfect' image that is normally presented to a spectator about body image is juxtaposed by the negative side that is hidden from us, and all this is done in a single shot. As this happens the voice over will explain how the negative side of body image that is being revealed on screen really isn't acknowledged as it should be. This would establish the relationship between the film maker and the audience straight away, the relationship being that the audience are supporting the film maker's mission to expose some of these shocking truths and learn from him as the film goes on.

In scene 5 of my film (Page 2) the first shot that shows the exterior of the Gym, will show Robbie enter it however the gym will be much bigger than him and almost tower over him as he enters. This will identify, to a spectator, the control that obtaining the right body image has had in Robbie's life. When he enters the gym and walks past the numerous and varied other people in the gym, the audience will be under the impression that the case Robbie has suffered isn't an individual case but his is just one of many. When the scene finally reaches the interview and the nervous state of Robbie is shown through his constant shaking, captured by a mid shot, the audience will sympathise for Robbie and, in their shared emotion, form a relationship with him that will convince the audience to be strongly against the use of steroids and acknowledge the severity of the damage that they can cause.

Scene 10 (Page 3) of my film is predominantly filming the interview with Lucy's parents, with the use of a close up shot. The close up shot will allow the audience to see the emotion expressed on the faces of Lucy's parents, giving them a clear idea of how severe the situation is and how much Lucy's parents are suffering. The editing of the scene is also important as the continual alternation between the parents and Lucy, during the interview, will keep Lucy in the back of a spectator's mind and show the practical application of what is being talked about. During these shots of Lucy, having the background sound of a school is again showing the reality of the situation being screened. Eventually, when the scene reaches the one-on-one interview with Lucy, the low key lighting will be representative of Lucy's low self-esteem concerning her image.

In scene 15 (Page 4) of my film the editing is crucial in forming the effect that the scene will have on a viewer. When the shot cuts to scenes that portray the suffering of Lucy and Robbie, whilst the interviewees show their lack of knowledge about these situations happening, the audience, themselves, realise that they themselves must make an effort to acknowledge the suffering that the ideal body image can cause. Therefore provoking



participant  
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and encouraging the audience not to conform to the pressures of having to obtain a certain image, and to not accept the constant advertisements that suggest it is so important.

In scene 20 (Page 5) of my film then interview with Mr Rydell will take place in Rydell's office where, as shown through a mid-shot, he is surrounded by his luxuries. A spectator, that throughout the film, has seen such disastrous situations that are to do with body image, now see a man that is making a vast amount of money from it. This would anger the audience and almost create a conflict between themselves and Rydell, increasing the tension of the scene. The editing choice to bring back the original scene of the film allows the audience to recall all that they have experienced and felt throughout the film. In this state of recollection the audience then witness a negative ending where what they have desired to change for the better, throughout the film, is represented in a way that shows it becoming worse.

This is crucial to the purpose of the film as the film will cause the spectator to make a change and reject the stereotypical view on body image that is continually enforced upon them. Also for the stories of Robbie and Lucy will offer support for a more specific audience, one that is either suffering from steroid abuse or being bullied. Also if anyone watching the documentary was contemplating steroid abuse then the story of Robbie would show them the reality of the situation and act as a device to persuade them not to. Concerning the rhetoric of the film, I believed that as my film shows such shocking scenes of disaster, it wouldn't just inform a spectator of possible dangers as a result of body image, but also give a sense of fulfilment to their shameful indulgence. For example seeing Robbie in a rock bottom state does give a spectator a strange sense of entertainment as it takes us from our own mundane situations of life and reveals to us the devastating realities that can be seen in other's lives.

participant  
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### Step-analysis

*Documentary mode being used: Reflexive*

<b>Scene No.</b>	1
<b>Slugline</b>	INT. – Images of logos and male models on the screen.
<b>Endpoint of last scene</b>	
<b>Key micro-elements employed</b>	Editing, sound.
<b>Characters in scene</b>	The film maker's voice over.
<b>Point of scene</b>	To show that fashion brands are using male models to present an image to young males that they in turn will want to emulate.
<b>Conflict</b>	To show a negative image to the stereotypical models we see representing these brands.
<b>Ending/Central question</b>	Do we really want to be like these male models advertising high prestigious, heavily marketed brands?
<p>The scene begins with many various well-known brand logos appearing on screen, each with a different male model to represent them. Brands include 'A&amp;F', 'Hugo Boss' and others. The statuesque models are placed in the centre of the screen with a black background. The images fade in from the left to the centre of the screen [editing]. The non-diegetic sound is the score slowly building up yet not as much to drown out the narration of the film maker [sound]. As these appear on screen, film maker voice over begins with him asking a question of what are the well-known brands really selling us and continues to say he strongly believes that they are selling us the so-called perfect male body image as we all dream to look like these models. He then continues to say that the only problem I see with this is that we are all buying into this image and will work to achieve it by any means necessary.</p>	

participant  
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Documentary mode being used: Reflexive

Scene No.	4
Slugline	INT. – Inside of the gym.
Endpoint of last scene	An extreme long shot of Daniel's gym.
Key micro-elements employed	Setting, editing.
Characters in scene	Daniel, the film maker, various members of the film crew, people at the gym i.e. gym users, employees, ect.
Point of scene	To show that taking steroids to get the 'perfect' male body image has a very dangerous and physical effect on you.
Conflict	To shock the audience with proof that steroids have a long-lasting negative effect on your body.
Ending/Central question	Is damaging your physical appearance worth taking steroids for?
<p>The film maker is interviewing Daniel about the sudden effects those steroids have had on him. We are able to see the back of the film maker's head, as this is an over the shoulder shot as he interviews Daniel. As the interview goes on the camera switches to a close-up shot of the film maker and Daniel as they each talk and it fades from one of them to the other [editing]. There is gym equipment in the background with gym members passing by [setting], we can also see two members of the film crew in the shot as the interview happens. Daniel is explaining to us about the effect steroids have had in his right arm, causing it to swell up become noticeably larger than the left arm. He describes as he woke up and noticed it immediately he was shocked. He carries on to say he had these fast shooting pains down his right arm and it was only in the light that he had seen how much it had swollen up. It then shows the table as Daniel empties his steroid pills onto it explaining which one does what.</p>	



participant  
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Documentary mode being used: Reflexive

Scene No.	5
Slugline	INT. – inside of the hospital.
Endpoint of last scene	A shot of Daniel as he finishes explaining his reaction to what had happened to his arm.
Key micro-elements employed	Setting, lighting.
Characters in scene	Dr. Thomas, the film maker, victims of steroids, doctors in hospital.
Point of scene	To give the audience facts on steroids from a professional doctor who knows all about the drug.
Conflict	To shock the audience from the doctors stories of men who have suffered the worst due to steroids.
Ending/Central question	Are the long-term mental effects worth taking steroids for?
<p>The film maker is walking down an empty hospital hallway [setting]. The lights [lighting] from above have lit the hallway as other doctors pass him as he walks. He begins to explain why they are there. He begins to describe the effects steroid use can have on you physically and how much it affects you psychologically as well. He goes on to say that he's at a hospital on the outskirts of Daniel's hometown Leicester to talk to Dr. Thomas, a man who has been working with steroid users for over 25 years. But will he be able to help Daniel and the rest of the young men out there trying to achieve what they believe are the perfect body image? It is a mid-shot on Dr. Thomas is then sitting in his office with a computer and books placed in the background. He continues to say that he has seen all sorts of strange effects steroids have had on young men like Daniel. Two images of two young men then appear on the screen, and Dr. Thomas begins to describe the two worst victims of steroid use, which were 22 year old James and 26 year old Dean. James got sudden brain damage and then dies two year later at the age of 24 and Dean starting with permanent headaches and now has lost all use of his body.</p>	

participant  
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Documentary mode being used: Reflexive

Scene No.	8
Slugline	INT. – inside of the gym.
Endpoint of last scene	A shot of a train moving which is showing how F/M and the crew have travelled to London for this scene.
Key micro-elements employed	Lighting, setting, sound.
Characters in scene	Bradley, Bradley's dad, F/M, various people at the gym.
Point of scene	To show the audience how far this obsession with male body image has gone.
Conflict	To shock and surprise the audience as we are introduced to Bradley, the four-year-old gym user. This showing how far the obsession has come and how the addiction may follow. The film maker is trying to shows the long-term effect it could have using the gym at such an early age, yet is fighting against his dads determination to make him work.
Ending/Central question	Are we all now encouraging even younger males to attempt in reaching their ideal body image? And who really is to blame for young males wanting to change their body image?
<p>The gym has a very gritty style to it full of bland surrounding colours and very dim lighting that's lighting up the gym [lighting]. The film maker begins with walking through the entrance of the gym as he talks to the camera saying he's at one of south London's most known gyms to meet Bradley, a four-year-old boy who visits the gym with his farther on a regular basis. We see Bradley being helped by his dad as he attempts to lift some heavy weights in the middle of the gym, at this point we are able to see the film maker, members of the film crew plus other users of the gym in the background with the equipment in sight [setting] and the sound of the people working out [sound]. The film maker asks Bradley's dad why he's been forcing his son to spend so long at the gym, he responds with saying he is not forcing him in anyway and he's just encouraging him to work hard at it. He doesn't want the society when he's older giving him problems about being out of shape, so getting him working out and in the perfect shape as soon as possible will mean he will look better and feel better. The film maker then asks him if he does believe our society is to blame for all of this, with his fast response saying that he does.</p>	

participant  
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Documentary mode being used: Reflexive

Scene No.	10
Slugline	EXT. – In the city centre of Leicester.
Endpoint of last scene	A bird's eye view shot of the people shopping within the city. Shot from a rooftop.
Key micro-elements employed	Setting, sound.
Characters in scene	The film maker, members of the public, Daniel.
Point of scene	To show the audience the females view and preferred look of the male body image.
Conflict	Daniel having to readjust his understanding of male physical attractiveness as he hears female's viewpoints. The film maker is trying to show the un-appeal to this body image yet is fighting against Daniel's addiction.
Ending/Central question	Is Daniel doing the right thing by aiming to achieve this ideal body image even though the questioned female public do not seem interested in that look?
<p>The scene begins with the film maker and Daniel walking down a busy street the shoppers and other members of the public passing by. There are buildings as they pass by [setting] and also in the background, such as shops, etc. The film maker goes on to say that he's in the city centre of Leicester to ask female shoppers if they preferred body image for a man is what Daniel is trying to achieve. The film maker is seen on the right side of the screen with Daniel beside him while on the right side six different groups of females appear answering his question. You are able to hear the diegetic sound of the mass crowd shopping in the background [sound]. One woman goes on to say no way in a disgusted manner. She continues to say it shows they spend why too much time on themselves and it usually looks more unhealthy than anything and she's don't know what somebody would be thinking being attracted to some over inflated perfectionist, the camera then turns to a close-up on Daniel's face, as he seems shocked and disappointed.</p>	



participant  
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### Reflective Analysis

My step-outline is a selection of different scenes from a documentary about the male body image and the increase in obsession that young men are having with it. The narrative shows the effect that steroids are having and how far they're going to achieve this. I wanted to have the spectator follow the film maker throughout as he reveals the dangers on the topic yet also have evidence in a young steroids user who is fixated on achieving the 'perfect' male body image and it has such a strong negative effect on him and his life.

The opening scene of my documentary is statuesque images of male models, I believe this gives the spectator an idea of what this documentary could be about and what it may be trying to tell you. I decided to then introduce into it a living example of how far the obsession for achieving this image has come as a young man named Daniel talks about the slow demise and downfall of himself because of his addiction to steroids. I believe that showing the audience proof of how far this could how and how much of an effect it could have on your life helps give it more realism and would have more of an effect on people. I had to think of how I could use my micro features to help keep this effect going with the audience and to keep their interest and enthusiasm in the subject going. Keeping it with a much more realistic approach on it, the mes en scene such as sound, setting and lighting were used mostly from the location we would have been in. with the first scene being an exception, that had shown how editing had been used to get the spectator interested within the first moments of the documentary, with the fast paced images entering the centre of the screen and the non-diegetic sound of the low score slowly building built the interest up from the very beginning moment. The diegetic sound was used throughout the documentary and is shown in scenes such as where the film maker is with Bradley in the gym and you are able to hear other gym users in the background, also, when Daniel is with the film maker in the city centre of Leicester as he asks different females on their opinion on the male body image you are able to hear the crowd of shoppers in the background. i thought the choice of a reflexive style documentary would be good as it helps get to the truth and reality of the situation a lot faster than any other mode of documentary would, this also defines and highlights the film maker's role in his search for answers in the documentary.

I used reflexive mode because I wanted to show the variety of ways that different participants in the steroid industry represent what steroids are. I wanted to show how there are many 'truths' out there about this problem, some of them deluded, some deliberately misrepresenting what their use really means. A lot of the lighting used is done naturally and a clear moment of this is when they are in the gym and the diminutive lighting shows the spectator that it is a gritty, gloomy place to be in as the only light seen is coming from a far window. Using the lighting as an effect helps as is shows clearly how I wanted to illustrate this place to the audience, just as it was done with the background characters in scenes like this as they show no awareness to the film crew being there, making it seem that the young men infatuated by their ideal body image comes in a majority. I deem that the film maker is shown as a

participant  
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protagonist in the way that he is trying to reveal the danger in steroids and being fixated on your own body image, this showing he's trying to help you and also not using his role to embarrass or hurt these people in anywhere but try to help them.

Daniel's performance and his show in emotion could have a strong effect on the spectator because as we see things become worse for him we see him become more fragile and then becomes clearer how much it all has had a big effect on his life.

I strongly believe that a documentary such as this one can certainly have a strong effect as its dealing two very important issues that a lot of people encounter, dealing with their own body image and drugs. The way that realism is used in the documentary, such as the sound and setting, would have more of a cause on the spectator instead of having edited effects that could make you feel the facts and information were being giving to you in a false manner. The overall effect it should have on the audience is that they have seen a live example of how such things can alter your life and with evidence backed-up from professionals such as a doctor on the matter, presenting it a lot more real.

participant  
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Extended Step-Outline Sheet

Scene No	1	Page No	1
Slugline	Int. Adverts		
Endpoint of last scene	—		
Characters in scene	Bodybuilders, exercising women, models		
Point of scene	To emphasize the impact that weight loss has on media and the depth to which it inhibits our lives		
Conflict	The constant struggle between the media's image for us and who we are and the familiarity of stereotypes and expectations		
Ending / central question	To what extent does the media influence the way I think about weight and exercise?		
Key Micro elements employed and brief description of their use	Editing - used to create a T.V advert feel and to emphasize impact of the adverts		

**Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scène, camera, sound, editing, etc)**

A series of adverts promoting muscle building proteins/shakes and weight loss programs appear on a tv screen. Advert 1 - muscle building promotion for gym. A quick-fire montage of shots flash on screen of highly toned and built up men. They lift weights and use other gym paraphernalia while a voiceover advertises gym discount membership. Rock music\*1 epitomizes the 'in your face' feel of the advert as a shot of a toned torso overlaid with a man's smiling face subconsciously influences our thinking. Advert 2 appears in the form of a tv remote changing channels. A group of women dance to hard dance music\*2 while the screen halves to reveal a before and after image. A Product flashes on screen to advertise weight loss. The channel changes again and advert 3 contains a sleek advert for Calvin Klein featuring male and female models advertising the product while a stylish background track plays. As these adverts individually play, a single word appears at the bottom of each shot them. For Advert 1, the word is 'Ambition'. For advert 2, the word is 'Hope'. For Advert 3, the word is 'Expectation'. A voiceover proceeds to discuss the problems created by this type of advertising, such as poor self image and negative self confidence.

music  
tracks  
used

- \*1 - Korn - Did my time
- \*2 - Eric Prydz - call on me
- \*3 - Martin Garrix - A funky space reincarnation



participant  
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Extended Step-Outline Sheet

Scene No	3	Page No	5
Slugline	Ext streets city centre		
Endpoint of last scene	Talking heads expertise - dietician / nutritionist		
Characters in scene	People in street / Interviewer		
Point of scene	to show how the average person views the image projected by the media		
Conflict	The conflict between the media representation of 'Perfect' bodies and the diverse reality of most people's actual bodies		
Ending / central question	how does the general Public's view on body image differ to the media's?		
Key Micro elements employed and brief description of their use	Cinematography: To bring the views of the public to light as clearly as possible		
<b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scène, camera, sound, editing, etc)</b>			
The scene begins with quirky Jazzy music, with saxophones and drums playing whilst a quick introductory montage of the city followed by a voiceover explaining that they are getting the views of the public on the topic of body image. People are picked at random from the street to put their views across. People of all types of body size, race, gender and age are picked and a wide variety of views are submitted. The overall consensus is that the media image is wrong and unrealistic and people should have the freedom to be who they want to be. There are some however who answer deliberately provocative answers or who swear in front of the cameras, but this all adds to the reality and realism of the scenario. The street interviews conclude with statistical data gathered from anorexia charities, which conclude that 1 in 4 young women will develop an eating disorder. This shocking statistic is met with a barbed comment from the voiceover to the media.			

participant  
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Extended Step-Outline Sheet

Scene No	4	Page No	2
Slugline	Int offices		
Endpoint of last scene	Series of interviews with regular people on the street getting their views on realistic body image		
Characters in scene	Marketing Director for Calvin Klein - Don Lennard Interviewer		
Point of scene	to bring to light the initial thought process that goes into mass marketed cosmetics products		
Conflict	Conflict between the demand and offer of the advertisements, featuring the models ideal looks and the unobtainability of them		
Ending / central question	Is it possible for us to feel good about ourselves without the need for comparisons to 'perfect models'?		
Key Micro elements employed and brief description of their use	Cinematography - used to build an image of the corporate empire of c/k and also the world of management and its uncaring attitude		
<b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scène, camera, sound, editing, etc)</b> The scene begins with a sweeping pan of the offices, revealing the lavish interior heavily decorated with ck memorabilia. We see T-shirts, scarves, mugs and keyrings adorning the walls and shelves. Upon a plush leather chair sits Don Lennard, Director of marketing for ck. The interviewer then asks a question that directly challenges the integrity of Lennard in using skinny models in his adverts. Lennard frowns deeply. Then hearing the provocative question specifically aimed to incite a response from him, but then gives a wry smile, almost as if he is accustomed to such brash questioning. He then begins to justify his position by saying it is a proven marketing technique to generate sales. Gradually, as the interview progresses, the interviewer's questions and techniques become more blunt and unorthodox and it is clear he is deliberately provoking Lennard. We see Lennard try to compose and contain himself as he shifts awkwardly in his chair, and tries to keep his voice steady. He eventually cracks however and runs from his chair and pulls the door open, indicating they should leave. The camera is unseated from its tripod and sharply carried from the room. As the camera lingers on Lennard's gold plated name tag, the voice over <del>say</del> comes on telling us that maybe the big guns weren't so big after all.			



participant  
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# Extended Step-Outline Sheet

Scene No	8	Page No	3
Slugline	Int. Interview room		
Endpoint of last scene	Montage of successful athletes		
Characters in scene	Nadia Rogers / her trainer / Interviewer		
Point of scene	To show the extent the damage that steroids can effectively do to a career and potentially finish it.		
Conflict	The inner turmoil of an athlete as the realisation dawns that her career is finished due to drug abuse		
Ending / central question	Is the end result of taking steroids worth risking your career and integrity for?		
Key Micro elements employed and brief description of their use	Sound - to bring emphasis to the sobriety of the scene and to give the polemic subject matter more impact.		
<p><b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scène, camera, sound, editing, etc)</b></p> <p>When the montage of successful athletes fades, sad melancholic piano music replaces the upbeat brightness of Katrina and the Waves 'walking on sunshine'. The camera captures Nadia's emotive state as we see her blotchy, tear-stained face and her hands wrung together in her lap. Nadia begins to talk slowly and poignantly about the reasons she took drugs, her voice breaking from time to time. She reflects sadly upon feelings of incompleteness and a desire to raise her game to avoid a newer athlete replacing her. The tone of the interview is altogether different to the Don Lennard interview. His tone is soft and he allows ample time for Rogers to answer the questions. He words the questions thoughtfully and is a far cry away from the aggressive, intimidating body language and tone of voice employed specifically to antagonize Lennard. At one point a piteous hiss is softened to Rogers. Despite what she has done and the impact of her deceit, it is impossible not to feel a degree of empathy for Rogers. The construction of the interview juxtaposes Lennard's interview perfectly with none of the pomp and arrogance of Lennard and with the meekness and humility that Rogers emanates with morose piano music playing in the background.</p>			

participant  
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Extended Step-Outline Sheet

Scene No	12	Page No	4
Slugline	Int Gym		
Endpoint of last scene	Interviews with models over the alleged pressures to stay slim		
Characters in scene	Bodybuilders/Interviewer		
Point of scene	To juxtapose the contrast between extreme dieting and extreme bodybuilding - highlight the hypocrisy		
Conflict	The moral hassle within the spectator, between understanding young men in the gym to attain the bodies represented in the posters		
Ending / central question	At what point does obsession become dangerous?		
Key Micro elements employed and brief description of their use	Mise en scene - The positioning of equipment and clothes they wear will help categorize the interviews		
<b>Scene description (without dialogue) focusing on key micro aspects (mise-en-scène, camera, sound, editing, etc)</b> The scene begins with a look around the gym. We see various gym paraphernalia and items cast around including the equipment itself. Operating these weights are bodybuilders of considerable size and stature. The interviewer comes in with a voiceover saying we have been granted permission to speak with a bodybuilder who regularly uses steroids. In the center of the room we see a poster of a highly toned man, possibly an inspiration to those in the gym. The interview itself is brief, mainly because the answers he gives are short and he seems unwilling to expand on the answers he does give. The interviewer soon leaves with a voiceover explaining the unease and discomfort he felt whilst conducting the interview and being immersed in that environment. As they leave through the door, the scene ends with a lingering look at a syringe pumped full of drugs lying discarded on a bench.			



## Reflective analysis

The micro features I have focused on in this documentary are the use of editing and setting in terms of location. The reasons being are that I feel with my documentary taking the form of reflexive mode, that these devices would prove to be valuable in conveying the attitudes and feelings the viewer would experience towards certain characters and views. They would have maximum effect as the spectator would gain a further insight into the characters by the way they are portrayed on screen. This is a tactic that worked well for many Michael Moore documentaries dealing with polemic issues such as Fahrenheit 911 (2004). These are key features used in documentaries to initiate an independent thought process that lets the spectator think through the issues for themselves instead of merely being spoon-fed facts and having biased attitudes forced upon them to 'convert' them to a specific line of thinking. These features have been used even in the earliest forms of documentaries dating back to the early 30's with short films such as Shipyard (1935) and Industrial Britain (1931) blending at the time, impressive editing techniques and locations together skilfully to incite a meaningful message to the viewer, informing them with something about the country they were living in. I have looked at editing in the opening scene of my documentary where I have used cut editing, such as quick cuts of muscle-bound men promoting their products to women exercising whilst promoting a weight loss product to give the scene an edgy, advert orientated look which would appeal to the viewer as they are well acquainted with seeing this style of editing from adverts and promotions on TV. The cut style would be in the form of someone changing channels which would enforce this. In documentaries, certain types of editing are used to create different effects, both upon the feel of the film as a whole and the impact they have on the viewer. I have chosen fast-cut editing to portray the aggressive, stimulating effect that most weight loss advertisements have as they will appeal to the audience and they will be able to relate to it on a superficial level as they subconsciously absorb these adverts without realising the effect they have on their lives. I would emulate this technique to portray this observation.

I have used the micro feature of location and setting as setting can provide many clues as to the tone of the scene and can hold connotations of

the place the viewer is watching. Mise en scene would also play a large part in conveying this as objects associated with fitness such as dumb bells and gym balls will be seen in various shots and this micro feature juxtaposed with editing will further emphasize the tone of the location. I have used settings connoted with weight loss such as gyms and fitness centres and have also added interviews which take the form of an observational mode of documentary. This was used to great effect in Michael Moore's 2002 documentary Bowling For Columbine in the closing scene in which he conducts a volatile interview with Charlton Heston, in which he probed him about his involvement with the NRA. I felt this style of interview very effective as the audience saw the raw, unglamorous reality of interviews which is not presented in such documentaries as Supersize Me (2005). I planned an interview in the observation style with the executive of major fashion company to influence the way people thought and felt about him and to instigate a realistic, natural response from him which would make the documentary as true to life as possible.

Locations also play major parts in establishing the documentary in the opening scene as from the setting of a gym, the viewer will immediately be aware that the film will be about an issue about weight of some description. The opening scene will demonstrate this as editing will be vital in recreating the sense in the spectator of being bombarded by images of 'perfect' body image. This combined with the use of cinematography in using obtrusive close up shots will reveal the world of weight loss to be entirely superficial and shallow, and as the documentary progresses these themes will be further revealed within the narrative. I wanted the audience to feel and experience this superficiality first hand as this will begin the thought process of thinking about what goes on below the surface of the world of dieting and bodybuilding. I hope that by contrasting these scenes with interviews with drug addicted bodybuilders, or disgraced athletes, that ideas will merge and run into each other and that this in turn will add cohesion as thoughts concerning this issue are drawn together, however I will try as hard as possible shoot this documentary from an entirely neutral perspective, as I want the viewer to make up their own mind about weight loss, and not to be heavily influenced by a biased viewpoint. The viewer will build bridges and make links by themselves and I feel that this will not only make them think passionately



participant  
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ASVA

Word count: 1105

and strongly about their conclusive views after watching, but will also add to their overall enjoyment of the film. I found this technique used very successfully in Michael Moore's controversial 2004 documentary Fahrenheit 911, in which he put forward information relating to the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, and let the audience make their own minds up and come to their own conclusion on events.



I feel that the micro features of editing and setting are essential qualities in my documentary as they both would contribute greatly to the desired effect I would like to have on the viewer upon watching this film. The best examples of this would be the contrasting scenes in which we see Nadia Rogers and Don Lennard represented in different ways on screen. These representations will be created by the use of sound and editing. In the case of Nadia Rogers, the music will be slow and melancholic and the individual shots will fade slowly into one another to create a sombre, reflective mood for the scene. Lennard's by contrast will have sharp, cut editing and no music to reflect the harsh, raw feel of the interview. By using setting and selective editing to influence the tone of the scenes, I feel that this would greatly affect the watching viewer's reaction to the bodybuilding world. I have drawn heavily upon devices and techniques employed by successful filmmakers whose work I feel I could take inspiration from and whose styles and ideas would be beneficial to the tone of my documentary.

participant  
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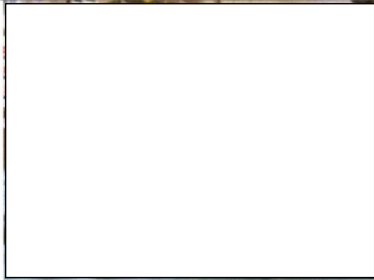
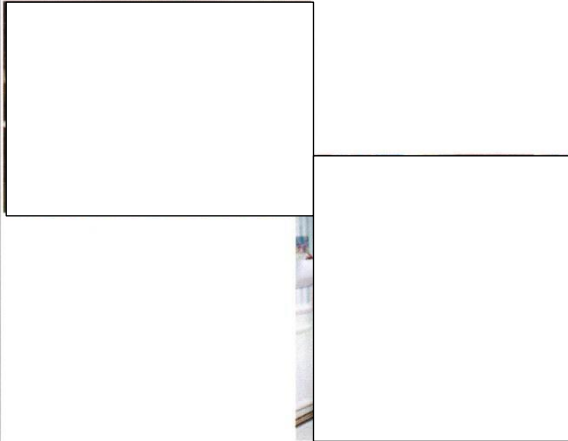
Shot	Image	Visual	Sound	Time (secs)
1.		<p>A mid shot of Emily playing the piano looking like a normal teenaged girl. My use of montage aims to show how long Emily's ordeal has been. The lighting is quite bright and is focusing on the piano music and Emily's face to create numerous focal points within the shot. The use of the gold and browns from the piano contrast with the bright pink top that Emily is wearing.</p>	<p>Non-diegetic sound of the soft piano music Emily is playing. The music is then faded out and the Boom Boom Pow-Black Eyed Peas starts which is leading into the next scenes.</p>	15
3.		<p>Long shot of Emily's bedroom door which is then zoomed into just the name indicating that the camera is now going to enter a private and personal space. The lighting is focused upon the lettering on the door as this is the most important part of the shot. The use of the gold tinsel around the lettering is again making the letters more dominating.</p>	<p>The diegetic sound of the voice over describing the sort of personality Emily has. Also describing the ordeal she has been through with anorexia and the problems which she has had to face throughout her life.</p> <p>The non diegetic sound of a loud radio presenter introducing the next song which could be (Black Eyed Peas -Boom Boom Pow) coming from</p>	30



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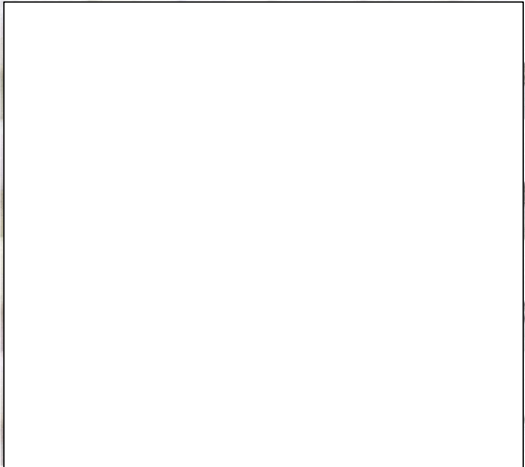
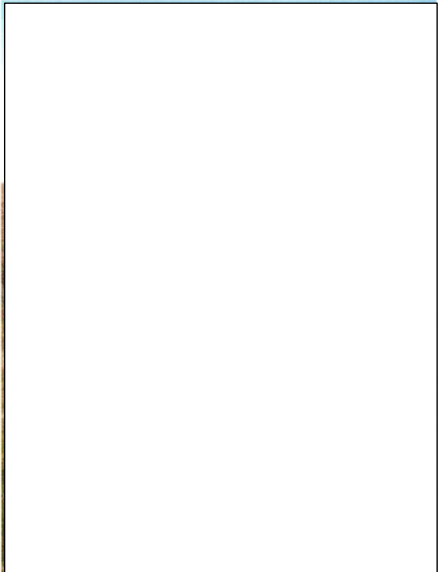
			behind the door which is portraying normal teenage behaviour .	
4.		Over the shoulder shot of Emily sitting on her bed with her laptop looking at models/magazine website which is signifying that the media plays a great part to anorexia. The lighting is dim and is only coming from the laptop. The colours are dark green and black tones which are contrasting with the light pinks which are found on Emily's top.	Non diegetic sound of the continuous sound of the radio presenter talking and introducing songs.	10
6.		A mid/close up shot of Emily crying whilst looking at a magazine. The lighting is focusing upon Emily's eyes as they are sad and vulnerable. The colours are bold and striking to make the shot even more powerful.	The non diegetic Sound of the radio which is continuous from the past scenes.	15

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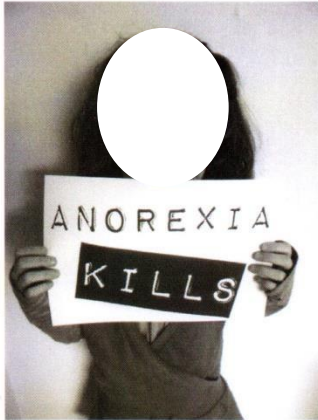
5.  7.		A crane shot of Emily sitting in her room crying with magazines which contain models or idols for Emily and unhealthy foods. The vivid colour in this shoot signifies that it is a part of her imagination. Her action of throwing these magazines around the room is a metaphor of her desire to be rid of there provocation	The diegetic sound of Emily crying. The non diegetic sound of her loud music playing which is signifying the sort of personality that she has. The track that could be played again is called Boom Boom Pow by the black eyed peas as it is has a very powerful beat.	15
8.		Low angle Shot of Emily in hospital lying down, looking fragile and petite. This is showing what state she was in 6 months ago.	Diegetic sound of heart monitor and hospital commotion. Non diegetic sound of a song called Requiem by Angelo Mili which is signifying the more vulnerable side of Emily's personality	10
10.		Split screen of models walking down a catwalk and a girl who has anorexia. The colours in the first screen are bold and glowing; however these contrast with the white and light tones in the second image. The lighting in the first image is being focused onto the models as they are the focal points. The lighting in the second image is focused onto the girl in the mirror as	Silence to make the images more moving	10



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		this is the main focal point of the shot.		
13.		<p>Mid shot of Emily's mum in her home working in the kitchen doing household chores. She is talking about her daughter Emily, showing photo's with her sister and Emily's grade A work to the camera.</p> <p>The camera is slowly zooming into the column of the funny face Emily is pulling in the photograph. The lighting is natural and the colours are black and white.</p>	Diegetic sound is the noises in the kitchen and Emily's siblings playing in another room.	10
14.		<p>Long shot of Emily sitting on a park bench which is signifying that the only person that can get Emily better is herself now. The lighting is again natural but another light source is focusing on Emily as she is the focal point in the shot. The colours are dark greens and browns; however the bright pink is making Emily the focal point again.</p>	Diegetic sound of children playing, birds etc.	10

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20	 A black and white photograph of a person from the chest up, holding a white rectangular sign with both hands. The sign has the words 'ANOREXIA' and 'KILLS' written on it in a bold, sans-serif font. The person's face is obscured by a large white circle. The person is wearing a dark, long-sleeved garment. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.	<p>Before this image there is a black screen. This image is then faded into the screen. It is of a mid shot of Emily. She is holding the words 'anorexia kills' which is a powerful message to end with. The colours are black and white which are powerful contrasting colours are. The lighting is focused onto Emily as she is the focal point in the shot.</p>	<p>Silence to get the message to be even more powerful.</p>	10
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### Reflective analysis

I chose various styles of documentary. In shots 1,4,6,7,8,14, there are elements of observational mode. In shots 3, 20,7 there are elements of expository mode of documentary. I have chosen to use these styles of documentary because I wanted to get the message across about anorexia clearly. I don't believe that there is a relative truth. I have used a narrator as I feel when an image is not clear it will need to be communicated to my target audience which is teenagers. I did not want to use cinema verité as the documentary needed to be structured as teenagers will get bored and confused.

The first shot in the documentary is of Emily playing the piano which is signifying that Emily used to be a normal girl. This is making the spectator feel that there used to be a sense of normality within Emily's life. The camera angle is also adding to the normality of the shot as it is close and is entering Emily's 'personal space'.

I have used a shot of Emily's name on her bedroom door. This is signifying that this is a personal space that the camera enters and that Emily is alone with the emotions that are affecting her through her ordeal. The normality of the setting helps to create the reality of what is happening and the spectator can also relate to this as it is a real situation that can happen to anyone and when seeing the normal bedroom this is again helping to create this effect. The edit for this shoot is of the door opening, when the camera man's hand reaches for the door handle the shot is then cut.

Leading on from this, when the door is opened the spectator sees a shot of Emily for the first time. The magazine website that Emily is looking at is connotes that the pressures to have a 'perfect body' are everywhere. What the spectator sees of Emily, her hair is messy and her hands on the laptop are thin and are a pale colour. If an adult or parent was to watch my documentary they would be able to relate to this shot as they could see their own daughter doing the same thing as Emily. The camera angle in the shot is again helping to create the reality of Emily's ordeal as the camera angle which is an over the shoulder angle could be signifying a parent leaning over Emily. The editing of the scene is linked into the next image of Emily.

Carrying on from this last point, the next shot is of Emily reading a magazine with her make up running this is then linked within the next shot of Emily sitting on the floor with magazines filled the photo's of models and food scattered around her and also the words fat?, Thin?. Emily sitting in the middle signifies that she is stuck in the middle and cannot get out. The words fat and



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thin are linking in with the models in the magazines because the pressures of food are also a big part of anorexia. The spectator does not see Emily face again, however this time we see more of her body it is looking thin and fragile. The composition of the shot is making the spectator feel that they are also trapped within Emily's world. The shot is then cut to a black screen which is making the spectator feel apprehensive.

From the black screen there is a shot of Emily lying in hospital with tubes and wires coming from her body. This the first time the spectator sees's Emily's face. The full effect of anorexia is shown to the spectator for the first time; she looks vulnerable, fragile and cheerless. I got the image for this shoot from google images: [http://fotosa.ru/stock\\_photo/Rubberball\\_JI/p\\_793080.jpg](http://fotosa.ru/stock_photo/Rubberball_JI/p_793080.jpg). The editing of the shot is that a model starts to walk down a catwalk, this is transparent and the spectator still sees Emily. This is showing one of the reasons why Emily has Anorexia. The more models that walk down the catwalk the less the spectator sees of Emily. When the models have stopped walking, another image is added to the screen which is of a girl standing in the mirror. The sound is silent as I wanted to achieve the full impact of the image. The spectator could relate to this as the impact of the editing for this scene is creating that the models are one of the pressures for anorexia and it is a reality. I got the image of the Girl standing in the mirror and the image of the catwalk models from the google images: <http://beautifullifeproject.files.wordpress.com/2009/03/anorexia.jpg> and <http://stylefrizz.com/img/catwalk-picture.jpg>

Moving on from this the next scene is of Emily's mum in her home showing images of Emily before she had the illness. When the camera is zooming into the happy face the spectator feels that they once was normality in her life and they are also hoping that she will be better soon.

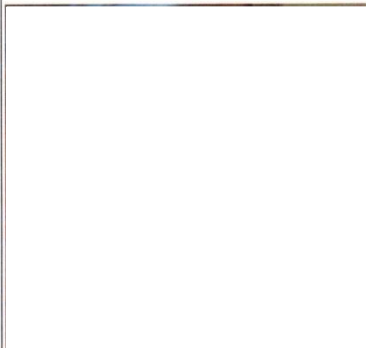

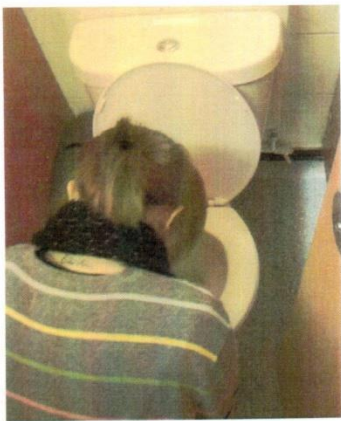
The next shot is of Emily sitting on a park bench on her own. This is a contrast between the last images as it is filled with happiness. This image is full of sadness as Emily is now the only person who is able to make her better no one else can help as she has had all the support and treatment she can have. This is very distressing for the spectator as reality for Emily has hit home and the spectator can now see that this is happening in a real life situation. The composition of the image helps the spectator to see this as there are no one else in the shot apart from Emily.

The final shot is of Emily portraying a powerful message across to the spectator and the monochrome effect is making the image even more shocking.

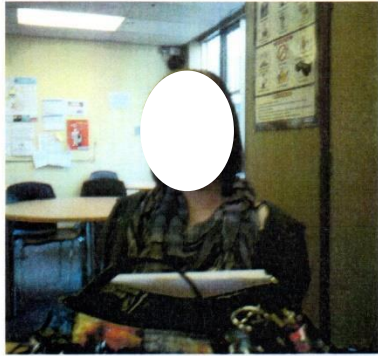



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I feel that my documentary overall is appealing to teenagers as the character Emily is the protagonist and the spectator is following her life to see if she tries to reach the goal of recovery or not. There is also spectatorship within the documentary as there is an interest for the spectator. Identification is one element within this as the documentaries target audience is teenagers and they are able to relate to this. Taboo is also a concept that offers pleasure with the documentary as anorexia is usually a closed problem within people's lives. It is almost as if the documentary is offering to get closure to the experience of anorexia.

Photo – narrative board


Shot	Image	Visual	Sound	Time(secs)
1		Alice is standing in the mirror looking at herself. It is a medium shot focusing on Alice's stomach/ribs, outlining how thin she is. Shot is aimed to shock the audience.	'DJ Sammy – Heaven' only the background no vocals. V/O: explaining the statistics of this eating disorder.	50 seconds
5		Emily being sick in the household bathroom. We cannot see her simply just the door of the bathroom. The light source is coming from above it is simply the natural lights in the room.	Diegetic sound of Emily being sick. There would be no other sound in this shot only the diegetic sound of Emily.	35 seconds
8		Follows Emily at school being sick in the school toilets. It is an over the shoulder/ mid shot. This is shot with a hand held camera therefore slightly shaky as the camera man followed Emily to the school toilets.	Minor key music same as at the beginning but in the background. However the diegetic music of the shot is Emily again being sick.	55 seconds



9		A mid shot of Emily sitting in the social lounge looking very withdrawn from her surroundings. This shot follows after Emily was sick in the toilets.	In this shot there is only diegetic sound of the busy school. V/O: the camera man asks Emily how she is feeling about what has just happened.	50 seconds
12		POV shot of the junk food that was found under Emily's bed by her mother. Shows the lengths that people with the condition will go to.	There is no sound just a V/O: The narrator is explaining why bulimic's feel the need to hide the food that they indulge on and later throw up.	30 seconds
15		An over the shoulder shot of Alice cautiously looking at her food checking how many calories there are in the bag.	Again there is no music, just the sound of the other students at the school. V/O: The camera man asks Alice what she is looking at and her reasons for looking.	120 seconds
18		Alice sleeping, looking very tired and ill. We can see how pale she is, can see that the lack off food is taking its toll on her body. Mix lighting there is some from the windows (natural) and some camera lighting.	There is no sound at all in this shot not even the noise of the students.	30 seconds

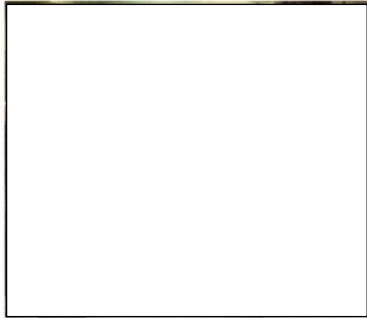
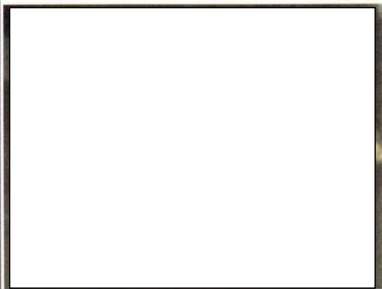
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20		Shot of Alice's dinner, she has not eaten much of her dinner simply just moved it around her plate. This shows that she is simply not eating. The lighting is dim and not shining on the food creating a shadow.	The backing song that has been used throughout the documentary is used in this scene.	55 seconds
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24		Shot of Alice in a hospital bed looking very ill with her concerned family surrounding her at her bedside. There is a hospital spotlight shining over the bed which she is in.	V/O: Narrator telling the audience what has happened to Alice, that she suffered a series of pass outs due to the lack off protein, minerals and carbs in her body.	120 seconds
27		Long shot of Alice's grave. Nothing else in this shot as it is self explanatory.	A repeat of the opening music this time with a lot more meaning due to the situation. V/O: of Alice telling us her story before she tragically died.	180 seconds

### Reflective Analysis

The documentary style that I chose was that of a mixed mode, I did this because I wanted to use fly on the wall, expository and a small amount of reflexive. The reason why I did this is that I wanted a narrator telling us how it is; however also wanted a natural effect that shows real life situations like fly on the wall represents. This style will appeal to my audience which is that of a younger age as they like fly on the wall documentaries. Successful examples of this are programmes like 'The Family'. My aim with doing this documentary on eating disorders, and using the narrative/shots that I did was to create a sense of shock for the audience. To show them how simple it is for people to that way about themselves and why they feel the need to go to the extremes that they do in order to get to the so called 'perfect' size 0. It would also aim to help others with the condition and the family that personally have to deal with the day in day out stress of seeing someone they love waste away.

The setting is that off the girl's houses and schools and other places that the average teen would go to for example town etc. However the lighting is that of social realist aesthetics, as we had to work with the lighting we had.

In shot 1 and 2 which is of Alice looking extremely thin, I was hoping that it would impact the audience because it is a very shocking image. Even though most of the viewers wouldn't have had to deal with anything like this it is still something that most parents would be able to relate to the emotions that are being conveyed. Also teens would be able to how the girls are feeling as most teens have to cope with self confidence issues etc. The lighting in these shots are natural which creates a lot of shadowing in the shots. They are all through the eyes of the camera, this helps the audience to be able to place themselves in the scenes and see as though they were there.

Shots 8 and 9 follow on from each other, shot 8 shows how people suffering with the condition can hide it and take it out of their homes and into school. The follow through shot of 9 you can see how Emily feels after what has just happened. These shots signify all girls' or boys' ability to become vulnerable to these circumstances. Again in these shots there is not much light cast over the girls this is either because they are not directly in the line of the light therefore some features cannot be seen clearly. Both are in the schools of the girls, which shows the audience that there disorder is carried out wherever they may be as it follows them.

Shot 15 is an over the shoulder shot, showing Alice cautiously looking at the nutritional information. This is a topic that everyone would be able to relate to as all packets of food now show this information on the front of the packets making people read it. This





participant  
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connotes how even manufacturers are getting people to read about what it is that they are eating and encourages people to compare others.

The final series of shots are that of two scenes, these are the most effective throughout the whole documentary. The narrative is also used to add emotion and realism to the scenes as it makes the audience open their eyes and see the harsh reality of how dangerous these disorders can be. They are all self explanatory. In shot 27 a hand held camera would be used almost as a sign of respect because no family would want a full camera crew at a loved ones funeral. All of the shots flow from one to the other which signifies Alice's final moments. The bright light above Alice's hospital bed has a double meaning, some would say it was simply a hospital light; however it could also signify 'the light'.

The purpose of this documentary was to shed light to everyone watching so that they can help and see the early signs therefore they can get help before it's too late.



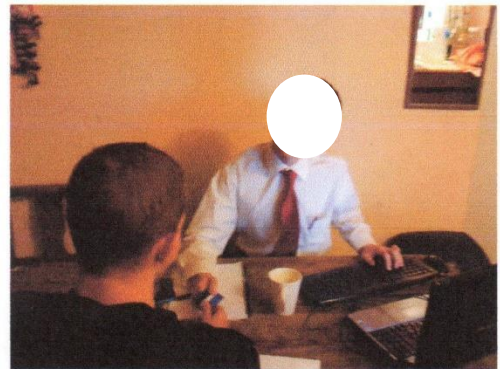
	Visual	Audio	
1	Image of the director ( ) walking slowly up a path in snowy conditions. (Camera Follows)	explains what he will be doing and his intension to bring to light the danger steroids taking. He is going to try and find out. There is the sound of passing cars. (Non-Diagetic)	
2	is greeted into  house.	No sound, only opening conversation between  and	
3	Next is an image of  in his living room. With very little furniture in there due to his overspending on steroids.	That narrator is stating, "We managed to find a regular steroid user to have a talk with us... ( )" Except for the interviewer and  talking, the room is silent.	
4	Cut to mid-shot of the local gym owner behind his desk with an up to date laptop and mobile (showing his wealth). Mirror on his wall. Representing a fascination of looks.	Narrator: We managed to get a quick interview with the local gym leader (Mr Briant) He gave us this quick statement before  arrived... "It's the gym users who control their work out/drug level, it's not up to me!"	

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arrives in office. explains that he wants to renew his membership. is very persuasive in encouraging to spend more money. Over the shoulder shot.

Talking between them. explains rules of the gym (not mentioning anything about steroids).



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enters from off screen, begins to comment on business. then asks to leave the room.

The narrator explains the situation of steroids that is saying. tone of voice is aggressive and angry. Quite light buzzing sound effect (non-diagetic)



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Now outside of office gets very aggressive to

Narration explains that calls in his security. After this there is no narration, only arguing between and



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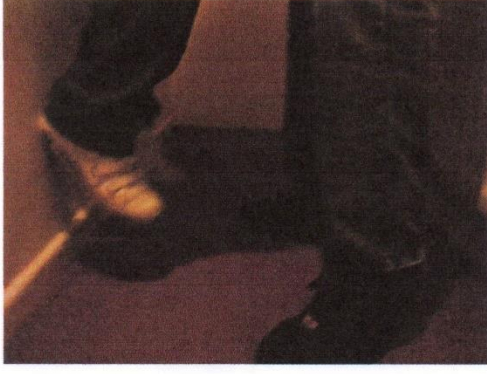


Cut camera to thugs persuading to leave.

Again no sound only the voices of and Thug.



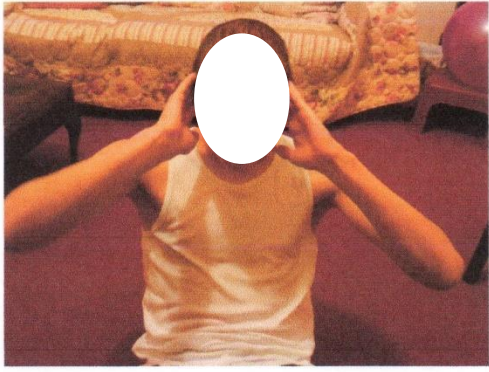
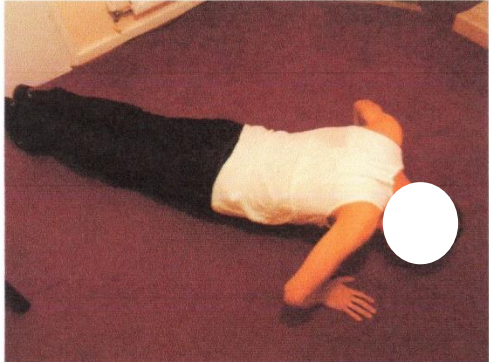


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9	<p>Close up of [REDACTED] who is pushed up against the wall with force. We can see that [REDACTED] is provoking the thug</p>	<p>Narrator explains that [REDACTED] has left the room and how [REDACTED] is assaulted. No sound.</p>	
10	<p>Camera drifts downwards to [REDACTED] feet as cameraman is attempting to show the audience of what is happening.</p>	<p>No sound, only [REDACTED] coughing</p>	
11	<p>[REDACTED] is then thrown out of the gym into the darkness. The thug then throws [REDACTED] coat at him.</p>	<p>Diagetic sound of people outside, passing cars and large crash as [REDACTED] hits the floor.</p>	
12	<p>Another camera captures [REDACTED] being thrown out but we also can see [REDACTED] leaving [REDACTED] office to enter the locker room.</p>	<p>Same as last point... Diagetic sound only.</p>	

participant  
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13	<p>Birdseye view shot of █████ walks in and shuts the door behind him. He looks around the room, watching people in the room.</p>	<p>No narration or music. Just observing █████ (Fly on the wall).</p>	
14	<p>█████ enters the locker room and finds a discreet corner; he waits for the room to be empty, and then takes two steroids. A deep red carpet is below, (alerting danger).</p>	<p>Again no narration or music. Just observing █████ (Fly on the wall).</p>	
15	<p>█████ heads for the main gym and starts his workout. Shot slowly fades out after 10 seconds to black. Having █████ go up and down disorientated the image giving the audience the impression of drugs.</p>	<p>Narrator explains (Voice Over) where █████ is going. As █████ starts the workout, workout music (Rock) begins in the background. When screen fades out music fades too.</p>	
16	<p>Camera shot opens and we can see █████ is now soaking with sweat.</p>	<p>Narrator explains █████ has been exercising for more than 1 hour now with out a break. Narrator now lists off dangers of steroids. Diagetic sound of other gym users in the background working.</p>	

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17

Now a character appears, He is an anonymous man who also agreed to give his side of steroids. When interview is finished, the character fades out into darkness.

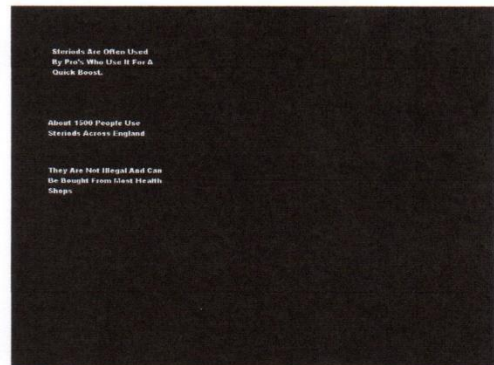
Narrator explains the character's life and circumstances. [REDACTED] "I know I am addicted to steroids and other drugs but I don't care... it feels like they have consumed me."



18

As the narrator is explaining each fact pops up on the screen in the form of bullet point sentences.

The narrator now gives a list of several facts and figures about steroids and addictions.



19

We now see a coroner, leaving the morgue turning the lights out. There is a body on the table with a white sheet over it and a tag on the toe.

Narrator "We helped [REDACTED] with his drug problem and he is fighting it. Unfortunately plenty more men push their bodies over the limit and end up on the same... cold... table". Slow orchestra music begins.



participant  
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## Reflective Analysis

For my photoboard I looked at mainly cinematography and mise-en-scene. I wanted to use these elements to try and explain the effect I wanted to have on the spectator.

I chose a mixed form of documentary modes; I used all of the modes at least once in different scenes. Although most of my scenes are reflexive I tried not to use it a lot as if the film maker keeps giving an opinion... it is the audience who will then be forced to see the film makers way. I was trying to allow the audience to separate into their own opinion categories and see each side (Pro's/Con's). Too much reflexive also can make the film maker [REDACTED] seem cocky and over-confident.

I tried to keep my interviews down to a minimum as this is very boring for the audience, by using reflexive mode and combined with a story type (protagonist – [REDACTED] and antagonist – [REDACTED]) makes my target audience (Young Adults and Teens) to keep watching.

By using the “fly on the wall” method it can then appeal to my target audience again as it is similar to popular TV programs such as “Big Brother and “The Family”. Also using the camera to give extra effect with cinema verite appeals to the target audience.

I used an image of myself walking up a path towards a house. The camera was facing me and the house was not in shot. There were passing cars in the background to represent a journey; I chose to take the shot when it was snowing as it can represent a struggled journey.

In the next shot I made sure I used a basic television in the background without any luxury items in the shot, this combined with the bland white wash walls shows how basic [REDACTED]s house was. Having [REDACTED] dressed in complete black contrast him to the wall behind making him stand out, showing us how he is important and the protagonist/victim in this story/documentary.

For the next image I just used a basic greeting between [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. This shows the audience that these to people have only just meet and will be going on a emotional roller coaster together.

Cutting to [REDACTED]s office. The camera is positioned head on to [REDACTED] facing him directly. Having the high tech computer etc on the desk contrast the blandness of the previous shot. I placed the mirror on the wall behind [REDACTED] portraying the unhealthy fascination with personal appearance.

participant  
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Now seeing [REDACTED] arrive at [REDACTED]'s office. [REDACTED] is over [REDACTED]'s shoulder making sure we can't see his face, by doing this I tried to give the effect of it representing him lying/keeping secrets.

For shot 6 I had an image of [REDACTED] asking [REDACTED] to leave his office, I added a very faint buzzing like sound effect to add tension for the audience. And letting us know that we are building up for a conflict.

I had the argument scene take place in a narrow hall way to make the audience feel like the argument was one-way which plays into the reflexive mode theme. Placing the camera over my shoulder also adds to that effect.

For these next 4 shots I attempted to add a typical scene in reflexive documentary... [REDACTED] is being thrown out of the building by a tall thug. I added the shot of me being lifted up against a wall as this can show the audience that [REDACTED] is the antagonist and doesn't care about anything but his reputation. I made sure to get a shot of my feet off the ground as it adds for dramatic effect similar to typical Hollywood films, so this would interest my target audience. I slowly introduced darkness into these 4 shots starting with shot 8, only having the door way in pitch black. Then the next two use dark clothing and deep shadows and then finally with shot number 11 being in total darkness.

By redoing the scene again but with a different camera shot and angle the audience can see what had happened to [REDACTED] while [REDACTED] was being thrown out, this is also something typical in Hollywood movies.

Now that [REDACTED] has entered the locker room we now know that [REDACTED] is not with him and no commentary is being used here, only diagetic sound. This is the "fly on the wall" mode. I only used that mode in the next four shots.

In shot 14 we can see [REDACTED] entering the locker room and searching for a discreet corner of the room. I took the shot of [REDACTED] holding two steroid pills, having a birds-eye view shot helps the spectator see what [REDACTED] is seeing. Along with the pros and cons that he may be thinking. I found a deep red carpet and made sure that this was underneath [REDACTED]'s hand giving a sense of danger. I chose to have no sound or dialogue in this scene as I thought the silence would help to make a statement and add to the suspense.

Now seeing [REDACTED] leave the lockers and head towards the gym, this is explained by the narrator. I used a mid close up shot of [REDACTED] doing sit ups, this makes it more person to [REDACTED] and the spectator can now start to worry about the steroids starting to kick in and the risks that it carries. I used workout music in this scene (to define workout music, I mean something like rock or with a heavy bassline etc... e.g. "eye of the tiger"). This now lets the spectator know that [REDACTED] is starting to get aggressive and pumped up. I made sure that I ended the

participant  
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shot with a fade to black instead of a straight cut, this is because it can represent time passing. The shot stays black for a few seconds.

I now opened this shot from black to fading out to see [REDACTED] exercising vigorously and drenched with sweat. Using the same deep red floor that I used in the previous montages still alerting the spectator with danger. The narrator now explains that [REDACTED] has been in this condition for an hour and lists major dangers of steroid usage. No music is heard in this scene, only other gym users who are off camera.

Now we can see a mysterious character that's identity has been kept secret. I did this as it isn't too personal and is different to my previous interview with [REDACTED] which was more honest and sympathetic. This interview however is more aggressive. I have started to introduce darkness for the second time but into my final three shots this time, I did this by having the character completely submerged in the black, the character is then slowly faded out until nothing is visible.

In shot 18 while the shot was in darkness from the previous shot (17), I had the narrator list out several facts about steroids and the effects/problems it comes with. As the narrator is reading them out they are appearing on screen in bullet point sentences, this is to shock the viewer with the facts but by using bullet point sentences it stays in the audience's head for longer and are more likely to think about it.

In my final shot, I used more darkness from the previous shot as the camera cuts to a morgue, we can see a body on the table with a grubby white sheet over it, the camera drifts down the body until you can see the coroner with his hand on the light switch ready to leave. I used a tag on the toe for dramatic effect. I used the white sheet and tag to contrast with diminished light source over the body. The narrator sets up this shot from the previous scene. I used no sound or music in the opening and the middle of this scene, however I used some slow orchestra music towards the end of the dramatic shot. This saddens the spectator, causing the spectator to then become opinionated... either sympathizing with the addicts to steroids or seeing it as they were in control at some point to stop this problem. By splitting this argument into two sides it helps people to think more about the subject and will change people's opinions.

participant  
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## **Summary of most robust themes across the focus group and the documentary: female participants**

1) the theme of personal autonomy, in a sense, underpins all of the themes and is read as a characteristic of being adult, no longer the dependent younger person, and being someone who is taking part fully in the adult world. In the creative work, a binary is worked – between the individual growth of an individual female being arrested by both acquiescing to threats, such as media representation of ‘ideal’ female bodies, and regressive emotional habits, such as the obsessive self-policing of food consumption – and the restoration of forward momentum in a female’s life, a narrative of hope.

2) yellow dysfunctional eating is the strongest theme of all in the creative work, as well as in the focus group discussion. It epitomises the loss of self-autonomy, and is associated with the loss of both social and physical well-being. The victims, represented in the documentaries, are socially isolated from friends and family, in their narcissistic relation to their own body and to a remote ‘ideal’ self and body. In this way, this theme is connected to that of blue the proper role of food as being to help the individual to be socially integrated, and green the social practices of balanced diet and proper meals. This is a holistic conception of health.

3) the association of the age of young girls/ young female adolescents with the problem of dysfunctional eating, corresponds with the documentary makers’ distanciation from them, as the truth-tellers/ documentary makers/ sharing in the wisdom of adult women and the truthfulness of experts (eg doctors in the narratives). This self-positioning re-punctuates theme 6 of the focus group, of yellow making progress, as young women, in leaving behind the experiences of being girls - leaving behind their ‘hang-ups’, and being more agentic as adult women.

4) the meta-discourse about being documentary makers, and operators of narrative and documentary form, so that female victims’ experience is empathetically understood and objectively processed, in its social function to help young women. This re-punctuates theme 4 of the focus group – yellow looking out for/ supporting other young women. It is also a part of their identity

construction as older females – clearly empathetic, but also a part of the discursive, shaping of social consensus about a social problem.

### **Summary of most robust themes across the focus group and the documentary: male participants**

(Note, the colour coding is held off these themes because of the focus upon steroid abuse in male participants, rather than food.)

1) the differentiation of gender (as a heterosexual binary) by identifying different male and female interest and social practice (theme 1 of the focus group discussion) is largely re-punctuated in the creative work: chiefly in deferment of (Derrida, 1978) eating disorders (female) to steroid abuse (male); and body narcissism worked through food to being worked through steroids; and so theme 3 of the focus group (female and male body interest) is restated as a part of their identity construction as young males. The contrast with female identity construction (above) - that sees the flow of food through the body as both a threat to the individual, and as a means of social integration – is stark.

2) the sense of individuals needing to be in control/ have autonomy in the negotiation with body image and physical self-improvement/ fitness (theme 3) is stronger in the documentaries and is associated with the need to identify media manipulation, driven by commercial interest (eg advertising and celebrity) and face-to-face manipulation (eg adults working for profit in companies/ gyms, and steroid 'pushers'). Similar to the female participants, personal autonomy, is read as a characteristic of being adult, no longer the dependent younger person, and being someone who is taking part fully in the adult world, as a gendered individual.

3) theme 3 in the focus group discussion – is re-punctuated, in the creative work, as knowing how to identify truthfulness in discourse. In the documentary work, they show that they know how to separate themselves from the visual codes of delusion, in the interest of truth-telling/ establishing a social consensus on a social problem.

4) as documentary makers, they also separate themselves from the victims of steroid abuse/ male body narcissism and assume the perspective of a more adult wisdom; theme 3 is, in this way, associated with making personal progression in adulthood by being distanced from the emotional 'hang-ups' of others, the disasters that befall those who become delusional and lose self-autonomy, and, in contrast, have become clearer sighted/ rational and better able to negotiate the social and cultural world. This has a future orientation, in taking art in the world as adult men.

### ***Themes in the semi-structured interviews of phase two.***

1. blue code **building sociality** through food sharing (preparing food for others, eating food with others) (eg. Kim, Immy, Don, Lily); positive affective orientation - associated with belonging, relational flow of generosity
2. blue code **impediment to building sociality** through food sharing residing in negative social judgments of others (snobbishness, judgment of social origins/ place, exacerbated by competitive relations) (eg. Robin, Travis, Immy, Don, Kim, Liam); negative affect - associated with competitive personal relations, and negative personal interaction.
3. purple code **meritorious food work** (earning social status through investment of effort (eg. Robin, Lily, Immy), sourcing quality ingredients (eg. Liam, Lily, Robin, Immy, Travis), showing hands-on skill in preparation (eg. Kim, Immy, Robin) working at expanding food knowledge (eg. Robin, Lily, Travis, Kim), making the effort to be a healthy eater (eg. Don, Liam, Lily, Immy); all associated with a positive use of food as a cultural resource, in which the individual marks themselves out as a social subject who is improving themselves/ performing in a positive way.
4. blue code **food preparation as ideally expressing generosity** and care to others (eg. Kim, Immy, Don, Liam).
5. purple code **social progress in male food work** - broadening interest/ investment/ responsibility of men in food-work and appropriating meanings traditionally associated with women; men learning to prepare food well, and in making an investment in community - not just women in traditional role as food workers) (eg. Kim, Immy, Travis, Liam);

6. purple code criticism of UK food culture; and **reconnection of consumers to food** (eg. Immy, Kim, Liam, Robin) and consumer identification of authenticity in some foods, sometimes associated with artisanal and traditional quality; the affective discrimination between the ordinariness/deadness of current modes of food provision compared to the rare, the special, and the exotic.
7. green code **learning the shamefulness of unhealthy eating and unhealthy bodies**; the individual's need to rationally control her/his consumption of food (eg. Immy, Robin, Liam, Travis, Kim, Lily; Don).

### **Extracts illustrating themes from semi-structured interviews**

Extract for **theme 1** blue (food practice building sociality); with **theme 3** purple (meritorious food work as artisanal, as investment of effort); with **theme 4** blue (food preparation as expressing care and generosity); with **theme 5** purple (male investment in the food-work of community); and with **theme 6** purple (a reconnection of consumers (in this culture) to food production

### ***Imogen***

I (pointing to image grab 6, from Jamie Oliver's programme, showing him next to the boy who has brought his bread here to the communal bakers): what I liked about this was that they were all (.) he kept mentioning about community and you know about the families and stuff and I like that (.) because it is talking about the food but it's just (.) a reflection of that culture and that community and I like how they all just (.) they're all part participants in making food so it's kind of getting the sense that they're all looking after each other in the community (.) I mean the child like takes it to the bakers before school and their mums make them before and (.) the men are cooking it kind of thing (.) so they're all they're all participants in it and they all eat it together (.) so I like that sense of community about it (2) with this (she points to image grab 7, showing the tagine pot sitting in the hot embers of another communal oven) I like how he said it was slow burning and it cooks slowly and it takes about four hours (.) I like that because it shows again the `care that goes into their preparation of their food sort of thing and `here (pointing at the third image) you see the end products of it

M: on that last one (pointing to the selected image 7, of the tagine pot in the embers of the oven) (.) is this a caring sharing side of masculinity/

I: `yeah (.) in that sense it's interesting cos he said that bachelors do this (.) and so in that sense you'd think usually that (.) well maybe in this culture mm like quite often in ours that erm the women kind of do the cooking kind of thing in that sense if (.) if the bachelors the men taking care of their food and not just having a doner kebab like he says they would do here but actually taking care of it and you know taking the process seriously while preparing their food kind of thing

M: do you think/ he was being judgmental/ err from that place (1) speaking to camera about what we do/

I: he was probably being more judgmental toward us (.) I think he wants (.) I think that's the thing (.) I think he wants us to see how easy it is to make food like this (.) and how you can have a sense of community and caring about the whole (.) the whole process like (.) and I think he really respects them for that

M: (pointing at a row of image grabs 15,16 and 17, showing fruits and vegetables displayed in the Marakesh food market) and the one in the middle/

I: the shots of the market were just unbelievable (.) I mean it was just showing all of the fresh produce and things (.) I mean you can get `this

M: it was exciting

I: it `was (.) it `really was (.) even from (.)even from the beginning of preparing food and as we go through the process (.) the whole thing is exciting and new (.) whereas we kind of trudge around a supermarket (.) but they have these markets which is just like a different way

M: supermarkets and supermarket shelves now seems kind of dead compared to that

I: yeah it `does (.) and frozen because that was `alive in there (.) it was humming in there

M: and all the fruits

I: just the colours of them

M: and here (pointing at image grab 17) you've got all these artichokes or whatever they are

I: yeah (.) and the one above (pointing at image grab 10) is him like making it (.) and the one above that as well (.) it's all about his hands and how he's



skilled in what he does kind of thing (.) he's showing how you don't need to just whack something in the microwave and press a button kind of thing (.) `again (.) I keep saying it but the process of making it with your own hands (.) preparing it for someone or for yourself (.) that kind of is you know all about looking after yourself and that kind of thing and caring for others

M: and it's personal

I: yes it is (.) that kind of thing `and it's caring for others

Extract for **theme 2** blue (impediments to building sociality, making social bonds with others; impediment in the judgment of others according to the social categories of class and age)

**Liam**

L: yeah, so I chose that one (pointing to image grab 13, showing the five contestants from the *Come Dine With Me* episode, eating at a table, but also showing clear enmity between two of them)

M: yeah, they go through quite a lot together

L: yeah, and sometimes it's not good (laugh) as in that episode, but

M: they kind of come through the ordeal, in a sense, you said there was a kind of bond?

L: yeah

M: did you use the word love at one point or?

L: I don't know but, yeah, sometimes they love each other and sometimes they hate each other

M: can you explain what that bond is all about a little bit?

L: well I think it's almost like a *Big Brother* situation (.) you know (.) they're put together (.) they don't know each other (.) and over the course of the week they've got to make this bond (.) make this connection with each other so

M: and how do you think food plays a part (.) because you've said sometimes they fall out with one another as well as making a bond with another (.) so there's a negative and a positive

L: yeah

M: so how/ do you think food plays into that (.) sometimes separating people sometimes making it tense between people as well as bringing people together (.) can you help/ me with that/

L: yeah (.) I think food can be a weapon sometimes (.) as in this case (.) they use it as a kind of catalyst to kind of hate each other (laughs) you know (.) to pick on their food (.) they don't like their food or

M: mm, how/ does that work (.) in terms of being a weapon (.) is/ there a way of saying something through your choice of food that has a go at other people/ or

L: yeah, I think there's (.) I think that's true (.) because at one moment the landlady was kind of (.) her food was dubbed pub food (.) I think it's kind of snobbish a bit (.) to kind of categorise people like that

M: the landlady you said err of the pub was really attacked by that other woman (.) who I think at one point called her a "chav" and then (.) as you said there (.) called her food "pub food" (.) so what's/ going on there/

L: I think it's just conflicting people really err I think the reason they're selected (.) well almost like a *Big Brother* thing cos they know they're gonna (.) they're two (.) totally different kinds of people so they're bound to clash and make for good tv so

M: what/ part does the food play/

L: yeah (.) I think cos as you saw (.) she had it in for her (laughs) (.) I think it's also the generation as well (.) she was different (.) she was older as well so she appreciated much more traditional kind of food so (.) yeah

M: so the idea of traditional (.) do/ you think she thought that was quality/

L: yeah (.) she thought it was better to stay close to her roots so to speak and

M: so that was national/ roots was it/ she was Welsh

L: I think it was purely about class to be honest because I think (.) this woman was quite loud and kind of brash and forward and the other one was quite (.) I'm not sure what the word is (.) sophisticated (.) she was very kind of (.) I'm not sure what the word is

Extract for **theme 2** blue (impediment to building sociality, making social bonds with others – class and age)

### **Robin**

Robin (pointing to image grab 13, showing the contestants of this episode of *Come Dine With Me* sitting around the dining table): with them all being around the table it's err again (.) with the show off (.) it's kind of (.) they're all discussing different things (.) but I still believe that each is trying to show off their houses (.) or whatever they wish that they think they've got that the other people don't

M: and the person that's making the food that night err is that person showing off/ with the food that they make/

R: I think it's a bit of everything (.) but probably what I've always thought is that it's the house that's most important to be honest (.) because they the show make them look around the house

M: right

R: erm and I think people know that (.) and then cos they always have big houses in these programmes (.) you never see them in just a council flat (.) so I always think the reason they have the big houses is that you know the chance to be on telly (.) thousand pounds is more a bonus for fifteen minutes of fame

M: to show off/ the house and things/

R: yeah (1) now I think there was a bit of conflict going on with that lady at the end there (indicates contestant Annie, in foreground of image grab 13)

M: Annie is it/ and

R: Sharon

M: I seemed to pick up a couple of times she said things like err "I actually find it objectionable to sit around the table with somebody like her"

R: mm

M: I think she called her "a publican" somebody who runs a pub

R: mm

M: and then I think at one point she called her a "chav"

R: yeah

M: and I just wondered what was going on there (.) what her (.) Annie's dislike of Sharon was all about

R: well, class difference I'd say (.) you could tell by language (.) you can tell by just looking at the pictures generally (1) clothes (1) and you can just tell by people really (.) and she's (indicating Annie) elderly (.) more elderly as well well a lot older than Sharon (.) so it's going to be more of a classical way of thinking if you want to put it that way (.) so it's a generational thing too

M: and you said there's a class thing/

R: yeah (.) I think there is (.) especially with (1) the way that she called her (.) with running a pub

M: yeah

R: I think she's classified her as (.) well she runs a pub she's common like (.) as this (.) she does this (.) she does that

M: yeah

R: so I think it's more a class thing

M: how's/ that work out (.) is it/ the kind of places that people go to eat/ or is it the kind of things that people choose to cook/ or the names that they give/ them or/

R: it's culture (.) but cos where you're from is gonna affect the food you make (3) but (1) I'd still say that (1) being more of a higher end class with Annie (.) which she's going to stick with the food that she would have had as a younger child (.) she would have generally looked at younger times and I think she's going to be more of a (.) classic menu and err obviously Sharon (.) she's more of a town (.) you know (.) modern up-date city so she's going to be trying new things things that aren't (.) wouldn't have been as normal

Extract for **theme 3** purple (meritorious food work (hands on skill; investment of effort)), associated also with **theme 6** purple as a reconnection of consumers to food in a UK context; together with **theme 5** purple and **1** blue, as men learning to do food work and invest in sociality; and **theme 4** blue (food preparation as ideally expressive of generosity and care to others) and, so, a re-punctuation of **theme 1** blue (building sociality).

### **Kim**

(Note: Kim (pointing to image grab 5, showing the contestant Colin, from this episode of *Come Dine With Me*, sitting in front of his keyboard and mixing desk).)

K: this shows what Colin is like (.) laid back (.) playing his music (.) which is also referring to his creating food (.) he's a creative kind of person who likes to show other people what he can do

M: so do/ you show the kind of person you are when you cook/

K: yeah (.) definitely

M: and does this shot have anything to do with this other one that you chose/ (pointing to image grab 6, showing Colin picking vegetables) or any others that you picked/

K: yeah because he wants to be different (.) and show others that he is different, that he doesn't just want to buy food ready prepared or made by someone else (.) he doesn't want industrial food (.) he wants to make something for himself that he can give to other people

M: does that tie in with where he's living/ I think it is the Gower Peninsular (.) a beautiful part of south Wales (.) and he lives in a commune (.) a shared house with other people who are into the creative industries

K: yeah definitely (.) he wants to live differently (.) and he likes to share err he's a little bit into an alternative lifestyle

(Kim points to another selected image (add image grab number) showing the plate of food that Colin has prepared, being shared with other contestants, Colin standing in the background)

K: again this shows Colin's generosity (.) that he wants to bring people together through his food (.) you can see them all around the plate of food that he has prepared (.) all except Rachel (.) who is sitting away from the others because of the tension between her and the other woman Annie

M: do you think food can do that (.) bring people together/

K: yeah (.) definitely (.) when you make food for someone else you give a little part of yourself to whoever is going to eat the food

(Note: Later in the interview, as both look at the first selected image, from Jamie Oliver's *Jamie Does Marrakesh*, showing the establishing shot of Jamie looking to camera; in the background is old Marrakesh.)

K: Jamie Oliver

M: looking natural (both laugh)

K: exactly (laughs) and again how you said he looks "natural" (.) it makes it more (.) the thing with Jamie Oliver is ah what's/ the word (.) you can really put yourself in his position (.) because he's obviously a working class lad and you know (.) yeah yeah yeah (sing-song) Jamie Oliver (.) he proves that literally anyone can cook (.) which is great and again I love the background here (.) kind of like how it shows a different culture (.) and how they eat and everything like that (.) and you just get an insight into it because sometimes you get so absorbed in your own life (.) you forget to think about what's actually going on outside in the world

(Note: As K. moves toward the second image grab, she realises that an image from the previous set (of *Come Dine With Me* has got into the mix: it is of Colin at the bakers, and substitutes it with an image of the bread, about to be put into the oven at the communal bakers in Marrakesh (image grab number 6)).

K: (1.36) you forget how food is made you know (.) so often you take for granted you know (.) and just eat ready-made meals and everything (.) you forget the kind of effort that's put into it

M: yes that's the bread moment (.) when he goes with the little boy

K: yeah

M: and I think he's here talking about erm how the mums or something (.) I think it is the mums who make the bread in the morning here put a little mark on to distinguish which is theirs

K: yeah (.) exactly (.) shows how personal the food is to them (.) and how fresh it is

M: fresh and personal

K: yes, exactly

K (pointing at image grab 6, showing Jamie explaining how the bread is made and how the oven is used by the community; standing behind him is the baker; standing beside him is the boy that Jamie accompanied to the baker):

this one (.) again I just liked how it gave an insight into different cultures (.) again the time and effort they have put into it and everything (.) and you don't (.) you don't really (.) you can see how they're really trying to make it perfect and everything (.) you've got the little lad there smiling (note: so does her voice) and it just (.) you forget about everyone when you're still in your own life

M: mm

K: the fun they have and everything

M: mm he gets quite excited doesn't he/

K: he does yeah it's (cresc.) great (points at image grab 16, of Jamie in the food market, throwing ingredients into a clay cooking pot, a tangier)

M: laughs

K: `very enthusiastic

M: he called it (.) this particular thing a tangier/ which is like a slow stew thing

K: yeah

M: a one pot job, and I think he sort of said/ "lunch for single blokes" or something/

K: yeah

M: do you think he appeals/

K: he's appealing to a male audience

M: do you think he is/

K: well it is in a way yeah (.) could be trying to inspire them and everything

M: to set an example

K: yeah (note: tone as in possibly, so she wants to steer away from the connotations of 'setting an example' and stay with her meaning of inspiring, perhaps as a loving parent -see 'family man' to follow)

M: and the way he is/

K: he's also a big family man as well so

M: of course

K: so he's got that persona

M: oh yeah he's big on family isn't/ he

K: yeah

M: (about 8 seconds reference to having seen his Christmas special programme) ... and he does this Christmas thing and he often goes out to a shed (.) an outdoor area

K: yeah

M: which is much more basic

K: yeah (.) and the shed it's like men's space it could be portrayed (.) y'know (laugh)

M: from what/ a kitchen space/

K: yeah (.) which you'd probably associate more with a woman

M: I suppose things are changing

K: yeah (.) definitely

(K gestures toward image grab 10, of Jamie preparing food in a Marrakesh courtyard; he is smashing garlic in his hands.)

K: again the love and care that is going into making it (.) and just like how passionate he is about making the bread (.) and it's how y'know it's Jamie Oliver (.) he's fully appreciating that (.) and I thought that was quite a nice shot (2) and again I was going to talk about Jamie Oliver and how passionate he is about his cooking (.) and again how he appeals to the male audience (.) he puts a completely different spin on cooking as well (.) like I said (.) you've got Gordon Ramsey Marco Pierre White and all those (.) then you've got the ones that appeal to women like Nigella Lawson (laughs) (cresc.) yeah and you've got Jamie Oliver who is just completely fresh and new and has got a completely different turn on cooking

M: and I think here (.) this is where he likes to do this thing with garlic (imitates J.O.'s smashing of the garlic in his hands) he just smashes it together

K: `yeah (.) always with his hands isn't it



M: he can't be bothered to peeling it or sticking it in a little crushing machine

(1) what's typical about that then/

K: (cresc.) well (.) it's kind of like you know (.) you could associate it with men like (and claps her hands together in a 'macho' manner as she says 'yeah')

`yeah (.) you know/

M: that sort of action

K: yeah (.) exactly yeah

M: a world away from fifty two grammes of this fifty grammes of that and stir three times

K: yeah exactly (.) and it can confuse people as well when they say "I can't do numbers" if you're anything like me anyway (.) so it kind of says you can smash it together and you'll get something

M: just do it

K: yeah just `do it

Extract for **theme 3** purple (meritorious food work in expanding food knowledge, showing hands-on skill in preparation) and **theme 5** purple (broadening interest/ investment in men to learn to prepare food well)

### ***Robin***

(Robin is pointing to image grab 1 from Jamie Oliver programme, a close-up of Jamies's fingers breaking open a piece of cooked lamb.)

R: exotic in the way that it was done (.) but what made it be Jamie Oliver was he's very in with his food you know he gets in there with his hands and he's straight in (.) handling it checking it (.) he really analyses it and I thinks that's you know (.) you don't see many chefs that really get in there

M: mm

R: like Jamie Oliver does (1) I thought that was just him

M: you've seen other shows by him then

R: yeah

M: very hands on (.) very connected with it

R: yeah

R: (pointing to image grab 2 from the same programme, showing another close-up of Jamie's hand, holding a piece of bread stuffed with lamb tagine, apricot and parsley uppermost) it's a similar thing

M: it's making me hungry this one

R: but I think it gives more of a (1) it's more casual but it's still very exotic food  
(.) it's (.) you know like we'll have a sandwich, and that's a sandwich to him  
but he's somehow made it exotic (.) with all the food he's used

M: so he's made it a bit different

R: mm

M: and exotic's the word you keep using (.) is that// are you meaning they're  
err from places that aren't familiar to us/

R: I would say so but erm it is a certain place cos it's very err places that really  
do (.) have this kind of (.) very spicy and all the ways that aren't usual to us (.)  
it's not you know there's one place (.) poverty countries generally seem to be  
people who take a real pride in their food and do things maybe a bit cheaply  
but they still `taste and

M: is that part of what he's saying to us then/ is he saying look you know (.)  
there's something about food that you can get your head around here that you  
can do at home

R: I think he's saying that you can (.) do all this at home (.) obviously you  
wouldn't be able to do it as he does (.) cos I never find you can do it as he  
does

M: no

R: but it's still showing us that it may be different and it may be cheap (.) and it  
may seem very bizarre to us (.) but it's still great cooking

M: because he compares at one point there (.) just before the end when he's  
just about to unwrap it (.) and he's like a big kid getting all excited about  
unwrapping it (.) and he says something like (.) tell me if I'm wrong "this is  
what single blokes are doing here (.) what/ are single blokes doing at home (.)  
`donner kebab, `micro-wave meal`

R: `yeah

M: but what do you think he said that for/ do you think

R: erm, well it could (.) it really could be (.) a kebab and a micro-wave meal is processed food probably done by a machine erm there's no (.) there's nothing that has gone into it (.) passion or anything

M: mm

R: like `that (.) but `here (.) you got the erm (.) you can be proud of yourself that (.) if you have done `this (.) that you've done something different and that you've not just gone out and bought a micro-wave meal (.) and yet the taste will be still just as good if not better

Extract for **theme 3** purple (meritorious food work - personal satisfaction and earning social status) with **theme 5** purple (broadening interest/ investment/ responsibility of men through learning to prepare food well/ meanings of food-work traditionally associated with women) and **theme 6** purple (reconnection of consumers to food)

### ***Liam***

Liam points to image grab 14 from the Jamie Oliver programme, showing Jamie in the food market, holding a clay tagine pot high before him.

M: this is the market (.) this is where he's buying things to put into the tagine pot (.) in the food market

L: yeah (.) really it was just the whole selection process where he's picking things to put into that and really I just thought about the difference of the cultures like the two markets (.) that we've got (.) and this market is all open and the amount of things and you can see everything in the picture

M: and was/ that interesting for you in the market/

L: yeah (.) it was quite interesting seeing how it varied from err culture to culture really you know how different things were here

M: he gets hold of the garlic and just slaps it together (.) that's so typical of him

L: `yeah

M: how's/ that different to a lot of cookery programmes

L: I think it's a very hands-on approach (.) it's very kind of on the spur of the moment erm not kind of set up like a lot of these programmes are that are perfectly orchestrated

M; so it's spontaneous/

L; yeah yeah

M: he said of this recipe "tangier for one bloke"

L: yeah (.) the sort of thing that bachelors could have (1) I think his whole approach is err it kind of sums up the typical male attitude to cooking (.) you know (.) that it can be done

and you don't need to measure it out inch by inch, and that's not typically in the male kind of (.) the male way of approaching cooking and so I think it's quite refreshing to see that

(Liam points to image grab 13, showing Jamie watching intensely on, in front of the communal bread oven, standing beside a young boy carrying bread.)

L: I just thought this was all about the learning process really (.) behind um behind their food and the way it's prepared (.) because he doesn't really know (.) what they're doing (.) he's explaining to us

M: I think you can see that expression on his face

L: he looks err a bit like expectant and a bit curious about this

M: Yes (.) while here's somebody a quarter of his age (pointing to the young boy in the image)

L: yes

M: who knows what's going on

L: yeah (.) he's like used to (.) yeah that's

M: do/ you think he's enjoying this/

L: yeah (.) I think so (.) yes (.) because he's the kind of person who enjoys learning about different attitudes to cooking and different ways that people do it (.) so

M: he's fascinated by it

L: yeah (.) it's quite interesting

(Liam now points to image grab 12, showing a close up of Jamie, eyes closed, mouth open, hands extended, face lit from beneath.)

L: I thought this was like the end product really you know (.) the kind of result of all his labours in the market and um yeah when we saw him put it in the coals and everything

M: yeah

L: erm I just thought it was a very striking image really (.) it sums up the way that (2) his food attitude is perfect

M: and you said it was like err the product of all his labours (.) so it's the kind of reward

L: yeah (.) it's a kind of reward for all his toils that he's been putting in (.) like going to the market and everything

M: how/ would you sum up what he's done/

L: kind of like his own product (.) almost like his child you know (.) like he's produced this and I think it gives you that sense of motivation to kind of do it more

Extract for **theme 7** green -learning the shamefulness of unhealthy eating and unhealthy bodies

(Note: Imogen gestures toward selected image grabs 2, 5, 6 and 8 of the programme *Supersize v Superskinny*: 2 showing the two participants that exemplify the two extremes of body shape in the programme's title, standing in the middle of an all white room, bare of furnishing; 5 shows a photograph of the 'superskinny participant, pregnant, laid on a table, a finger pointing to the

pregnant body; 6 shows the family of the 'supersized' participant eating a meal in their sitting room, each sitting separately; and 8 shows a close-up of the father of the 'superskinny' participant, speaking about his daughter, the photograph of her pregnant superimposed beside him.)

### ***Imogen***

I: the thing that stood out for me was obviously just the contrast (.) and that has to be in a programme like this because there (.) having the extremes is more hard hitting than just having someone who just has an unhealthy relationship with food and is just starting on the path of either way (.) I think they do have to show extremes in order to (.) connect with people (.) and then I thought what was interesting was there (pointing at image 6) how they went to their homes kind of thing and showed their personal lives and they went (pointing at image 2) to this 'really sterile environment where now anything outside like their family and any of the reasons they have or their feelings about food are just kind of banished and it's just the fact that they're standing there in front of the scales and they know that they are not healthy enough and they just have to do something (.) anything about it (.) it's just really (.) it's just the end of the road

M: mm

I: and the fact that they're in a greenhouse (.) it's kind of (.) everything's exposed now you know (.) and it's just (.) they can't hide anything anymore

M: that top picture really is clinical isn't it/

I: it is yeah

M: it's like a zoo

I: it is (.) it 'really is (.) it's like some sort of (.) I dunno (.) it is (.) it is a disturbing image when you see it like that (.) because it looks like some sort of mental asylum you know/ it's all white from ceiling to floor and they're in there with nothing else (.) and it kind of shows how them as a person will have to strip everything back and start all over again you know, and with these (indicating the other images, 5, 6 and 8) I thought this was to show the cause of it really (.) to explain more (.) yeah that's the thing (.) I think it's kind of bleak in a way (.) it shouldn't be at all (.) that's a pregnant woman so it's a positive image (.) but the way they've used it (.) to show it (.) that that was what put her

on the road to this (.) so it's difficult for the audience to see that (.) instead we sympathise with him (pointing at her father, image 8) because of that

M: we go to their homes, and is there anything/ about the homes we go to or the family we go to which in a sense is being judged by the programme do you think/

I: yeah I think so (39.04) especially with them (pointing at image 6) because they've cornered the mother in the kitchen (.) know what I mean (.) as she says that she put too much cheese on it (.) but you know you're kind of cornered and in that sense we judge her because this programme is probably aimed at parents actually (.) in that sense (.) it is about how you bring your children up and what they believe in their associations with food (.) how they deal with it (.) that kind of thing

M: do you think they're being held up/ in a sense the father here

I: well yes

M: to be judged

I: well yes (.) I think it shows that you have support around you in order to initially have a healthy relationship with food and everything but also get over any problems that you do have with it (.) you know (.) your outlook on it kind of thing

M: so it's blame as well/

I: it is (.) I think so yeah (.) it doesn't present her life in a positive way (.) still living at home with her parents and she's quite old and she doesn't seem to have a lot going for her (.) she doesn't seem very happy kind of thing

M: it's quite bleak isn't it

I: it is

M: there was that picture (.) that we haven't selected but we saw it at the very end of the shot

I: yeah

M: and you know (.) that was such a `bleak picture

I: it is (.) it's as if she's stood in front of some sort of prison

M: and that was her school (.) she used the word bullying as well (.) bullied from day one or something

I: it's an awful thing (.) so it does show her life in a very negative way (.) in the way she (1)

M: and then we saw her at an earlier moment (.) it was almost as if she was put into a defensive position (1) you know when we've lost our dignity and you feel other people are judging you (.) it's like you just want to throw everything back in their face (.) so she says "I could eat that whole bar of chocolate then I could have some more and then I'll have some crisps and then"

I: yeah

M: and then "if I could have 'a man-sized bar of chocolate, that's what I want"

I: yeah

M: I didn't want to eat a bar of chocolate for a long time after watching that (.) or tomorrow (.) it took the pleasure away

I: it did (.) for her she was being so stubborn because (.) I mean it's difficult (.) I believe she's being stubborn in what she believes about food to show her independence (.) she's obviously not got much independence and in that sense I think she's trying to compromise (.) you know (.) deny it kind of thing (.) I think she uses her food as a way of saying "I can eat what I want" kind of thing but in fact she hasn't got much at all

Extracts for **theme 7** green (learning the shamefulness of unhealthy bodies; the individual's need to rationally control her/his consumption of food)

### **Don**

D: (pointing to image grab 8 from the *Supersize v Superskinny* programme, showing the father of Jade, who is the 'superskinny' of the title, telling her story): It was kind of in line with what the dad was saying as well (.) he was talking about her, and he was saying she used to be like this and she used to be that and because I think that the show (.) they tend to highlight the 'dangers (.) they've kinda like showed that she doesn't like food and she goes from being like ordinary to like extraordinary (.) in a way I think it's trying to highlight to people who are watching a warning as well as being entertaining and that (1) you've got to encourage people not to get to this level like you think you're normal and you aren't getting on with food now and again and they have to do that to keep the healthy diet going kind of thing.



M: the flashback was to show her being normal compared to what she is now/ and how quick it was (.) so how dangerous it is/

D: yeah

M: the use of the dad then (.) was just as evidence (.) `that's how she used to be

D: I think partly but also because he is family (.) it's not just going to show like a doctor who's got the stats and figures (.) you've got the `dad (.) he's got the emotion and the care for his daughter (.) it's showing that side too

D: (indicating image grab 6, showing the 'supersized' participant at home, eating a meal with her family: she and her mother and father sitting in separate chairs)

I thought again this kind of shows the real life family setting erm as well as the kind of statistics and all of the things that came with the start of the show

M: aha

D: but I think it's while it's specifically pointing out that it's the mum's cooking and it (.) she was saying that she puts in too much cream in her curry and and she goes overboard with cheese (.) I think that's kind of showing us that it can be a simple kind of thing like mum using too much in her food that like can cause such a big kind of effect and I think for like specifically mums who are part of the audience watching the show as well they are maybe encouraged to do their best to encourage good health

(39.03) Don: (addressing image grab 3, showing Jade's hand pushing away a half-eaten sandwich) I think err the shot specifically of the half-eaten sandwich is quite significant because it's showing how she's kind of (.) she's not like completely detached from her food where she eats nothing (.) but it's saying like that she's got an unhealthy relationship with it that she `can't finish it (.) it's like she's lost her appetite (.) and as well I think at the same time as this is going on there' s the voice over of a doctor and I think because it's such an ordinary image (.) like a sandwich in the kitchen (.) which we wouldn't take much notice of (.) to bring in the undertone that food can be dangerous (.) if it's treated wrongly it kind of juxtaposes the two together and that causes the kind of spectator to think yeah what's `my relationship to food like/ (.) or I

might know people who don't have a right relationship with food (.) because it can be dangerous if you don't

(40.00)

D: (pointing to image grab 2, showing both participants standing, in their underwear, in the centre of an all white room of a clinic)

well I thought cos we're used to seeing them like in this state when they're on the scales (.) and then that was the kind of scientific err kind of what the doctor would say but I think `here it brings it back to the fact that (.) they're having a joke and a laugh (.) and it brings it back to the fact that they are just people and although they've got this kind of (.) unhealthy addiction toward their food they're both like people with normal lives (.) and I think it kind of gives you (.) kind of gives you sympathy for them at this part of the show (.) and `makes you want them to get back onto a healthy diet.

D: (addressing image grab 14, showing the participant Jade being addressed by the doctor, foreground left, back to us; between them stands the large weighing machine)

I thought like this, although it's good to have the `emotion and the care and all that shown in scenes of the family (.) to kind of back up what the show is all about and to have the shock in (.) and the warning effect that the show wants to have (.) it does need the medical (.) the actual kind of scientific kind of evidence and I think err in this (.) kind of room where it's focused on all the science side of it (.) I think it keeps that in the viewer's mind and it (.) takes notice that they're learning something about food (.) they're learning about like being healthier (.) the relationship you can have (.) from a medical expert

(Note: After a brief discussion about which of the three programmes he might watch if it was broadcast tonight (him opting for Jamie Oliver's because "you're going to be shown something that you know you're not used to (.) and that you're learning an alternative to what you do everyday and can be done in a more interesting kind of way"), he then went on to say that healthy eating was the most important food-related subject.)

D: I `do feel that it's important because I want to not so much in a body-conscious sense but more of a diet (.) I want to be fit and healthy (.) and

having watched like a lot of these programmes before learning about the dangers of food and that I think it is important that you watch what you eat (.) you're keeping a healthy diet (.) you're not kind of over eating or under eating (.) I think like I normally just eat what my mum and dad would make me at home and they like give me a healthy diet and they cook those kind of things (.) for me I would say it is important what I eat but not that what you eat says who you are (.) I wouldn't really think that (.) I just think that you've got to be kind of like sensible with and enjoy it as well really.

M: are there any kinds of food that you would feel averse to (.) that you wouldn't want to eat/ if you thought in terms of dining out for example/

D: when I (.) my family eats out quite a lot (.) and when I eat out I like to try different foods (.) I'll really try anything off the menu no matter how kind of weird or different it is so I really like the different cultures and the different types um (.) that's kind of like taste wise (.) if we were speaking health-wise would there be certain foods I wouldn't eat/ err kind of foods like donner-kebabs and that I wouldn't like to strictly not eat them but I wouldn't eat them all the time and I would `watch what I was eating

Extract for **theme 7** green (learning the shamefulness of unhealthy eating and unhealthy bodies; and making the effort to be a healthy eater; the individual's need to rationally control her/his consumption of food and avoid being thought of as obese or anorexic)

### ***Liam***

L: (pointing to image grab 12, from *Supersize v Superskinny*, showing the participant Jade crying, her face in her hands; she described her fear that she would not live to care for her young child):

I love this one because it just sums up what the whole programme is (.) full of polemic issues like (.) you know weight loss and body image (.) and I think it's quite a sensitive subject (.) erm and I can see that here the way she's you know crying (.) it's a quite desperate pose as well she's adopting

M: does/ that reassure you about the programme/ has/ the programme got a heart and (.) cos you said a moment ago these are quite difficult subjects (1) would you say a programme like this is effective/

L: yeah (.) I think these people are at the end of the road really (.) I think the programme is seen as almost a saviour you know (.) kind of saving them from their path of destruction that they're going down

M: it's going to help them/

L: it comes across as quite brutal but at the end of the day they're trying to help them and err reason with them about their behaviour

(pointing at image grab 2, showing the two participants, in their underwear, standing in the middle of an all white room in the clinic):

here's a kind of real (quick laugh) comparison between the two (.) the way that they're so drastically different (.) I think it's quite an effective shot in (.) just really making that comparison (.) of how different they are

M: I don't know (.) err are/ we meant to feel uncomfortable in watching this or/ because I mean basically these two women have taken their clothes off and it's a very empty room isn't it/ stark (.) it's a house but it's not like a home

L: it's got that clinical feel with the white

M: suddenly it's exposure time

L: and they're in that state of undress as well (.) it's quite uncomfortable because you're not (.) you're not used to seeing women like that on tv like (.) you know a show like this

M: and yet the media is full of images of women isn't it/ in an often revealing way (.) so what's/ so shocking here/

L: I think it's showing you the stark reality of what real kind of people look like (.) we see a lot of air-brushed images of people and (.) their perfect body shape and this is really what people face on a day to day basis

L: (pointing to image grab 6, showing the family of the 'supersized' participant at home, eating a meal in their lounge; they are separately seated)

here we've got the family life that she comes from (.) here we get a kind of (.) quite a stark picture of what (.) how she is as big as she is (.) we saw the portion size that she had and it was (.) you know `massive really so (.) then we saw her also eating the chocolate in the bedroom (1) we knew what she was doing about that so (.) it doesn't really come as a surprise to us that she is the size she is

M: the shot has lined up all of the family (.) what/ do you think we're supposed to conclude from that/ do you think

L: I think it's (.) the family don't really look that big really do/ they (.) they don't look as big as her anyway and I think it's (.) I'm not sure really what it's saying (.) apart from the fact that you can eat big but it's also what you eat as well as you know (.) it's not just about quantity

M; there seem to be a lot of human issues either behind people not eating properly or behind people overeating

L: yeah (.) people can relate to that in their own family life (.) you know they see little bits of themselves in there

(59.56)

L: (pointing to image grab 3, showing the hand of Jade, the 'superskinny' participant, pushing away a half-eaten sandwich):

this one I think's quite effective because it's a sandwich (.) but it shows her just picking at it you know (.) she's not really grasping it with one hand (.) she's kind of

M: yeah (.) even her fingers and everything there (.) it's like she's just literally picking at it and doesn't want to (.) to get involved (.) I was thinking about what you said about err Jamie Oliver and everything

L: yeah

M: and his fingers and his face

L: yeah he was hands on (.) and she's just terrified of food and he embraces food and he embraces the whole process of food but she (1) despises it (.) she doesn't like it because of the effect she feels it has on her body

M: and the programme is helping us to see this attitude as what/ then/

L: quite negative really (.) I think, erm (1) it shows that eating like that isn't especially healthy (.) especially as we see how upset she is about her body (.) then we see her body itself (.) it's not (.) really that pleasant

(Note: Following this, in response to the questions, 'Are there foods that say who you are?' and 'What kinds of food wouldn't you eat?' he talked about managing his way through foods that are branded 'healthy' and those that are branded 'bad', how he does eat 'unhealthy food' but always feels guilty afterwards; and that, when eating out with friends, his biggest concern is to negotiate two demands upon him - to show others that he is, habitually, a healthy eater and has such a healthy relationship to eating that he can occasionally eat unhealthily, and to bond with them.)

M: it sounds like the social event is quite important for you

L: yeah (.) it is yeah (.) I think opinions (.) thoughts can be made on what people eat and how people eat you know (1) you can be branded anorexic y'know (.) just not intentionally but almost like in jest y'know (.) if you don't eat that much

M: so there's a pressure/

L: to conform yeah

M: to show you've not got a problem with something (1) you said that what you eat is almost like a brand (.) like what you eat almost brands you

L: yeah (.) when you're out with people erm I tend to eat quite healthily (.) it's putting on this façade of like y'know "I'm healthy" and when you're on your own you eat quite differently to how you would with people (.) some people eat

like less to show that they are like (.) I don't know what the word is (.) that they are not that greedy (.) but when they're on their own (.) they will eat more (.) usually (2) with like Chinese take-aways (.) they are quite good because you often eat them just as like kind of a convenience thing with friends (.) it's kind of this social thing that you eat it all together and I think that's quite good (.) it shows that you're not kind of uptight about food and your attitudes toward it and you're not kind of uptight

Extract for **theme 7** green (learning the shamefulness of unhealthy bodies) with **theme 3** purple (meritorious food work – becoming a consumer at a young age)

***Kim***

K: ok, again this is about how insecure people can feel about their body and everything (.) how you don't realise what food plays err such a dramatic effect it has on your body as well and such an important part of living it is kind of thing (.) so again here I'm kind of thinking (.) in the programme (shuffles to find the image she wants, finding image grab 1, showing the two participants in the kitchen of the clinic, either side of the kitchen table; in the centre is the doctor, hands upon the table, addressing the participants in turn) you know how it's two women in these photographs/

M: yes

K: and it's a male who obviously you know is the one trying to help (.) and I just thought

M: and sitting in judgement

K: yeah yeah (1) it's really intimidating (.) you know (.) I just (.) yeah (.) I thought how come/ they've chosen that/ and not another female trying to help them/ (1) or have two men in the programme

M: do you think/ the audience are sitting in judgement

K: well

M: on these two women

K: I don't know (.) I guess (.) possibly you know (.) it's your reading of it and everyone can have different readings

M: did you feel more sympathy than judgement/

K: yeah I felt more sympathy towards them (.) `definitely (.) cos obviously (.) she's had a child and had a very bad time and I can `appreciate that (.) a lot of women out there probably feel when they've had a child they have to lose their weight really quickly (.) there's so much pressure as well (.) with the media towards the kind of slim ideal and to think of your body all of the time (1) I think it's a kind of obsession isn't it/ to get yourself back into shape

M: and the other woman (.) "why should I bother/"

K: exactly (.) yeah (.) she probably feels like (.) "well y'know, I enjoy eating (.) I might as well go for it" (1) she probably doesn't feel like that again (.) again it kind of portrays with the chocolate (.) the chocolate bar (.) how she's given into it in a way (.) and y'know she feels that it's probably the only thing she really enjoys (.) and gets the pleasure of it (.) and there's feminine colours (.) pink around it

M: whoever styled this programme really went for it

K: yeah the colours (.) `didn't/ they yeah

M: she's walking into

K: his territory (.) that's blue and you've got the female kind of

M: private area/

K: yeah

M: where she indulges herself in chocolate (.) `didn't you know there's a lot of blokes that like chocolate too/

K: `yeah well everybody likes chocolate

(K. pointing to image grab 10, showing, in close-up, Jade, holding, and talking to her baby in her arms)

again I kind of go with the family kind of thing and again having children and how it surrounds it (.) and I was kind of thinking like a toddler (.) they don't really worry about what they eat at all you know (.) they just think they're three and their parents are saying "don't eat that (.) you'll be sick" (.) but they've kind of got the freedom there (.) when you grow up you're subjected to other views of yourself and you start forming your own opinions and start experimenting on what you don't like on food

M: and do you form opinions of yourself on your own/ or do you form opinions of yourself (.) with other/ people's opinions echoing in your head/



K: I think it's both isn't it (.) how you look in the mirror (.) it's not always what you imagine yourself to look like (.) and sometimes, `whooh you get a bit of a shock

(Note: after discussion of the images, Kim, like Liam, talked of the different worlds of eating privately and eating publicly, the former often being about 'guilty pleasure' and the latter being about choosing food that others notice you eating and will approve of.)

### **A note on the re-punctuation of themes in earlier stages of phase two**

- The awareness that food is a cultural means of marking personal aspiration and a narrative of personal progress through a positive engagement with food culture - that strongly represented here as the identification of *kinds of meritorious food work* (available to both genders) - see theme 3 above. This is further punctuation of the very robust theme of *personal autonomy and progress* in the earlier communicative work of participants: constructing a sense of self as sharing culturally identifiable aspirational dispositions. Theme 5 - approval of the broadening of food-work responsibility beyond that of women - has reference to female participants as the removal of an impediment to future aspiration; for those young men who reference it, it is similar to other signs of meritorious, self-improvement by extending skill and knowledge (theme 3).
- Similarly, the awareness that food is a cultural means of marking existing *social inclusion* (themes 1 and 4), and that is the basis of both *healthy emotional wellbeing and a healthy relationship to eating* (theme 7 and theme 3 - eating healthily and *preparing healthy food as meritorious, and indicative of a healthy emotional disposition*) is further punctuation of the isolation of the dysfunctional eater in the female, documentary narratives, and that of the masculinised equivalent in the male, documentaries. It is also further punctuation of the association of an expression of negative, emotional disposition to food and a lack of a

future narrative of aspiration/ personal progression. 'Dysfunctional eating', in the evidence of the personal body, is shameful (theme 7) - a narrative of social failure.

## Conclusion

### ***Summary of the most robust themes across focus group, documentary and interview for phase two participants***

1. Theme 2 yellow; theme 1: The shamefulness of having a dysfunctional relationship to food and personal body, including unhealthy eating and unhealthy body.
2. Theme 3 blue: The ideal of food building social relationships, and maintaining a combination of physical and social well-being; of being a conduit for generosity between people (not competitive relations); of being a means of performances of authenticity; of not being gendered work.
3. Theme 3 purple; theme 2 yellow: Women's agency in food as an ideal for young women, characterizing the forward momentum of making personal progress, the opposite of dysfunctional relationship to food.
4. Theme 2 yellow; theme 1 green: Dysfunctional relationships to self and personal body, through food/ steroid abuse destructive of self-autonomy and making personal progress in life.
5. Theme 1 green; theme 2 yellow: Distrust of media representation and commercial purpose in representing 'ideal' bodies for both genders: inciting young people to be dissatisfied with themselves and their bodies; destructive effects – isolation, unhealthiness, potentially destructive of their relationships and lives.

### PHASE 3

#### summary of the themes in the interviews

1. green the theme of making personal progress by being a healthy eater/  
yellow the theme of making personal progress by being a healthy eater (eg. Noemi, Leona, Gabriela, Catherine, Lily (2), Steve); and striving to be a healthy eater (eg. Gabriela, Leona) - self-improvement by association with socially approved dispositions of making an effort and being in control; striving for a balance between self-control and pleasure in eating (eg. Bess, Emily)
2. yellow the theme of social well-being or shame in body shape: association of healthiness and size of body - positive affect toward healthy/ slim bodies (eg. Catherine, Gabriela, Lily (2)) and negative affect toward unhealthy/ fat bodies (shame) (Leona, Erica). The social stigma resides in the association of the fatter/unhealthy body as the product of personal lack of control.
3. green the theme of being healthy-eating entrepreneurs/ campaigners, dealing with the deplorable state of student food (eg. Catherine, Juliana, Gabriela, Noemi, Erica, Leona, Charissa); associated with demonstrating not only conformity to healthy eating discourse but personal qualities of resourcefulness, energy and effort; also associated, in the imagined role of being a campaigner, of distancing self from other students and adopting position of more adult, responsible person. Campaigners associate others' unhealthy diet with lack of effort, knowledge and resourcefulness, and an affect of shame, the opposite to personal development and aspiration.
4. purple the theme of demonstrating personal progress by being a savvy consumer (eg. Charissa, Steve, Susie, Gabriela); associated with showing individual responsibility and understanding of how food manufacturers work eg the deception of advertising (eg. Steve, Charissa, Sasha, Lily, Sasha); and how the interests of mass food manufacturers (or service providers eg catering companies) are antipathetic to personal interest of maintaining health (see 1 and 2 above) and eg. Steve, Charissa, Jane and social wellbeing - what may have been learnt at home in the investment of personal care in home

food (eg Juliana, Charissa, Maddie). The identification of the quality of personal care may be associated with tradition, and a flow of positive affect and knowledge to do with ethnic food (eg. Jane, Badriya, Jilpa) or nature (eg. Honour).

5. purple the theme of demonstrating personal progress by being a competent preparer of food (eg. Steve, Catherine, Vanessa, Bess).

6. blue the theme of demonstrating personal progress by making new forms of sociality in the new setting of university, away from home (eg. Maddie, Firoze).

7. purple The theme of engagement with wider food culture/ food style as a sign of being adult (eg. Vanessa, Catherine, Stella, Firoze, Steve, Lily (1)).

In these female examples, it is associated with demonstrating or acquiring food knowledge and is potential social differentiator according to class; in all it is a sign of being independent and resourceful; in Firoze (and in Vernon's recognition of his father's food preparation) it is a recognition of a social resource (related to sociality(below)); for all it is a demonstration of socially approved, personal effort.

8. purple The theme of demonstrating the personal qualities of resourcefulness, independence and capability in alternative ways to being a healthy eater. This is as a resistance to dominant social expectation to

police food consumption but finds alternative means of asserting the same personal characteristics of individual resourcefulness, independence and capability. In fact independence is amplified by so doing. (eg. Jed, Bess, Connor, Sasha, Michael).

9. Yellow the theme of home food as an ideal, associated with social/ family belonging and a 'gold standard' of food because of the investment of care/ quality and healthiness of the food (eg. Hollie, Juliana, Badriya, Susie, Steve, Charissa, Maddie, Stella, Catherine, Connor); social belonging achieved in food consumption (eg. Catherine, Connor).

10. purple the theme of pride in cultural food heritage (eg. Badriya, Juliana, Jilpa) associated with personal responsibility to continue/practice it; associated with personal wellbeing (Badriya, Juliana, Jilpa, Rashi), re-presencing of home and relationship with mothers, distance from

'mainstream' food culture (Badriya, Juliana); and also associated with social distinction (including 4 above).

***general listing of the themes in individual interviews***

**1. Lily (1):** purple theme 7

- how to transform the appearance of a food item which prompts aversion (fish) such that it could be consumed as adult food even if the personal aversion remains the same as in childhood/masking aversion in front of older audience
- performing as an adult in designing artifact/ responding to task

**2. Catherine:** green theme 1; green theme 3; yellow theme 2; blue theme 6; purple theme 7; blue theme 9

- healthy eating and food competence as prestigious: the positive affect of healthy bodies (in social interaction) and of showing personal progression as an adult (being independent and healthy)
- need for improving other students' healthy eating and food competence; being a healthy eating campaigner/ entrepreneur and making change happen
- engagement with broader food culture as a sign of growing up
- creating community through food practice/ mediterranean ideal/ 'proper meals' and social belonging (positive affect of social belonging)

**3. Connor:** purple theme 4; blue theme 9

- self as observer of others (design function of task)
- having to be more independent and responsible with food at university
- food as an aid to sociality

**4. Vernon:** blue theme 9; purple theme 7

- food and social belonging: the positive affect of celebration - being with family/ being with friends; food, like music, a medium for those kinds of togetherness

- looking for continuity in the investment of 'home food': appreciating father's food/ quality/ special food when found away from home/ deprecating food of catered halls (student food)

5. **Badriya:** purple **theme 10**; blue **theme 9**

- celebration of personal food heritage (ethnicity and vegetarianism)

- home food v student food compromise

- positive affect of home food: movement in time and space through food preparation; relationship with mother

- negotiation with others not belonging to home food culture: invitation/ limitation

6. **Leona:** green **theme 1**; yellow **theme 2**; green **theme 3**

- positive affect of eating healthily, having a slim body/ energy and being a part of social life v negative affect of eating unhealthily, having a fatter body

- self-improvement/ self-entrepreneurship: effort, control and self-satisfaction v lack of control and shame

- states of being and movement in time and place: home and healthiness and happiness/ university and unhealthiness and unhappiness

7. **Noemi:** green **theme one**; green **theme 3**

- being a healthy eating campaigner/ entrepreneur and making change happen in students' unhealthy diets

- the aim to achieve balance between self-control and enjoyment in eating

- personal progression and being a healthier eater

8. **Gabriela:** green theme 1; yellow theme 2; green theme 3; purple theme 4

- being a healthy eating campaigner/ entrepreneur and making change happen in students' unhealthy diets

- healthy eating and self-responsibility: being a responsible consumer/ checking ingredients in manufactured food

9. **Erica:** green theme 1; green theme 3

- being a healthy eating campaigner/ entrepreneur and making change happen in students' unhealthy diets

- making personal progress and being a healthier eater: being more responsible in restricting unhealthy but pleasurable, food consumption and achieving a balance in consumption; having left behind childlike self-indulgence

- awareness of stigma of unhealthy eating

- 'treat' eating in serving social bonding/ state of being somewhere else as a part of the sociality

10. **Jed** purple theme 8

- the rejection of healthy eating discourse

- his own resourcefulness and independence

11. **Susie** purple theme 4; blue theme 9

- positive affect of 'home food' and social belonging (family and friends) and trust v negative affect toward food as harmful eg. obesity/ unhealthy eating and exploitation by industrial producer (Nestle baby milk scandal)

- movement in time and space through food preparation and consumption - home and university (engagement with media texts about negative food issues in the world)

12. **Michael** purple **theme 8**

- food preparation at university as chaotic/ low priority
- food incompetence of some students
- design ideas for representing everyday, student food
- home food as pleasurable and sustaining

13 **Steve** green **theme 1**; purple **theme 4**; purple **theme 5**

- making personal progress in food preparation and consumer savviness: distinguishing himself from stereotypical student food culture
- making progress and self-entrepreneurship: learning how to cook and learning how to be a savvy consumer as being self reliant and self-responsible
- movement in time and space through food preparation and consumption - the positive affect of home in making own, 'proper food' at university/ compared to consumption of microwave meals at university
- 'proper food' and authenticity and healthiness v manufactured food and deception (advertisement) and unhealthiness
- healthy eating discourse

14 **Juliana** green **theme 1**; green, **theme 2**; green **theme 3**; purple **theme 4**; purple **theme 5**; blue **theme 9**; purple **theme 10**

- being a healthy eating campaigner/ entrepreneur and making change happen in students' unhealthy diets
- positive affect toward home food and negative affect toward student food (the food of mass catering)



- negative affect toward 'student food'/ including food of mass catering providers
- cultural food heritage
- movement in time and space through thoughts and feeling about home food culture/ not being here

**15 Rashi** purple theme 10

- making her own personal style through vegetarianism
- aesthetic aversion to meat and fish

**16 Charissa** green theme 3; purple theme 4;

- consumer savviness and consumer responsibility for healthy eating
- home food and personal preparation as transparent about provenance and high quality v deception of manufacturers of food (labeling/ use of poor ingredients)
- healthy food v manufactured food
- lack of investment of care by manufacturers of food

**17 Vanessa** purple theme 5; purple theme 7

- signs of having made personal progress/ being adult: self-reliance, being informed, competent in food preparation
- social differentiation of herself from mainstream student culture and the social myth of student food; differentiation of her home food culture from mainstream student culture
- healthy eating as aspiration

**18 Lily (2)** green theme 1; yellow theme 2; green theme 3

- healthy living v dieting

- well-being rather than appearance as a goal in self-management of eating

**19 Gabriela** green theme 1; yellow theme 2

- making personal progress in having a functional relationship with food: being both a healthier eater and enjoying eating
- monitoring food, feeling guilty, but striving for a healthy relationship with food as work in progress

**20 Jilpa** purple theme 4; purple theme 10

- vegetarianism as personal style and home food cultural heritage
- vegetarianism as signifier of her personal identity: energy, vivacious etc.

**21 Hollie** blue theme 9

- food associated with the positive affect of belonging to family (extended family)/ being secure
- the family meal as ideal

**22 Stella** purple theme 5; purple theme 7; blue theme 9

- making personal progress by learning how to be a producer of 'special' food (like her mum); learning from mediated food culture (food television/ advertising)
- celebration food and family identity (family and cultural capital)

**23 Bess** purple theme 8; purple theme 5; blue theme 6

- personal progression/ demonstrating personal qualities of independence and resourcefulness
- wanting to be seen to be independent and resourceful in food preparation

**24 Sasha** purple **theme 4**

- the contradictions in food advertising to females: pleasure (be sexy)/ chronic disease (risk your health)

- learning to negotiate food advertising

**25 Firoze** purple **theme 5** blue **theme 6** purple **theme 7**

- building sociality through sharing food

- the ideal of a multicultural community

- generosity in food preparation and sharing

- the performance of self as entrepreneur

**26 Maddie** blue **theme 6** blue **theme 9** green **theme 1**

- making progress as an individual and the work of becoming independent from family

- positive affect of home food: movement in time and space through food consumption

- making personal progress through finding sociality through food outside of the family

- being a savvy consumer by choosing healthy food (using home knowledge)

**27 Honour** purple **theme 4**

- reconnecting consumers to food as natural phenomena; alternative to dominant 'consumer culture'

- the ideal of simplicity in food: preserving its naturalness

- environmentalism : using sustainable food sources

### ***Illustrative examples of themes from interviews in phase three***

(Note: the Researcher consistently has the code 'M'; the participant either has the code 'S' which represents their 'student' identity in the research setting of the university, or the first letter of their name.)

#### ***Leona***

Extract for green theme 1 (making personal progress by being a healthy eater). This exemplifies the association of personal work to be done with the presentation of a present self distanced from emotional habits of the past that held her back and forward looking, through the role of campaigner (green theme 3; it also associates physical healthiness with social well being, and its opposite, in having a shameful body (yellow theme 2)). The distance between a past self (ideal) and a present self (problematic) is about the need to see herself (and present herself) as agentive and in control.

(Note: this is at the very beginning of the interview)

S: (shows M earlier designs (eg. image IMG\_0021) in her workbook) well basically (.) it's all about healthy eating (.) I came up with the idea because I'm an unhealthy eater really

M: you're an unhealthy eater/ (1) (turns attention to the drawings in the workbook) is this your final/ thing/

S: no (.) my final thing is (.) (turns a page of the workbook) I came up with two outcomes (.) this traffic light scheme (points to image IMG\_0022) and something like food secures the fire (.) food helps secure the fire (.) yeh, but it was all about healthy eating

M: why/ do you use fire/

S: you put petrol in your car and you need to put healthy food in your body to keep the flames

M: you said "you know what, I don't eat very healthily at the moment"

S: no (.) I am now (.) I go to the gym and things

M: what happened/

S: nothing really

M: coming to uni/

S: pretty much yeah

(attention of both turns back to the workbook, image IMG\_0023)

M: is this/ part of it/

S: yeah (.) that was just experimental (.) the colours of food

M: tell me about that (.) what things you decided on in the end

S: I didn't really like any of these ideas in the end (.) I came up with (.) almost like an advert (.) as in like they used to be put up in like in a doctor's surgery (.) (turns page to images IMG\_0021 and IMG\_0022) I think like the traffic lights (.) I need to come up with something for red, orange and then

M: and red means "don't eat that"

S: yeah

M: (pointing at the three colours) "that's crap" (.) "that's pretty good" and "this is really what you want to make sure you get"

S: yeah

M: how have things changed for you would you say (.) between you being `you` now, twenty one and say being say half/ a dozen years younger/ (.) does food mean something different to you now/

S: er it does yeah (.) I lived in Dubai for two years and it's very healthy eating and living over there (.) so when I came back here (.) from eating all the fat and everything (.) and doing Foundation and putting all the crap into my body I think it started to dawn upon me that I needed to start eating healthy again

M: and has it given you a nice/ feelings/ does it remind/ you of Dubai all over again/

S: yeah it does yeah (.) eating healthy and exercising

(Note: Leona explains how long she had lived in Dubai, the reason for going there (father's job) and confirming that her motives for coming back to the UK were about this course at university.)

S: with Dubai (.) I don't know really how to explain it but it's very body-conscious over there (.) the image (.) it's always on the beach (.) you're always like around people (.) people have all got a lot of money over there (.) so they look good (.) so I wanted to portray a really clean and easy message (.) that with everybody (.) traffic lights (.) everybody knows what the colours mean (.) red's always dangerous and green's always good to go for

## ***Lily (2)***

This gives further exemplification of green theme 1's association with green theme 3 (being a healthy eating campaigner) which is common, but also exemplifies an interest in the association to use the high modality (van Leeuwen, 2009, after Halliday) of scientific truth. It also shows an association of 'healthy eating', the work of dieting, anxiety about body shape, and the desire for well-being as female work (yellow theme 2).

(Note (at 1.50): Lily talks me through the research she had done as a part of this project (re. scientific experimentation with the colours of food and drink and appetite suppression which had driven her final design - of a young woman dancing, dressed in blue, with the logos, "Wear Blue for a New You" and "Did you know that the colour blue suppresses appetite?" right-hand page of notebook in image IMG\_0049). Blue food, she explains is felt to be so repulsive by people because there are no naturally blue foods; and therefore could act as a hunger suppressant)

M: so this/ is the direction you started going on now/

S: yeah

M: the losing weight thing and the body image thing

S: yeah (.) because, I started looking at pink as well (.) it speeds up your pulse and stuff (.) which is why women like to wear pink (.) because it gets people all flustered (.) even though it's like a sub-conscious thing (.) and erm, yeah the blue (.) the diet (obscure word) looks quite good (.) and then like (.) instead of rose-tinted glasses (.) blue-tinted glasses (.) so that you have no appetite because it suppresses your appetite (.) like when you go in the kitchen (.) you eat less (laughs)

M: a whole room filled with people wearing blue glasses eating only half a biscuit (note: this jokey tone was in response to her laughter; but, on reflection, may have just interrupted what clearly was so interesting to her that actually she wants to make a kind of apology/ explain why her 'outcome' is, in some way rushed, or, perhaps does not reflect what she, as a design student, is capable of.)

S: the whole scientific thing I found really interesting (.) this was as far as I came with outcomes because I just went and did loads of research into food

and colour (1) another interesting thing is where they have three glasses of orange juice and they all tasted exactly the same (.) and they went from a really bright orange to a dull orange (.) and everyone said the bright orange tasted the best even though they all tasted the same actually (.) and they put them in cheap bottles and expensive bottles and they all thought that the brighter one tasted better (.) even if it was in a cheap bottle

M: it is powerful stuff (.) so you're now the food design guru

S: (laughs) so `don't use blue

M: and was this your original thought/ (pointing at the mind-map (left-hand page of notebook in image IMG\_0049; and photographed separately in image IMG\_0049 2) of a 'spider's web' design of a mind-map, within which messages, directed to a 'girl' about her body, are written: they include scathing remarks from a bully, friends, and the media.)

S: yeah (.) I was doing like (.) you know the pretty standard stuff (.) obesity and kids sort of being carved up

M: well you said "pretty standard" but it is important for a lot of people (.) I'm not asking if it was ever important for you (.) but it is an important topic to get on to (1) then you came up with the final image er of "wear some blue" (.) what's/ the slogan you've got there/

S: er "wear blue for a new you" (1)

M: if you think about yourself two or three years ago (.) and yourself now (.) have there been any important changes for you in the meaning of food/

S: I became really aware of nutrition (.) not in a dieting way but in a healthy lifestyle way (.) but most people seemed to think (.) I dunno (.) my friends seem to think that I won't just like food for a week maybe (.) and I started (.) I went on a detox and stuff and it turned out that I was allergic to milk (.) and that's why I had bad skin (embarrassed laugh)

M: (5.01) well a friend of mine has done the same thing (.0 she found out that she was gluten intolerant (.) and it's changed her life

S: yeah (.) I just think that diet has so much to do with everything these days (.) and people only see diet in terms of losing weight (.) but actually (2) it's so much more than that

M: you know your image here (pointing at image no. 18) she seems blissful almost

S: yeah

M: is it a feeling of lightness/

S: well I went for the sort of like (.) I dunno (.) she looks like she's `really enjoying herself

M: yeah

S: and kind of relaxed as well (1) it was like the whole point that all you had to do was wear blue (.0 and see blue (.) and you wouldn't eat as much (2) I wonder if it works though (.) a blue restaurant or something/

### ***Catherine***

This gives further exemplification of the green theme 1 and green theme 3 tie-up, of identifying the present self with healthy eating by association with being a healthy-eating entrepreneur/ campaigner for healthy eating. This also exemplifies the association of self-improvement, in terms of being a healthy eater, and the building of sociality in the new setting of university around the positive affect of being positive, constructive and confident in one's food practices (yellow theme 2). The value of sociality in food sharing is extended with reference to representation of Mediterranean food culture (purple theme 7), again as a sign of being more adult. In her imagining the food campaign there is further association of healthy eating with physical and emotional well-being, and food competence (blue theme 6), with positive social interaction.

(Note: this is at the very beginning of the interview)

M: tell me a little bit about what you were trying to do in some of these images



S: I looked at students and their diets at university (.) and I realized that they don't really tend to cook the right things (.) or don't know how to cook (.) or have the right ability (.) so I wanted to create cooking for student food (.) posters and tee-shirts (turning to workbook designs: posters image IMG\_0013; tee-shirts image IMG\_0014) that offer students something they would find attractive (.) like a free item kind of thing (1) you could give out a fruit juice sort of thing (1) if you saw someone attractive walking around in it you would want to have one (.) and students are attracted to that kind of thing (.) all looking unique but belonging to a group (.) and all the stuff I wrote on them is meant to be attractive and talking to just the public really (.) and it's really just a bit of a laugh (.) like (note, reading from the logos on the tee-shirt designs - image IMG\_0014) 'I'm a magnate' like 'I'm a babe-magnet' because I cooked

M: you said students like to belong to something (.) feel a part of something (.) what are the sort of feelings that you wanted to bring along in your work/when you look at your work (.) what sort of feelings did you want to come out of your work/

S: mm (.) I wanted the students to feel that they wanted to be a part of it (.) like you said (.) and they could look attractive as well

M: so belonging to something and attractive at the same time

S: yeah (.) and cos (.) I don't know (.) blokes are different (.) but girls like someone who can cook for them (.) and vice-versa (.) so it could spark off a conversation and get energy flowing about this whole process of cooking

M: so it's like a doorway (.) an invitation (.) and you're saying something nice about cooking (.) that if you met someone who wanted to cook for you that would be good

S: yeah (.) `first off you wear the tee-shirt (.) and then you start saying "so you can cook/" and "'yeah, I can" (.) and then "so you `prove it to me"

M: so you feel positive/ about that

S: yeah

M: about someone who can cook

S: `yeah (.) and I wanted students to feel that they could just try things out (.) like at home (.) I know from my research that not many people have tried out cooking (.) and that their parents have done it for them all of their lives so that

when they got to university they just weren't aware of how to do things (.) so that by promoting it I think that I will make them just go out and want to try it out for themselves

M: and is that going to be a nice feeling/ that you can pass it on to someone else (.0 that they can do it for themselves

S: yeah

M: people sometimes talk about it's nice to feel a bit more independent (.) you feel you're driving your own life (.) stuff like that (.) was that/ one of the feelings you were trying to put across/

S: yeah I think so (.) it's all part of growing up (.) like going to university anyway, so cooking skills are something you're going to have for life (.) and so I kind of wanted to say `this is where you start (.) `this is the beginning

M: thinking of what you just said there (.) when you come to uni it's when you try things out (.) does food mean something different to you now than what it did when you were fifteen or sixteen/

S: I appreciate it a lot more now (.) cos I realise it costs a bit (.) and the time it takes to prepare (.) and when I go home I'm always wanting to try out what I've learnt at university (.) trying different things (.) quite simply food at halls isn't very good so when I return back home (.) I ought to be able to cook for my family and try out what I've learnt at university

M: have you done that/ (note: here I'm testing to see if her statement is a performance meant to please someone like me. There is not much specification of types of Italian food. She may feel that she has done not much more than name pasta, which may be seen as little more than basic, 'student food'); and that may be why she comes back with reference to 'insider' participation in the place and the 'culture' - both 'cultural capitals'; so, too, the elaboration of 'proper meals', a social distinction of class.)

S: yeah I `have done that

M: and what/ did you cook/

S: erm risotto (.) and just lots of pasta dishes really

M: risotto and pasta (.) are you into your Italian food/

S: yes

M: what/ appeals to you in that

S: well I go to Italy every summer (.) and I just love the whole culture of it

M: so when you're cooking this food (.) what/ feelings or ideas come into your head

S: erm it brings back a lot of memories from the work that I've done there (.) and this whole idea of creating a community (.) bringing everyone together for just this one meal (1) in the university we only get together at dinner times (.) and like with family they're in jobs (.) so I feel that creating this meal it's something that everyone can enjoy (.) talk about and relate to in some sort of way

M: so you'd/ like to go back to some of the things you've seen in Italy/

S: yeah (.) to come back over here

M: that would be great/

S: yeah

M: Is/ that a good feeling (.) eating together/

S: `yes it is (.) because everyone has their own life and so if you stop for just an hour or so everyday (.) and just be with the people you want to be with (.) you reflect (.) and if you know you're going to have that routine (.) it's just nice to know that you `are going to be with your friends and family at some point in the day

(6.50)

(She describes how, as a part of doing this task, she listened to Radio 1 interviews, noted student confessions about their diets at university, and their lack of cooking skills, surveyed the cooking facilities available to students on the university campus, read, and photocopied an article on student diet in the student magazine, which she showed me. She described how she had also been through other students' food cupboards, to see what food items they actually used.)

S: `this is quite interesting ( showing me the extract from the student magazine) (.) this is in our student magazine (.) and it was only on the third or fourth page (.) and it made me realise that there was a big issue with the student diet (.) and it was being talked about (.) but nothing was being done about it (.) to promote it (.) lots of people would have just scanned this because it was in the first two pages (.) it kind of stood out for me.

(note: here she talked about surveying the facilities students had on campus)

S: they `can't freeze food (.) they've got `no freezer (.) and they `haven't got ovens (.) they've only got a micro-wave and a hob (.) in halls

M: so how/ could anyone expect them to cook/

S: well (.) for self-caterers (.) at the weekends you `need those things (.) there's only a limited amount of things you can do with one hob between fifteen people (.) and one microwave (.) it's really difficult

M: and it's socially awkward (.) it's embarrassing really

S: it `is

M: and you've got to negotiate that between you

S: whose going to get what turn

M: you don't want to be there for long do/ you

S: no (.) and even when you get together in groups to save time and money because you've got so little time (.) it doesn't make the process enjoyable (.) it's not very good for you

(note: she explained how she had looked in the cupboards of other students, to see what food items they use.)

S: some of them are very bare (.) tins and that sort of thing (.) nothing very fresh (.) just like an onion (.) I think they were embarrassed (.) It just shows the lack of nutrition basically (.) and things in the kitchen were not very well looked after

(She referred back to the items of research, in her workbook, once more.)

S: so I wanted to target freshers at fresher week (.) to get them cooking (.) to encourage them to take action (.) so that's why I thought of a tee-shirt and poster (.) they could have this (pointing to image IMG\_0013 in workbook) on their wall and it would look quite stylish (.) like you could have it in your bedroom

M: and you're using that word (.) "I'm a magnet because I cook" (.) "ready, steady I'm your cook" (.) you keep using this word "cook" and "cooking" (.) it's like you're an organisation (.) like you're trying to fill that word out with some really good connotations/

S: yeah and that's the idea here (pointing to the tee-shirt designs, images IMG\_0014) of having a front and a back (.) making it more interesting (.) to keep just a few words rather than a whole sentence (.) more eye-catching

(Note: She points to other examples of Second World War propaganda poster ideas in her workbook, to explain how she used ideas from them):

S: this kind of thing like in our canteen (.) I could imagine some people stopping and looking at the poster and thinking why not/ let's go and get one (.) so it would just encourage people to think (1) and these (.) although they weren't actually released in the war (.) they would make people stop and think

M: what's that one say/ (.) "freedom is in peril (.) defend it with all your might" and (.) "your courage (.) your cheerfulness (.) your resolution will bring us victory" (.) it's very public speaking (.) you're/ a very civic-minded person aren't you/

S: laughs

M: you would like/ to change/

S: yeah

M: things/

S: I like people to think outside what they're comfortable with (1) like with people they live with (.) they don't (.) unless they're aware of it (.) they won't change the way they live and how they cook (1) I don't think people realise how important it is sometimes (.) `more so at university (.) for health and socially

### **Steve.**

This further exemplifies the association of healthy eating (green theme 1) and improving personal food competence (purple theme 5), with becoming more independent and more adult. However this also exemplifies another important theme: that demonstrating personal progress in becoming a savvy consumer (purple theme 4) is another means of showing an individual responsibility associated with adulthood. Consumer savviness in this example is about understanding how food manufacturers deceive consumers in their advertising and about being personally resourceful, in being able to cook healthy and satisfying meals for himself.

(Note: this is one minute into the interview; he began by explaining how, initially, he had found it difficult to think of what to do for this project; he seemed not to have been at the workshop. In order to ease a conversation

about food, I asked him a question which might prompt discussion of his present food practices.)

M: if you think about the difference between you now (.) and when you were fifteen or sixteen (.) does food mean anything different to you now/

S: yes (.) it does now that I've moved away and I'm cooking for myself

M: exactly

S: so that's what I look at really (opens his workbook and starts to turn the pages)

M: talk me through that (.) make your answer through what you're showing me

S: so I first look at what my flatmates were eating (.) and a lot of them were eating like microwaveable food (.) where you stick it in an oven or a microwave (.) and I thought that was quite difficult so I tried not to (.) because I'd never cooked before (.) so it was about me learning to cook (1) so I tried to learn to cook various things (.) so these are pictures of them (note: pointing at image IMG\_0041, and then to pencil drawings and diary entries in his workbook) and drawings of it (.) and there is like a food diary (.) comparing microwaveable stuff to proper cooked stuff

M: you're saying "proper cooked stuff" and it would seem that on your journey of picking up cooking and doing it for yourself you could see what other people were having and you decided that you wanted something better for yourself

S: yeah (.) I tried to cook a lot of things I had at home 1) so I bought some microwaveable meals like these (pointing at photographs of images on the front of microwave meal boxes in his workbook) and just how long it takes to heat them (.) comparing

M: what/ was it you noticed when you compared them to your idea of a better meal/

S: even though they're quicker they're not so nice (.) and healthier (1) they may be cheaper but they're unhealthy because they're full of like salt and sugar (.) and flavours I guess (.) I just don't like them at all (.) It's always been a personal preference to me so I tried to do something different (1) I like compared to what my flatmates are eating (1) I used to have them if there was no-one in and I would have to cook for myself I'd just put something in the

microwave (1) it's something I never really like (.) it's kind of like (1) I asked my mum to teach me before I left (.) then I tried to (.) tried to cook proper meals since I've been back

M: yeah (.) what/ are the ideas that come into your mind when you think about microwave meals/

S: curries and `this (points to image of microwaved meal in his workbook and laughs in a derisory way)

M: and the feelings/ you get/

S: when you look at the meal `there (pointing at the photograph on the front of the packet in the workbook) compared to `that (photograph of the actual microwaved meal that Steve cooked) it's not (.) the same

M: (pointing at the same photograph) so what does that look like to you/

S: err (laughs in self-censorship as though he had been about to say "shit") it just looks a mess really (.) it looks cheap I guess (.) it looks even worse when you taste it (.) I think that's that one (pointing between photograph of cooked meal and photographs on the front of the packets of microwave meals, identifying the bought meal that he had cooked), or perhaps `that one (.) and you just look at the `colour of the meat (disgusted tone) and all the spaghetti and the sauce (.) obviously that's been (1) you know (.) they've changed the filters (.) and `that's (pointing at the photograph of the microwave meal after it had been cooked) `completely different

M: so what/ are you saying (.) that they've changed the filters and that kind of thing (.) so is/ it a rip-off/

S: ah (.) I watched this *Youtube* clip of how they take about three hours to take a picture of a microwaveable meal (.) and it takes six minutes to cook (.) and it takes that long to make it look decent

M: mm

S: `this (pointing at the photo of the cooked meal) is the actual food (.) but they've just made it look better

M: so is part of what you don't like about it the con/

S: yeah

M: somebody's making a load of money out of something that's pretty crap

S: yeah it's just company trading (.) it never looks like what you get on the front of the packet (.) it's like at *MacDonald's* (.) you always look at the pictures (.) but when you get the burger (.) it just looks nothing like the burger you get in the picture

M; you just shove it down to feel full

S: yeah

M: what does your mum's food look like/

S: not like (cresc.) `that

S: (proceeding through the workbook, after the photographic comparison between 'microwaveable and cooked' meals, he points to lists he made of ingredients on 'so-called' 'healthier' prepared meals): it's still not great

S: (Then he points to the photographs he took of a meal that he had cooked from fresh ingredients, image IMG\_0041): and that was me trying to cook something I've never cooked before

M: is it chicken/

S: I can't remember the sauce (.) I don't think it's curry (laughs)

M: is it chicken/

S: yes that's chicken potatoes and peppers (.) yes

M: you've got an artistic eye (.) look at the colours on the plate (.) is the appearance of food important to you/

S: yes I think so

M: do you get to eat out much/



S: not much (.) not as much as I'd like (giving a gesture of rubbing hands together, meaning that you have to have enough money to eat out)

M: if you had the wherewithal (.) perhaps if you had a bit more money to spend on food per week (.) would/ you like to go out/

S: yes I guess (.) I like trying new things (.) which is like trying to cook something I've never cooked before (.) I'd still be trying to cook new things (1) but I've not been out recently (.) because you can't spend your student loan

M: where/ do you get the knowledge from (.) in terms of trying to cook something new and making it good/

S: I dunno (.) I guess I've always liked trying different things (.) I can't go into a restaurant without trying something new

M: you sometimes try to imitate what you've had at a restaurant when you get back home/S: I've never tried that because I guess the ingredients would be too expensive

(note: whether or not he goes to 'restaurants', he has an interest to construct a sense of himself (in this place/institution) as being more than someone like me might think of him (because he is a student), having a disposition to acquire new knowledge, of being resourceful; and that's what I feed back to him.)

M: where/ do you get your ideas from, the knowledge to cook new things/

S: I think it's just breaking away from the stereotype of students eating pot-noodles and super-noodles and microwaveable meals

M: talking to you it seems that you're a very proud bloke

S: yes

M: who doesn't want to put junk into your body (.) you want to be in control and you want to do something better than what you see around you

S: yeah

(He follows with an anecdote of a phone call with his parents.)

S: When I phoned my parents last night and I said I just made a curry (.) and they said “did you make it yourself?” (.) they both asked that (.) and I did (.) which kind of annoyed me (.) so (.) I think they were just trying to encourage me

M: it's that old idea isn't it that all students eat is a tin of beans and pot-noodles

S: but I try to break away from the stereotype you see

M: (pointing to work book) so which page presents that idea of you breaking away from the stereotype the most

S: (pointing to the photographs of microwave meals and the meals he cooked himself) this could do.

**Charissa:**

Extract for green theme 1 (making personal progress by being a healthy eater) is again associated with purple theme 4 (being a savvy consumer). Associated together, they are a means of demonstrating the acceptance of individual responsibility for personal health, for understanding how food manufacturers work, eg. the deception of advertising, and for ensuring that the individual gets the information s/he needs to make good decisions. This last point is about personal responsibility for ensuring that the rational prevails over regressive emotional habits (here, self-deception compliant with food manufacturers' interest to hide the unhealthiness of ingredients; and also, in her construction of her self, with me, a personal development from the person with emotional concerns about food to being a consumer 'activist'). There is association of healthy food with knowledge of its provenance, working a binary of 'home food' and 'other food' (blue theme 9).

(5.50)

M: (looking through workbook with student) Where/ do you think the breakthrough moments are in that research (.) was one at the beginning/

when you did that stuff/ (pointing to the mind-map on the page of the workbook, image IMG\_0045; IMG\_0046)

S: yeah (.) it definitely helped to (.) and this is more refined (Note: she is referring to the mind-map being a second draft of what she did in the workshop. Note that when, in a moment, she refers to “the emotional aspects”, this is a bridge from the key word in the centre of the mind-map (“EMOTIONAL” capitalised) to the artifact that she made. This is also a means of moving on the object of my gaze (note photograph/ camera; and my co-presence) but also, hypothetically, a means of constructing the self she prefers, in this setting, from female person with emotional concerns around food, to being a consumer savvy, capable design student.) (M asks permission to take photo of the mind-map and does so.)

M: can you talk me through it/ what you were trying to say with this project/

S: erm it's definitely the emotional aspects (.) but I think (.) for example (.) one of the things I went onto was food labels (.) (turns page in workbook, to show image IMG\_0047 and showing what people had to (.) didn't want to see on a label itself (.) in err (.) sort of (.) like more obvious (.) as compared to aspects where they would have wanted them to be less obvious (.) and (3) for example the nutritional information (.) at the moment they try to avoid that (.) hence the small type

M: I see (.) so the producers know that people want to avoid that/

S: yeah (.) and put it in small

M: what/ is there that is big/ that people want to see/

S: well (.) erm the image of the product (.) to sell it (.) as appealing

M: putting it small (.) is/ that about guilt and stuff/

S: erm I believe so (.) in the research (.) the quantities (.) like per one hundred grammes and it shows like a lower amount of calories (.) but then the actual can itself is four fifteen (.) so there's a substantial difference which I felt was (.) like when we did the questionnaire (.) I felt was also cheating the customers in a way

M: may I have a look at the questionnaires you did/

S: yeah (8.56) (She turns back through the pages of the workbook and M. looks at the questionnaire she devised; she begins to describe (note: sound a little obscure but about the choices she made to make the health information more prominent on her redesigned bean tins)

M: so you're making more prominent, three-dimensional, standing out

S: yes, definitely, and here's the final outcome, the text on the can, and yet at the same time I didn't want it to be too obvious in a way that erm kind of always forced upon the customer itself cos the can sells the product and appeals to the customers, but still have it in a manner that is subtle but at the same time you can definitely tell the underlying methods with which you could promote it a lot more

M: have you produced that, take the cans and put your own labels on/

S: yeah, I put the label on the can, and then, took images of it

M: so you're sort of, breaking the rules of standard practice to make a point/

S: yeah

M: do you feel quite strongly/ about that/ do you think it's/ a deception of people/ not to tell them the truth of what's in the can or whatever/

S: yeah (.) definitely (.) whereas in this case (pointing at industrially produced labels) it shows how they try to hide aspects of what's in it

M: do you avoid processed food/

S: erm as much as possible (.) yeah, and mum's always cooking fresh every night

M: and do you stay/ at home/

S: no (.) I live in uni

M: and when you go back

S: it's a different sort of food

M: are you in hall or cook for yourself/

S: in hall (.) and cook at the weekend

M: what do you cook/

S: stir-fries and `fresh things

M: is that something you actually manage to do/ (.) with fresh ingredients/

(Note: My question is on the back of her earlier complaint, in the interview, about the poor cooking facilities in hall (a poorly equipped, small, communal kitchen); following comment of "next year" refers to being in independent accomodation the following year.)

S: yeah (.) there's quite a lot of us that cook together (.) and it's quite nice to have that environment (.) err but I guess next year (.) oh and jacket potatoes (.) I `love jacket potatoes

(note. She wants to represent to me a self who is determined to get it 'right' - following her mum's use of "fresh" ingredients and eating healthily - when she cooks for herself, as part of a group of housemates in hall (stirfries, fresh food, jacket potatoes). She wants me to know that she enjoys this kind of food. She demonstrates a knowledge of the distinction between 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' eating, and that I am someone who would want to know that she has embraced healthy eating advice. In the following comment, she continues the theme of consumer savviness re. checking the provenance of food. She alludes to popular psychology (' I don't know if it's psychological' ) to excuse any misconception, with me, that her aversion to mass catered meat is somehow extreme. In this respect, the reference to Jamie Oliver further defines her concern as culturally sanctioned and socially normal.)

M: what are the differences in what food means to you now from say five years ago/

S: err I definitely like kind of `have to care about what's in (.) or where (laughs) I'm definitely picky about meats for example (.) like if they're really cheap (.) or

(.) especially at hall I'm quite picky if it's quite (.) the texture if it's (.) and puts me off instantly (.) I don't know if it's psychological

M: it's about where it has come from (.) and how/ do I know what it is/

S: `exactly (.) I'm more conscious about that (.) and that's why when I'm at home I know where it's from (.) and if I'm cooking I know exactly the process itself

M: do you think that connects up with what you chose to do/ (pointing at the image she produced, image no.)

S: I think it partly does (.) because in this sense (.) it shows exactly and clearly what is in the product itself and the process it's gone through (.) and I felt quite strongly that that message needed to come across

M: I understand this much better now (1) and do/ you feel that you can trust or `can't trust producers of food whether they be factories that process food or farms that produce meat for us to eat

S: I think we've become accustomed maybe to trust farmers slightly more because factories work in batches and try to produce it the cheapest they can (.) and yet at the same time (.) I think there's still a certainty of untrusting because you still can't physically see where (.) what's going on

M: is there something/ that's happened that's made you feel that way/

S: more that some of the products are made from the left-over chicken and the skin and even that Jamie Oliver (.) in the USA (.) I watched that recently as well

M: what would make you confident about food (.) if you knew your mum had made it/

S: (laughs) yes I'd feel confident because I know she `cares a lot about me (.) and about what she feeds me

**Jed**

Extract for purple theme 8 (resisting the dominance of 'healthy eating discourse' and showing alternative, 'creditable' personal performance of resourcefulness and 'edge' in design: resistance to food being framed as important, eg. in media discourses (ie. a resistance to engagement with wider food culture) is associated with producing personal power through agenda setting).

(Note: at the beginning of the interview, after my introduction of myself and my purposes, and invitation to him to show me what he had done. He turns the pages of his notebook, showing me image IMG\_0034, IMG\_0035, IMG\_0036 and IMG\_0037)

S: basically I was going for a protest against greens (.) basically going against (.) making a protest statement against greens and saying how err throughout our life (.) like when you're a kid you're always forced to eat greens (.) I'm going against that really (.) protesting against that whole thing

M: what (.) endless people saying what you should and shouldn't eat/

S: yeah (.) it has become very trendy to say what diets and food they're eating (.) and I think most people would say that they dislike greens and vegetables and that kind of thing (.) so I was working with that (.) creating a protest against it

M: you know some of the design choices you made (.) how/ does that fit in with what you've been trying to say (M. looking over IMG\_0036, the spaghetti letters saying 'STAND UP' and "FUCK THE SYSTEM") and reading out) "fuck the system" (.) that's quite a strong message isn't it/ is that part of what you're saying about food/ it's about institutions as well/

S: yeah (.) that's the revolt really (.) going against it and its media image (.) and people like

M: people like/

S: people obviously that like that kind of food but it's artificial like (.) it's "bad" (.) "unhealthy food" (.) I'm just trying to promote this anti-green message (.) through (.) through the use of food you like really

M: "Fuck the system" might also be "Fuck the rich factory owners who make this stuff"/

S: mmm, yeah (Note: here it's clear that this isn't his association.)

M: (pointing at image IMG\_0036) this is spaghetti, isn't it/ (then turns to next page, image IMG\_0037)

S: why have I chosen that/ I was playing around with ways to create types of fuse (1) earlier on when I was working with (looks through his workbook) (4) yeah (.) I was working on ways of creating negative imagery towards healthy eating (.) how here (points to image IMG\_0038) I was putting a negative image on that (.) and yet again (.) like sort of burning greens

M: it's powerful

S: (turning the pages of his work book) yeah (.) (Note: he names the tutor here) said that I should show my work to other people and look back on it more (.) and yes (.) I think this is the stronger of the two really (he has turned to the image of burning broccoli (image IMG\_0037 )

M: I think it is

S: yeah (.) definitely (.) looking back (.) if I had done this at the time I could have developed it more

M: is this/ the same kind of message as the other one/

S: yes (.) just the idea of protesting against greens

M: is that also/ about you protesting against people telling you what to do all of the time/

S: yeah (2) just the idea of us being controlled (1) I'm just going against that really

### **Bess**

This exemplifies a negotiation with 'healthy eating' discourses (as hegemonic/ and likely means of an adult (middle-class) social judgment) by demonstrating her design skills. This is a means of identity construction through an



alternative performance of resourcefulness, independence and capability (purple theme 8). blue Theme 6 (ability to use food to build sociality in new setting of university) - is associated with a performance of a socially approved identity – woman as family builder.

(Note: this is an interview in which the social difference of gender between interviewer and interviewee seems to partly condition the limited development of her position, but also the difference of age - and my role as researcher - she makes room for the more comfortable terms of judgement on the design choices, rather than possible discussion about her not eating 'healthily' (which she addresses in the images, including the written text). This is also consistent with position she establishes - that 'comfort eating' is the (rational) management of mood.)

(Note: She has presented her 'final outcome' (images IMG\_0057 and IMG\_0058) in front of us both. I had asked what kinds of feelings and ideas she had drawn upon.)

S: I guess in terms of food (.) I always use the foods that make me feel good (1) I'm not very daring with food (.) I just like eat (laughs) and that kind of comes back to the clothes I wear (.) because I wear really comfortable clothes (.) and yeah (.) so I put them together as a way of expressing the food I eat through what I wear

M: in a sense I suppose we all express ourselves through our personal style (.) when we have a choice about what we wear or whatever (.) that's a great way of communicating something about ourselves (.) I suppose (1.05)

S: I just (.) well like (.) there's a thing between what I eat and what I wear sort of thing (.) with what I wear (.) if I'm going out somewhere I'll want to look good and I'll dress in smart clothes and stuff that will help me think better and things like that (.) but if I'm not in a very good mood or if I'm angry (.) with someone I'll wear like wooly clothes and stuff like that (.) just to make myself feel better (.) and I'll do the same with food as well (.) like if I'm feeling very positive and I've got lots of ambition and everything like that I'll suddenly start eating a lot healthier (.) and if I'm in a bad mood, (laughs) I'll just go back and eat my chocolate (laughs)

M: (pointing to her workbook, image IMG\_0057 and reading from it) you said “I’ve decided to look at the whole idea of comfort food” (1) (gesturing to images IMG\_0057 and IMG\_0058) it seems that it’s something that you wrap around yourself (.) and the word comfort probably says most of it/ and it’s just time when you don’t want to make loads of effort

S: yeah

M: is/ it time when you want to pull away/ from people/ to pig out or enjoy that chocolate for yourself/

(Note: the questioner is doing the conceptualising, not so much the participant here: my comment shows I’ve got this wrong; and the question lamely returns to the “comfort food” cue from the notebook. However, the answer shows her reasserting a self who is not a puppet of negative, emotional habits, but a rational, embodied, social self; ‘comfort food’ does not express narcissism, in her conversation with me.)

M: have I got this wrong/ that if you want/ to feel nice about yourself/

S: it’s a way of feeling without having to tell people (.) it’s always better when people are there but if you are there by yourself it’s better to have the things around you that make you feel good

M; I’ve got you.

S: but (.) I suppose (.) according to mood as well

M: sometimes we feel outgoing and and there are other times (.) even if people want to meet you you just don’t want to meet them

S: yeah `definitely (.) for me

M: now ( pointing to images IMG\_0057 and IMG\_0058) what/ do you think some of your key decisions were here (.) you’ve got colour (.) you’ve got texture (.) you talked a little bit about texture before erm (.) talk me through here (pointing to IMG\_0058 (.) on this right hand side (.) why did they feel right/ (Note: meaning the decisions made.)

S: well I was more interested about the colour really because obviously I had a limited selection of items to use (.) I used an old bra here (pointing at image IMG\_0058) and you can see where I've used similar ones (moves between indication in the two artifacts) (.) one item to make it look like I've got more clothes there than I actually have

M: all/ of these are items of clothes/

S: yeah

M: that you've put together

S: yeah

M: and you've made that (pointing at image IMG\_0058) look like an unwrapped bar of chocolate (.) and you've chosen the colours have you/ because of an association with err a kind of err shimmery plastic that's sometimes around/

S: uh uh

M: have you got particular kinds of chocolate bars in mind here/

S: yeah yeah the purple like is about *Cadbury's Milk*

M: and over here (pointing to image IMG\_0057) (2) strawberry

S: yeah (.) although these little black bits I've got are screwed up pieces of material not clothes (.) I was going to use objects but I thought that takes away from the concept (.) of my comfort food

(Later I ask if food means different things to her say from five years ago. Note: she seems to think that there is a 'healthy eating' agenda for my question, and that 'comfort food' is still under scrutiny. Her answer builds a self who is responsible, and wants to be more agentive than she can be at present.)

(5.04)

M: in terms of thinking about the differences in you from say you now and say five years ago (.) what/ are the differences for you now (.) in terms of what food means to you

S: well (3)

S: well (3) not sure I still go for err (.) like coming to uni hasn't been that much of a change because I'm in a catered hall so I get given all of the foods (.) I don't get any choice in it erm

M: that's something you resent (Note: I pick up on the tone of resentment in the last comment. Part of that may be because she sees an interview with someone like me as about being judged about choices - certainly justified by being questioned about design choices; but this is, now, hypothetically, more - about personal agency in food consumption; and being restricted in what she can show about what she has done for herself; there is an interest to show an independent self, able to make socially approved choices in food practice.)

S: yeah it is this year cos I've done it for two years in a row now and I'm really (.) I don't like it anymore (.) I just want to be able to do as I like cos I'm getting all this independence but I can't in that aspect (.) so I want to be able to choose my own foods and learn how to cook and stuff like that

M: if you could just cook really nice stuff (.) would that be important to you/

S: yeah I think so `definitely (.) like I'll be a house next year with six other people and I'm hoping that we can have like family meals and stuff like that (laughs) (Note: this may be that she feels that she has got the 'right' line to satisfy me. My question is interpreted as a challenge to social identity because her response has been thrown into a social arena: she asserts that 'proper meals'/ family meals is something she knows; not to have these in your background brings social stigma; she asserts her agency.)

M: well yeah (.) you wouldn't be the first person to say (.) you know (.) that the idea of a family meal is really nice

S: yeah

M: did that happen all the time at home/ (.) most people have said well (.) no (.) that's why it's so nice (Note: I'm trying to encourage her to take another path other than the obvious conformist one. In what she says, she, hypothetically, wants me to know that there is no 'lack' in her earlier life, and that her frustration is about not having consumer choice.)

S: mmm well I have had that all throughout my life and I get that more in a catered hall because we all go down to dinner and everything (.) and it is a `really sociable time (.) which is really nice (.) but it's just the food itself it needs a change about

M: and what would you do/

S: er I'd want to do something really challenging (.) oh I don't know (searching for ideas) I would like to be able to say that I could make a roast dinner all by myself

M: and you'd be the person who did it

S: mm (assenting) all by myself

### ***Maddie***

Extracts for blue theme 6 (demonstrating personal progress by making new forms of sociality in the new setting of university, away from home), associated with green theme 1 (making progress in being a healthy eater). blue Theme 9 (home as an ideal) sets the terms of what is valued and which she must strive to reproduce, in part, in address to social belonging through new kinds of food sharing. Further reference to green theme 1, and making progress independently away from home, is a testimony to the learning done at home. She was taught to be a healthy eater (so addressing social judgment of kinds of home/ food culture).

(Note. this is an email exchange, in which she is explaining the drawings she made (images IMG\_0027, IMG\_0028, IMG\_0029). I had asked what ideas she was dealing with and what feelings was she drawing on. I also asked if food meant anything different to her now, compared to the past)

With the drawing of the corridor (image IMG\_0029) I was analogically drawing out personal feelings I have towards food. The doorways down each side of the corridor have 'guilty pleasure' foods such as biscuits and chocolates, and other foods of which I often have at university. They are foods which I like but sometimes I think I shouldn't have as much of as I do. At the end of the

corridor is a picture of my family eating round a dining table. This is something I almost strive for, as I miss eating with my family whilst I'm at uni. The drawing deals with some of my personal feelings towards eating socially, which was the theme I chose to focus on for the project. The other two drawings of the people eating in a dining hall (image IMG\_0027 and IMG\_0028) reflect this focus of people eating in a social way. They also reflect my new experiences of eating now I am at university.

I have different feelings to food now I am at university, as I eat in a completely different environment now. When I was younger I think I perhaps took food for granted (note: sic., instead of granted), and didn't appreciate as much where it had come from i.e. my mum cooking it for me. Now I am at uni and living in a catered hall I appreciate eating with friends, but I miss home cooking and being with my family. I now realise how meal times at home were a chance to catch up with my family, and I miss being able to do that. However I do enjoy eating socially with friends now I am at uni, which is something I didn't used to do very often at home, but is now how I eat every day.

The food I drew in the doorways in the corridor drawing (image IMG\_0029) are some of my favourite foods (e.g. biscuits, chocolate), however these are also guilty pleasures for me. I also like spaghetti Bolognese, but this only really has a special association to me if it is cooked in the way my mum cooks it. I did learn to cook food by how my parents brought me up at home, however living in a catered hall now I haven't had to use this knowledge much. I also learnt how to eat healthily through my parents, which is knowledge I use when I choose the food in the dining hall.

### ***Stella***

Extract for purple **theme 7** (engagement with wider food culture/ food style as a sign of being adult, an adult consumer) is associated with purple **theme 5** (being a competent preparer of food). There is reference to blue **theme 9** (home food and ideal sociality) in representation of her mother's special food as associated with a special family occasion.

(Note. From the outset, in her communication, there is strong, positive affective orientation to the pleasure of presenting special food to others. There is the construction of family identity - a kind of socially approved of family ('functional', eating 'proper meals' together, and aspirational). There is strong affect in the personal development of a cultural resource with which she can conserve and develop the experience of family/ co-presence: food event that brings them together in one place and time. There is a strong theme of learning as personal aspiration - she being an a food cultural apprentice: learning to do what her mother does, but on her terms (ie. being independently resourceful through her use of mediated food culture). Obvious reproduction of female identity. Also construction of social differentiation of class through selection of food television and consumer culture (*Masterchef* and *M&S* and brand of sushi restaurant) and construction of herself as a savvy consumer.)

(Note: This is at the beginning of the interview. On reflection, although intended to recognise, and validate the sense that this participant had, that she was pleased with the food that she had made, as well as the design task accomplished, at the opening of the interview, my banter interrupts her developing her comment about design choices, in her second comment. She picks that up again after my question, "and how did you get to this idea?" A further prompt for my celebratory comment was the captions on image IMG\_0055, 'Final product my made sushi' and 'Final product presented').

M (addressing the photographs of the sushi, image IMG\_0055) you made that/ you made your own sushi/

S: yeah (laughs)

M: it's really good (.) it's really professional (.) are you going to insist now (.) when anyone comes round (.) that it's got to be sushi/

S: yeah (.) I love sushi (1) well (.) It took me about forty minutes

M: I love the appearance of it (.) but what attracts you to sushi/

S: (looking at image IMG\_0055) all the different colours and (.) I ideally wanted to (.) if I was going to present them properly (.) I would do the actual kind of sushi that I made (.) because I don't think anything like gives it justice from them itself (Note: meaning not just from the photographs themselves; you have to be there - perhaps to handle them, smell them and eat them - to really appreciate them.)

M: it was that good/

S: `yeah (.) it `really was (.) and like biting into it (.) all the different textures

M: yeah (.) and I don't know what comes along for you (.) for me it's a real kind of freshness

S: yeah (.) yeah (.) and it's really fresh ingredients and everything

M: and it's so unusual (.) and it's such fun (1) for me it would be to eat with people

S: yeah

M: I would never eat sushi on my own (.) I think that would be very sad

S: no, no (.) well (.) I did eat them all by myself (laughs)

M: perhaps I thought you were tasting them to make sure they were all right (.) if you know what I mean

S: I was going to say (.) I was saving the best to the end for myself (laughs) (.) they're too good

M: too good to share

S: yeah (.) `far too good (laughs)

M: and how/ did you get to this idea/

S: I've been looking at presentation (.) and I just thought erm I was looking at (.) I watched *Masterchef* (.) I was watching *Masterchef* (.) the series right then (.) and I loved the way they present their food and everything (.) so I kind of



took that (.) and I looked at adverts (.) and all the things that people found appetising

M: what is/ it about the way that these people in *Masterchef* (.) they do (.) when it comes to plating up or something/

S: yeah

M: or get heavily criticised if it doesn't look good

S: yeah, well it's `really artistic (.) and like careful details (.) and it makes you want to eat it when it's placed in front of you and I (.) if something was placed in front of me like that (.) I would want to eat it (.) or admire it

M: so it's care (.) and is/ it also originality (.) freshness/

S: `yeah

M: it's not just a plate of food

S: yeah

M: if it's not just a plate of food (.) what is it/

S: it's almost like an experience in itself

M: yeah

S: and then (.) yeah (.) there's like the different stages when it's presented to you (.) you like gasp and then eat it (.) and it's really good and

M: I've chatted to lots of people today (.) and someone said that when you come to uni "it's a chance to try out new things" (.) is that you/ you've made your sushi

S: yeah (1) `that was the first time I've ever made sushi

M: I know it's a lot about money half the time but do you/ go out much to eat/

S: Nottingham occasionally (.) I've got like (.) some places in Nottingham (.) I'm a real fan of *Bonzai* probably because of their sushi there (1) the

supermarket's the most common thing for a student (.) I prefer *M&S* (.) but (laughs) boring (.) the money thing

M: exactly (.) I've got my *NUS* card in my pocket (.) looking for my 10% off or whatever

(S laughs throughout this, and seems to be an acceptable way of negotiating the potentially socially embarrassing contradiction in my age and being a student. The "boring" apology is another indication that my age and class prompts the 'apology' of what she, hypothetically, sees as my expectation of 'good' food practice, engaged with kinds of consumption, and discrimination, that differentiate class and age. This is, though, still a part of a performance of a self who is knowledgeable of, and engaged with social aspirational in terms of food culture, and whose food practice is 'healthy' eating.)

M: No, I don't think it's boring at all (1) *M&S* (.) what/ have you got there/ in terms of food that appeals to you/ what's the first thing that comes into your mind/

S: for 'me/ at *M&S*/

M: yeah

S: sushi (.) and salads

M: you're going to get something of good quality/

S: yeah (.) my mum goes there and I trust it

M: and is/ trustworthiness important for you/

S: yeah

M: are you a big home fan in terms of food at home/

S: yes (.) `definitely (.) very very (.) very big fan yeah (.) I did some Christmas stuff (turning to her workbook, to show me photographs of food/ menus, etc) and I called this 'Christmas at home' and this is like all my mum's plan (she shows me a professional style menu typed out) (1) that was Christmas day (.)

I put it in after (.) it didn't really have any like (obscure word/s) it was just the importance of it

M: tell me about the importance of it

S: well (.) it's one of the first times (.) like in the year that my 'entire family get together (.) for the meal (.) and we always do exactly the same but it never gets boring because we only have it once a year and

M: if it wasn't the same you'd be upset

S: yeah (.) exactly (1) my dad was all for us to go out for Christmas dinner (.) but we were all (cresc.) "no,no,no, definitely not"

M: (cresc.) "go on your own"

S: yes (.) exactly (.) and although it takes my mum ages (.) I find it amazing how (.) I mean this is her plan (she shows me a schedule of food tasks written in her workbook) and she starts at nine fifteen and we eat at four (.) and it takes her ages

M: that's a labour of love

S: and like we're finished in 45 minutes (.) the thing's like gone and done (.) and it takes a ridiculous amount of time to do it (1) and also the effort for the decorations (.) the crackers and all that sort of stuff as well

M: yeah (.) it kind of connects to what you said about the sushi and everything (.) it's small (.) completely different (.) but it's got some of the same kind of things hasn't it/ (note: I have to hold back another participant at this point, which breaks the attempt to pursue connections between the sushi design and her account of her mother's preparation of celebration food. Her answer to the more open question does have the earlier themes of impressing others by being resourceful, competent as a savvy consumer and preparer of food, and by investing personal effort. as such this is a model of self-entrepreneurialship)

M: is there anything else that kicked into the design/

S: well we don't like Christmas pudding (.) so we have this festive bomb (.) and you pour the melted chocolate on the top (.) and (pointing at images in her workbook) that was like the M&S advert that I was watching and all that kind of stuff

M: and your family likes to do things a little differently at times/

S: yeah

### ***Firoze***

Extracts for blue theme 6 (demonstrating personal progress by making new forms of sociality in the new setting of university, away from home) in association with purple theme 7 (engagement with wider food culture) and purple theme 5 (demonstrating personal progress by being a competent preparer of food)

(Note. This extract is from the beginning of the interview, after introduction to one another. Firoze took the lead in the interview by taking me through his workbook, on his laptop. He took me through a series of photographs he had taken of the cooking club that he and some of his male friends had begun, on arriving at university. They were photographs of his friends and himself enjoying an evening meal, and using a shisha pipe. He later explained that these were the photographs that he was going to use in his final image; he arranged to send that image to me by email. The cooking club were a multicultural group of four, who each week invite other students to share the meal they have prepared. The four begin each Thursday afternoon after their last lecture, discussing options and buying the food from the local Sainsbury's supermarket; each week, one of them takes the lead in cooking, directing the others as assistants. This is distinct from theme 10 (the curation of cultural food practice at university): although recognising the different cultural backgrounds of those who participate, it is about the celebration of the transcendence of those differences in a new sociality.)

(0.2)

F: This is us all eating together (note: he shows me a series of photographs, on his laptop, that he taken; most of the photographs are included in the final image he designed, image Food Final-Firoze, below)

M: is that once a week where you get your friends around /

F: yes (.) once a week (.) every Thursday (1) I live with four other guys

M: in a house in Loughborough/

F: an apartment in Loughborough (.) a student apartment (.)

M: a student apartment/

F: it's a building opposite Sainsbury's right here (gesturing in the direction)

M: yeah (.) yeah (.) and every week you get these guys together (/)

F: yeah

M: was it your idea `this (/) (gesturing toward the photographs on screen)

F: erm I cook all the time (.) so in the first week we all like tasted each other's food

M: yeah

F: and they all liked mine (.) so I said look let's all cook together (.) so I cook

M: are these guys all from a similar background to yourself (/)

F: yeah err

M: so they're not all from Pakistani backgrounds (/)

F: no (.) yeah er two of them are white (.) one is Iraqi and then we bring together other people (1) (looking across at M, dazzled by the sunlight upon the screen of the open laptop) can you see/

M: yeah (.) it's just a bit bright the light (2) (F. turns the screen so that it out of direct light and intensifies the image) thank you (.) is that you / (pointing at the figure in one of the images selected)

F: err no (.) (he gestures toward the screen as he identifies each of his friends) `that's my friend Michael err and this is Ali (.) my Iraqi friend (.) and `this is my house mate Stephen (.) he lives two floors down (.) and `this is me starting to cook (.) and `this is James (.) my house mate erm (.) this is Michael staring down because I had to photograph (laughs) and that's me cooking (2) and being idiots running away from the camera (smiles) erm cooking a chicken (.) adding err this is minced beef

M: and the other was chicken/

F: yeah (.) it was Chicken Madras (.) erm that was where I cooked in the microwave (3.00) err that was the food on the table there (.) (note: upper right side of image 'Food-Final-Firoze') that's my other friends who came to join us (.) and we haven't started eating yet

M: (pointing to a photograph of Firoze, upper left side of image 'Food-Final-Firoze') and this is the proud chef (.)

F: yeah

M: do you (.) do any of the family have a restaurant/ (.) or something/

F: no

M: this is just from home-cooking/ (2)

F: yeah (2) I didn't really learn from my mum (.) I just put things together (.) I didn't like have any training back home (.) my mum does make it (.) but I don't really like Indian food all that much because I eat it all the time at home (.) but my housemates are crazy about it (.) I do it for them (.) but err the food did turn out very well (laughs) look they're feeding each other

(Note: fortunately my stereotyping question does not deter F. from pursuing his interest, to demonstrate his abilities, creativity, and resourcefulness both in cooking food and in his general entrepreneurialism; and his personal

generosity to others. In the following dialogue, he adopts the role of cultural insider, and I that of the outsider, curious about tradition and food culture. This is perhaps not a productive basis for my disapproval of what I clearly see (in male commendeering of the shisha) as patriarchal behaviour; perhaps his restatement of the realisation of a multicultural ideal is repair work, and a shifting of the agenda.)

(Note: Firoze has finished the sequence of photographs and he arranges to send me the photos once he has finished his treatment of them)

F: that's my idea for the final piece (.) to bring all of these together (3)  
(pointing at photos of friends smoking a shisha pipe) oh yeah (.) he (pointing at one of the friends shown) brought shisha afterwards (.) and we continued the dinner that way

M: which is traditional after you've eaten yeah/

F: in some cultures yeah

M: just men/

F: mostly (.) yeah (.) the ladies didn't want to try it (laughs) I tried it (.) I thought it was all right (pointing to a photo of female friend refusing the shisha)  
(cresc.) "No (.) I'm not trying it"

M: (looking at the image on the screen, of the party guests) you've got err like err

F: a multicultural group (smiling) `yeah (laughing) there's black there's white there's like Indian (.) there's Iraqi

M: that feels right yeah/ at university/

F: yes it `is (.) we're supposed to mingle (5.00) (pointing at another photo) that's my friend

M: everybody's really up for it

F: yeah

M: and you didn't do it just do this once yeah/ because you said

F: every Thursday (.) this was last week on the day we got the project (.) on the fourteenth we've got another one after (.) and so on

M: is this landing you all year with the job of cooking/

F: yes it is (.) but I `enjoy that (.) I love cooking

M: you're going to get a name for yourself aren't you/

F: I've (cresc.) already got a name for myself

(Firoze and myself joke about how other students will want him to cook for them everyday; and he continues to explain how they organise the buying of the food (including cash contribution from the four of them), the decision making (each week one takes a lead) and invitations to others (each invites friends and girlfriends); and he describes everyone in the photographs once more.)

(8.55)

M: does this (gesturing to the photographs of the cookery club evening) give you a good feeling/

F: it does (.) I love cooking (.) eating together (1) I think that we're all very close (.) sort of (.) considering that we only knew everybody since the beginning of October

M: it's `still October now (.) and people have come from all over the place

F: all over the country (.) there's Andrew from Newcastle (.) there's James from Surrey (.) I'm from Wolverhampton (.) near there (.) then err (name obscure) is from Birmingham (.) Helen is from Hertfordshire Ali is from central London (3.00) so everyone's come together (.) yeah (2.00) also our other housemates (.) one is from Essex and one is from Egypt (.) so it's all like a mix of cultures and backgrounds

M: is it always going to be this style of food/



F: I think yeah (.) who knows/ (Note: at this point F explains how because of a trip away, there' going to be a break in the club's cooking for one week; M asks about the materials that Firoze has put together in his sketchbook.)

(10.58)

F: I wanted to focus on the concept that food brings people together (F shows M the images of food featured in magazines that he had collected, in order to push this idea further, but he says that they haven't given him what he was looking for)

M: what were you looking for (.) food

F: bringing people together

M: and these aren't/ about food bringing people together/

F: `no they're about recipes and hot-tips and things like that

M: is that 'top-tips' to impress other people/ (.) is it all meant to be 'special food'

F: yeah it's unusual food

(Note: as he talks me through the images he had collected in his research so far, from magazines, even though, on the one hand, they did not give him what he was looking for, he reaffirms his theme of integration, co-presence, in the repetition of phrases incorporating 'together', 'everyone', 'everybody'. There is a strong ethos of egalitarianism.)

(12.58)

F: This is what I took out of it ... (pointing to those images taken out of the variety of magazines, showing food in family settings) father and son (.) father and son together (.) enjoying roast beef together and pumpkins (.) everybody's in the kitchen together (.) and everyone's there and mum's cooking and everybody's sitting around together (2) it showed how food brings people together and it's not just eating together (.) it's also cooking together (.) how everyone's together to cook

M: and does it matter what differences these people have got/ like some people might not have very much money and some people might have a lot of money/

F: I don't think it should matter at all

M: what about gender/ that doesn't seem to make much difference the way you guys all eat together (.) does class make any difference/

F: no (.) `definitely (.) the value of mine was ten pounds

M: ethnicity doesn't make a difference/

F: no

M: are you an idealistic man/

F: yes (laughs)

M: when you say idealistic does that mean you would like a better world/ or does that mean you're just optimistic when you meet people/

F: `both (.) yeah

M: so you get a good feeling doing this and if everybody else was like this we'd be ok

F: yeah (laughs).

(A long discussion ensued about his approach to photography (including compositions, use of monochrome/ colour and so on, which was a part of his talking me through a portfolio of previous photographic work on his laptop. After this, I asked him how he was going to put his final image together.)

(24.10)

M: talk me through some of the shapes and how you might treat them

F: If you put my putting people together concept together to a visual concept then (F points to a photo of one person eating) Helen eating a nan (.) and these guys (F points to another) are just really eating on their own (He then

described some ideas he had for balancing the brightness of the different images that would be used in the final composition, and how he would integrate shapes so that there was an ensemble. He pointed out some quotes he had collected in the sketch-book that he might use as text in with the images).

F: these are quotes

M (begins to read what he pointed to): “food is international (.) food brings people together” (.)

F: “food is beautiful and food is love”

M: where did you get the quotes from/

F: (laughs) my (cresc.) head

### **Hollie**

Extract for blue theme 9 (home food as ideal)

(Note: As she tries to answer my initial question, about the meanings of her final image, she reflects back the reference to 'idea', but she cannot gain a discursive grip on, or distance from her own text. Perhaps her selection of 'ideas' over 'emotions' offered is a part of her negotiation with me, in this educational institution (provenance as a place of ideas? my identity as a researcher, as male and middle-aged, and understandably not entitled to be the sharer of her emotional world, and the artifact as a product of design, at the beginning of the university career. At this point, it as if representing the social practice of the family eating together realises the meaning she wishes to fix for herself, and possibly communicate to others. It's clear, sitting next to her, that there is very strong, positive affect about the symbol of belonging to her family - making meaning about what is so strongly felt is not easy for her. She communicates to me that she highly values being with her extended family - it is an infrequent but important time for her. This position does not really change, as I ask further questions. She does, though, reiterate, through

stress ("for me") what is important to her, even if she feels that it is not something she can transform into an idea for me (so the low subjectivity modality, "I think that, for me..."). However, her discussion of colour, her modulation of colour away from the naturalism (and so 'sensory modality') is about communicating emotional warmth, sense of extraordinariness of the event, and the up-beatness/ distance from sadness. Later in the interview, she does mention her concern for her father who was recently made redundant. There is a theme of security in being together. It may be, in terms of turning the object of strong personal feeling outward, to an audience like me, that she is proud to belong to family (after all a cultural ideal).)

M: (addressing her image IMG\_0053) tell me what it's saying (.) or tell me what emotions it's pulling on (.) or what ideas it's dealing with

S: err it was to with the sunday roast before (.) and it was the whole idea of the family (.) and I didn't really know like how to pick out the one specific thing that was important about the Sunday roast (.) so instead I kind of went with the whole like (.) it was supposed to be almost like a ball of all the things to do with like the Sunday roast

M: mm

S: err a lot is to do with food and stuff (.) but yeah, it just kind of (.) yeah everything is all kind of squashed together (.) but it's all as important as the theme

M: mm your design here is quite interesting in the way you have pulled everything together (1) all the different things have all come together in a way erm from an outsider's point of view (.) you know like (.) is there/ a family idea in there/

S: yeah, I think that `for `me the main thing about the Sunday roast is that all our family is together

M: mm (.) is/ it a big family/

S: quite a big family

M: how/ many are there of you/ if I may say (note: here I'm trying to get S to stay with the family idea and make it tangible, so that her response becomes one that is from a fuller, affective base).

S: there's four of my main family (.) two grandparents (.) two uncles (.) his wives (.) two cousins and then like a lot of second cousins

M: do those people often/ come together to

S: not regularly

M: but sometimes

S: yeah like not rarely come together like now and again

M: so every

S: six weeks.

M: and is that something you look forward to when you go back/ (2) or not/

S: I mean I still live at home anyway

M: is it something you like when it happens/

S: yeah (.) it's kind of the only time everybody comes together so it's not just about the food

M: I've got you (1) and your design/ (gesturing to image IMG\_0053) you've made some choices here about some things say (.) to leave in white (.) some things to colour (.) and this background (.) what lured you towards that/

S: I don't know (.) I tried like loads of different colours (.) but obviously blues and greens (.) blue was kind of really sad and pink was the obvious kind of family warm colour

M: mm

S: orange kind of looked (.) it looked a bit dull because obviously the white's kind of quite pale and ordinary (.) so I settled on a bright pink

M: mm that's interesting (2) have you got some work in there (pointing to her workbook) that led your way to it/

S: I've got a sketch book (she thumbs through) I think a lot of it (.) yeah I took quite a few photos (.) just generally (.) at different times (.) and then started drawing things that were important (.) and made some random sketches in there

(She describes taking notes of what people said at the table, including the stories they told to the family, and making drawings of members of the family, sitting at the meal table. She described how this advanced her work toward the final outcome.)

S: I think specifically (.) I mean all the drawings were from when we were having dinner (.) I would just like make notes now and again

M: did you make notes in there/ (pointing to the workbook)

S: yes, I made notes in here

M: when you were actually there sitting at the table

S: yeah

M: how interesting (.) and you've made/ drawings of people at the table have you /

S: this one's not mine (pointing to image IMG\_0054, a found image) but it's one which I drew on (.) yes (1) I think that one's quite important

M: why was that important/

S: just because (.) I think the same with this (pointing to image IMG\_0053, of the Sunday dinner objects) this is kind of like the whole (.) it doesn't really change (.) the family's there and everything (1) and it doesn't exactly represent my family but it's kind of the same idea of everyone sitting down together and talking

M: and you said that that was important (1) and that steered you toward the final outcome

S: yeah

(After permission is granted, I take a photograph of it.)

(Note. After my questions have invited her to show me drawings she made of her family, or of the notes she made of them, she takes me to an anonymous, stereotypical representation of an ideal (American) family. She is exercising her right to draw a boundary around the personal, and negotiate with the tutorial mode of speech - this found image allows her continued dealing with my questions and also what she wants to say in reply to them. In this particular instance of her communication, she produces a conventional image of herself as belonging to a 'normative' family. This is repair work in terms of her comment, "I think mainly because our family isn't close the rest of the time, and that's the one time when everybody does come together, and everybody actually makes time for it." )

M: there you were (.) doing your research (.) people saying things and you taking notes at the table

S: yeah

M: was there anything that people said that you thought was important/

S: err (S looks through her notes (2) yeah it was kind of the same thing (.) there was nothing directly what they said but just to reiterate that it was the time that everybody came together (.) I think that is the main thing in everybody

M: do you like/ the coming together thing/ is it just the family coming together (.) or is it coming together here (.) at uni (.) do you ever have times like that (.) when you get around/

S: I think mainly because our family isn't close the rest of the time(.) and that's the one time when everybody does come together (.) and everybody actually makes time for it

M: is that because they're all so busy/

S: yeah

M: doing their own lives

M (pointing back at her drawing (image no.): why do you go for mustard/

S: I don't know to be honest (.) this sounds really stupid (.) like for Sunday roast (.) my family's quite mixed (.) and they're from everywhere basically (.) and that's kind of the one thing (.) it sounds really quite stupid but like Sunday roast changes now and again (.) depending on who's making it (.) but that's the one constant thing (.) and it kind of made sense to go in the middle

M: something constant (1) am I getting this wrong here but is that something that you like in this event that happens about every five or six weeks (.) that there are some very predictable things (.) that there's something predictable about it/

S: yeah

M: something's constant

S: yeah

M: somethings don't change

S: yeah

M: which is (.) I don't know about your life (.) but in my life so much changes all the time it's quite nice to

S: get the one kind of reliable

M; yeah

S: thing

### ***Juliana***

Extract for blue theme 9 (home food as ideal) exemplifies the complexity of thematic intersections associated with purple theme10 (cultural food heritage). The binary of cultural food heritage and 'mainstream' UK food culture draws



upon a comparison of the healthiness of cultural food heritage with the latter, and the personal interest in demonstrating that she is going to be a healthy eater, independently in the new time and place of university (green theme 1). The comparison also draws upon purple theme 4, that she is a savvy consumer, particularly in terms of sourcing healthy food, and is making the effort of becoming a competent preparer of (healthy) food (purple theme 5). The sense of the shamefulness of initially not managing her food consumption, and what goes into her body (yellow theme 2), with reference to emotional consequences and address to her mother, is transformed in terms of being a self-entrepreneurial, campaigner with other students (green theme3).

(Note: this is at the very beginning of the interview, after I have introduced myself and described my interest in the interview; and after this participant has shown me the image (image IMG\_0042) which is the 'final outcome' and I have photographed it after permission seeking) )

M: help me to read these words (looking at the image of the thumbs up/ thumbs down drawing (image IMG\_0042) (. ) I was trying to read them (. ) and I wondered what they were about (. ) were they food words/ or emotion words/ I couldn't quite get close enough to sort it out

S: well this is about (. ) basically about my thoughts (. ) my view between home food which I love (. ) and basic student meals and deals that you get out there

M: yeah

S: so I decided to do an interactive poster (. ) I guess you could say (1) depending on if it's thumbs up (. ) or thumbs down you get different emotions (. ) or the different points about whether you're eating home food or whether you eat other student meals

M: so what are some of those emotions/

(Note: how Juliana is editing out discussion of her emotions, as is her right in a negotiation within a tutorial genre of speech, in this institutional space, and

the provenance of this space for this participant; and what she considers private)

S: err the words I'm thinking of right now (.) because I'm thinking about (.) oh happy thoughts because it's related to my mum's cooking I'm thinking about right now

M: some of them are/

S: with the thumbs up it's like healthy (.) happier, better food

M: are those emotional words/

S: I wrote 'happier' down (laughs) well I mainly wrote things that were positive to a person

M: so when you think of home food are you mostly thinking of your mum's food/

S: yeah

M: and what feelings are you handling when you think about it/

S: different meals (.) ah well I love food and then (.) mum's food is just a bonus

M: is it to do with your relationship with her/

S: well (.) I guess (note: meaning not so much, or this isn't an area of discussion I'm going to get into (with you) right now; again a negotiation of the terms of the 'tutorial') if anyone cooked that kind of food I'd be happy (laughs)

M: and what are these other emotions that are not associated with the thumbs up- home food/

S: well, if you turn it around (.) (note: she turns the image upside down) the words that are now readable (.) because the words that were upside down are not

M: (reading from the image) so I've got 'lazy' (.) 'cheap' err 'disgusting'

S: 'waste of money'

M: 'waste of money' (.) 'unhealthy' (.) 'fast-food' (.) 'you should not be lazy' (.) 'total opposite' (.) 'student meals are not the answer' (.) so what/ gave you the graphic idea/

S: it's home food versus student meals (.) it contours around

M: it keeps on saying 'home food' 'student meals' all around (.) but what/ was your thinking behind that design/

S: I came up with the two contrasts (.) and then I realised there was just good and bad (.) and I looked at different ways of showing good and bad

M: but you've gone for a hand and an arm (.) it's a person (.) it's a living thing (.) you could have used objects but you've gone for something human (.) and why/ do you think you've done that

S: well at first I thought of the emotions (.) now I guess it could be made to relate to the person who is looking at it (.) it could be their hand (note: because of the question, this seems to be a re-interpretation). (Juliana shows a feedback sheet from her housemates, suggestions as to how she could make it better: the advice included, to play around with the colours more, to use computer graphics. Then Juliana shows the mind-map she drew in the early workshop (see image IMG\_0043). This is a surprising offer, following her earlier negotiation of the boundary between private and public.)

S: I put things that I liked towards the middle (.) and I put things that I least liked toward the outside' (I photograph this image, IMG\_0043, after permission seeking. Then Juliana shows me the thoughts she wrote down on her mum's cooking in her workbook; she describes how she tries to cook her mum's cooking when she can at the weekends, when she's not expected to eat with other students in hall. She shows her record, in the workbook, of what she ate, with the dates that she cooked those meals, in the early part of the project "to see if it would spark some thoughts about what I could do.")

(Note: The theme of her cooking is delivered with strong emphasis upon her agency. The transition from the first things she cooked in halls to what she

*then* cooked, from the generic student fare of 'pasta, pizza and all that' to 'the whole Asian food thing', is delivered in contrasting tones and pace (the former 'flat', and the latter enthusiastically.) Her development of the biographical detail suggests great pride in her cultural heritage, and her own family's specific food practices, including the healthiness of its food. The repeated use of 'we' is an obvious feature of that, but also the cohesion, how she moves on to personal memories, with strong sense of emplacement. In terms of identity, her discourse constitutes her as a member of an Asian heritage, and member of her family, distinguished in difference from the British context, and the generality of students at university. She makes their food for them but the range of 'Asian food' that she cooks is distinguished in terms of her own identity work.)

M: and what are the dishes that you did/ have you got any of your mum's stuff there/

S: yeah (.) the first day I was making pasta (.) and pizza and all that (.) and then I then began to cook the `whole Asian food thing (.) so getting into the green beans (.) and teriyaki chicken and all that

M: did you make your own sauce/

S: oh `no (.) I think I would have gone crazy with the sugar (.) soy sauce is boring (.) but and then yeah (1) I cooked steamed fish (.) which I did (.) oh Japanese (.) I cooked with like a tuna (.) egg and brown sugar and soya sauce thing (.) which my sister taught me (1) that made me happy (laughs) err and I cooked a roast for my housemates

M: they must love having you in their house

S: yeah (laughs) but I like Asian food `mmm

M: which Asian cuisine is your cuisine/

S: my mum is Philippino so we have some Philippinan food (.) and we lived in Hong Kong for ages (.) so Chinese

M: and any particular type of Chinese/

S: we like to have a lot of stirs (.) so we stay away from the fried (.) we pick up on the sauce and soup side (.) we `love steamed stuff

M: do you think about its healthiness/ (.) does that matter to you/ or is it mostly because it's home food/

S: mm (.) I do like thinking about health. I guess that's one reason why we're staying (.) well that's one of the contract between them, (.) because student eating is unhealthy (.) `not something you should have full time (laughs)

(Note. I ask her to think back 4 or 5 years to think about whether food has different meanings for her now (she is 19 years old). Her answer may be about distinguishing herself from commonplace female body, weight issues, certainly among her peers, and the superiority of her food culture. Whatever, her answer is cohesive with her interest in presenting herself as a 'healthy eater', brought up in a 'healthy eating' home; and the invitation of the question, to make comparison between her 'now' and 'then', is refused, perhaps in an address to that yardstick, in the interest of producing a consistently 'healthy self' across time and place. After further discussion about the design, she does, in answer to a question about whether food is important in its association with people, however, she does move across time and space, but it is about consistency - this time of belonging. See ref. 12.20 below. She still restricts the detail of the memories, placing me as a cultural tourist.)

S: I've always loved food mm I never really had an issue with my weight (.) so I just ate when I wanted to mm

M: so it's a continual thing through your life

S: I love food (.) yeah

(Note: In returning to discuss the image (IMG\_0042) she made, the quibbling over genre is only productive in that she stands by the position she has already articulated. The binary I offered clearly does not work for her. This is understandable: in terms of the provenance of the public place in which she is presenting her work, and the personal nature of the task (according to the

prompt - to be creative, to express something personal re. food and re. herself as a design student).)

S: I like basic and simple designs (1) it is an interactive piece (.) the words are not that bold to make you go up to read it

M: This is not public information (.) this is personal expression/

S: mm well this topic is very much based in my thoughts and my views (11.40)  
(12.20)

S: sometimes if I eat food it brings back memories of when I last had it (1) if I eat something that my mum cooked just recently but we used to have it back in Hong Kong (.) it reminds me then (.) or if I have food from my childhood (.) which I always used to eat then and now I just have it once in a while (.) it always brings back memories

M: of places/ back in Hong Kong/

S: yes definitely (.) I loved it there

M: could you remember a dish or a food (.) and a place/ could you connect those for me/

(Note. In a sense, this question maybe interpreted as that of a cultural tourist. The answer, including a movement into storytelling, is consistent with that. However, the follow-up question prompts the sense of her presence, here, away from Hong Kong, and her interest is, again, to stress her cooking abilities and her determination to be seen as a 'healthy eater' here, with me, in this 'tutorial'.)

S: ok (.) in Hong Kong (.) for a Chinese meal there's a grouper (.) they steam it in this brown sauce and the best part to eat is the cheek (.) and the first time I eat it I was in this jumbo restaurant (.) which is like a floating restaurant in Hong Kong (.) a huge floating restaurant (.) and yeah (.) it's very Chinese (.) very red (.) very oriental and gold everywhere (.) and you do hear the ferries in the background (.) and little dingy boats (.) and yes (.) and all the chatter (.) because in Hong Kong food courses are so noisy

M: so whenever you want to be somewhere else you can cook that dish

S: I tried cooking it but I used a different fish (.) it wasn't a grouper but I did steam it

***Badriya,***

Extract for blue theme 9 (home food as an ideal), again associated with purple theme10 (cultural food heritage). Again, as in Juliana and others, this articulates a binary of home food and student food/ mainstream food culture; and, again, identifies a sense of duty to curate a home tradition with the figure of her mother

(Note: this is at the beginning of the interview, after we made our introductions, and I explained my interest in the interview. She has just shown me her artifact (images nos. IMG\_0018 and IMG0019).

S: I started off with that one (.) a leaflet for an Indian cookbook

M: Is it possible for you to tell me what it was you were trying to say with this/

S: because I'm vegetarian I wanted to say that not all vegetarian food is bland (.) it can be interesting (.) it can be flavoursome (.) stuff like that

M: well you know that because you know this cuisine.

S: yeah (1) well because I've been brought up eating vegetarian food (.) so it was quite personal to me this project

M: I've got you

S: so I read all the notes and looked at all the clips that we got (.) for each and every person it was quite personal to them (.) so that's why I wanted to choose this and relate it back to me

M: so this says quite a lot about you

S: `yes

M: so what's this say about you (.) your vegetarianism/

S: because I've been brought up like this (.) I think that it's wrong to eat meat (.) I personally would never do that.

M: so it's an ethical thing (.) it's wrong (.) it's not just that "I don't want to do it"  
(1) also you said that you've been brought up this way (.) so what's/ the  
feeling that's come along with this/ then

S: I think childhood (.) what I've been doing here (.) when I go back home (.)  
because I've been living on campus (.) when I go back home (.) the way you  
get all that food that you can't actually make here (1) it brings you back to your  
childhood (.) when you were a little kid (tone of endearment) (.) cos on the  
weekend we were only able to eat the good food (.) so it's like (.) it brings you  
back to childhood

M: is/ it a positive feeling/

S: yeah it is (.) it is

M: do/ you ever get the chance when you're here to get that food here/ (.) to  
make it

S: I've attempted to (.) but it's quite difficult because my mum's not there to  
help me (.) and guide me (.) for like what spices (.) how much to add (.) you  
know

M: you'd probably not want her to see what you've made in the end

S: (laughs) she'd probably look at all the frozen chips and look like (she pulls a  
horrified face)

M: but when you're making it (.) do you like to do that just for yourself/ or is it  
something you like to do for other people/

S: I `like to cook for people (.) I do cook more at home (.) cos I'm more  
comfortable

M: yeah

S: and I cook for the whole family

M: so the cooking you're talking to me about is very much associated in your  
mind with home and the home space/

S: yeah

M: and the kitchen at home/

S: yeah

M: and do you know what (.) you could imagine that place now (1) is/ it a place  
that you like/ do/ you feel comfortable in that place/

S: yeah I do yeah



M: and if I said name five things that are in that kitchen (.) what/ would you say/

S: err I would say (.) we have a picture of the god (.) that's right next to the cooker (.) then we have a microwave and then a fridge (.) and going straight out into the garden (.) then the door is a barrier (.) your own little zone

M: your own little zone (.) your own little world/

S: yeah

M: do you want to talk me through any of the other things that you have in your book/ because it's all your research isn't it/

S: yeah (.) (4.22) so first when I got my feedback (.) people were asking me "so why/ did you choose an Indian vegetarian cookbook/" (some of her comments about her research are obscured by the entry of other students into the area: she talked about referring to such cookbooks already in publication, how she thought about what she would say (in her cookbook) to students, "and that's when I changed my idea", and she did research into types of typography and photography that she would be able to use in the cookbook design. My following question attempts to pick up on her earlier position to this food, that it is both personal and tied up with her home and family.)

M: was it difficult for you to think about another audience/ you were going to have to talk to students about `your food

S: it is ok (.) at times you welcome people into your little world (.) and I like that

M: which you knew was good

S: `yeah (.) then I kind of kept it inside the frame (.) and then there's the back that is promoting the book

M: is there anything about your leaflet (gesturing to it) that fits in there with what you said there (.) that I'm going to be able to welcome them to my little world/ did anything get through to the design of the leaflet/

S: yeah (.) basically I made sure that the first two recipes were quite basic (.) so they don't look at it and be completely confused and think "this is too complicated for me" (.) so I thought best keep it simple (.) and then go off

M: you're not trying to panic people

S: yeah

M: you're being helpful (.) and if you bring them in stage by stage (.) "if you really want to know what my mum's cooking is all about (.) we'll get there one day"

S: (laughs) yeah

M: you know that opening (1) a moment ago you talked about these doors around the kitchen that are like a boundary into the zone

S: yeah (.) that's what I wanted (.) to welcome people into my world

### **Themes in preliminary analysis of the visual artifacts.**

Note: First the analysis is shown. The images follow. Most of the images which have writing on them, and which may be difficult to read here, because of the size of the reproduction, are re-presented in the chapters of analysis in the main body of the study.

***Lily:***

#### ***Image IMG\_0011 (Food Magazine recipe card)***

Representational: This is in the genre of a workbook: the narrative form of a menu within a magazine (food magazine, reader interest in preparation of food, in the goals of making nutritious, appealing food is inscribed - below) has the purpose of helping its readers (or those for whom the reader will be cooking) to get past an aversion to eating fish; these goals are realised in written and visual modes (below); the menu is framed, by written comment about it, as a design task.

Interactive: there are two kinds of interaction going on here, that is reflected in the composition, on the left-hand side of the upper two-thirds of the card, there is a series of instructions, in the genre of the recipe; that is complimented by the image below (central) of the cooked 'fish fingers'; on the right hand side of the upper two-thirds of the card, there is comment about the recipe card, in three stages: explanation of the process of coming up with the idea; description of the intention of her work; and a third statement which asserts (in an intertextual reference to 'advertising'/ recommendation speak, appropriate

to the 'Food Magazine' genre) its success. Compositional: the informational value is realized by the placement of the elements of the composition: the different colours framing the different interactive functions of the left/right areas of the upper two-thirds of the page. The image of the prepared 'fish-fingers' is hand-drawn, its artistry resonating with the intention to 'rebrand' the 'fish-finger' for an older consumer perhaps not liking fish, which she interprets as a sophisticated/ food-savvy / health conscious consumer ('using herbs to give it a more mature flavour'); its placement of the fish pieces invite the reader to take one, turned outwardly above the rim of the bowl.

Note: She draws on discourses of healthy eating, foodie magazine. The voices she uses (in the mixed genre of workbook, design explanation of task, framing the transactional recipe) allow her to reposition herself from consumer to provider: as such a temporary solution to two problems: how to cope with an aversion to a type of food, how to adapt younger solutions to the aversion to being an older person and gain approval (in terms of healthy eating and foodie discourses).

themes: purple **theme 3** progressing as an adult in being a savvy consumer; purple **theme 2** progressing as an adult in being a provider of food (leaving behind aversion to food types; engaging with wider food culture).

(nb. ref. workbook photoshopped images/ magazine texts for adults encouraging children to cook, 'Little Hands' (image 100\_0046); 'Little Shapes: make grown-up food fun for kids' (image 100-0047)

### ***Catherine***

#### ***Image IMG\_0012 (circles mind-map)***

Representational: Conceptual structure - mind-map analytical structure for collecting and developing thought (in order to distinguish personal and valued food associations, 'my food', from other people's food and concerns (in the context of the workshop, in feelings and ideas).

Compositional: Framing: outside of the wheel and disconnected: others' 'ideological' interpretations of food: 'FEMINISM', 'RAMADAM', 'FAT GIRL'.

Circling, and so incorporated in the wheel, but not bounded by a circle: 'GREENPEACE', 'VEGAN'. Placement of elements in the composition: (also note salience, as both capitals and size, and grouping; also breaking across the lines as disruptive/ changing of tone\*) Right in the core: 'Eating with family' and 'active body'; then 'TASTING' and 'EATING HEALTHY' and 'RESTAURANTS', then 'LIVING LONGER'; then 'FAMILY CHRISTMAS' then 'CREATIVE COOKING' and 'ANOREXIA' and 'FITNESS' and 'WORLD HUNGER'; in the fourth wheel out, a change in voice, 'VOICE IN MY HEAD 'SHOULD I?' 'SHOULDN'T I?' and 'fear of being FAT'; then 'WEIGHT ISSUES' and 'HUNGER like a tiger'; then 'CULTURE' with two leads 'Italy: adapted to their culture' and (heart pictogram 'to my new food'; cutting through 4 to 3 circle, 'CHILLIES AND SPICE!'; running out of 2 to 3 to 4, a series (hierarchy?) of sense (preferences), beginning with 'TASTING', 'SMELLING', 'TOUCHING' and 'TEXTURE'. In circles 5 'MOTIVATION SCARES ME', 'DIET AND GYM' and 'BULLYING – FATTY PIG', 'SIZE 0', 'SUFFERING', and on the opposite, left-hand side of the wheel 'nervous around what I choose to eat' and 'embarrassment for trying to cook'.

themes: yellow **theme 1**: getting past 'dysfunctional eating' (past experience of self-loathing, being bullied for body size, self-policing of eating and body); yellow **theme 2** and **theme 3**: learning to negotiate with/ engage with wider food culture (sensorially, food practices).

### ***Image IMG\_0014 (tee-shirts)***

Representational/ interactive: (plays into a genre of wording on tee-shirts): front/reverse trajectory eg 'I'm a magnet/ because I cook'; compositional and interactive meanings in capitalization and bold for 'magnet' and 'cook'. In all three tee-shirt designs, the interactional meaning of having to get close enough to read the message, then move around the person to see the catch phrase on the reverse, then reading the personal voice ('because I cook'; 'I have'; 'that's my dinner'- first two in bold, last all capitalised): all of these functions fulfill what the participant said she intended: to move the subject of

cooking into the process of interaction between students, particularly male and female interaction.

Compositional: high modality of statements on the reverse of the tee-shirt.

Note: the lack of images on these tee-shirts (and the posters (same wording, except for the 'Have you had your fruit today?' with no 'I have' response)) offer the body of the person wearing it to the gaze of the reader; but the question 'Have you ..?' is high in demand (connoting authority of the healthy eating discourse). It is this combination that stimulates the kind of interaction that the participant wished.

themes: green **theme 1**: healthy eating; healthy eating food campaign; self-entrepreneurialism and self-improvement.  
(note poster designs image IMG\_0013)

**Connor**

***Image IMG\_0015: photo-board***

Representational: the narrative structure of a photo-story works to show development. This is amusing to the participant/ maker of this artifact because that development involves the attempted suppression/hiding of the effect of eating the hot chilli on the face (an attempted management of social interaction/ social display, which proves to be impossible, and therefore comic). Generically complex: in this display, it is social comedy; in its narrative development, playing into photo-story/ comic animation; in the participant/maker's desire to record and study reaction, it plays into psychology experiment and documentary. However, the superimposition of an advertisement (image and strap-line) – see composition below – frames all of the above, ostensibly making them intertextual features within an advertisement. However, we can also see the advertisement as a further, comic feature, incorporated into this participant maker's artifact that is making comment about people and a comic aspect of eating practices, common in young men like himself.

Interactive: the gaze of the young man photographed adds to the comic effect: it is in three stages: first gazing out at the viewer (high demand, as though he were demanding something of us, in a virtual social interaction); then gazing downwards in pain and shock (as the heat kicks in) his demand switches to an 'offer' (the framing of the photo lending the sense that he is a specimen in a display case, for us to inspect); then the recovery and gaze out to the viewer once more, adds to the comedy because he has not recovered his 'dignity' (he is still smarting with pain) and cannot, socially, demand anything of us; his effort in saving face is foregrounded.

Compositionally: The last two and a half frames of the photo-narrative are obscured by an advertisement. The image (the product, the jar of chilli-powder) and strap-line 'Heat you can't hide' are framed by a yellow background. The rock/ block graphology and colouration (garish red and yellow) are generic quotation from Western comic/ film title, now incorporated into commercial advertising. They function to ironise the reportage/ documentary genre, further clarifying the comic interactive function of the artifact: why would anyone wish to buy a food that did this to themselves?

Themes: green **theme 1** and **purple** **theme 3** - as resistance to the framing of food in terms of the interest to be a healthy eater or to be a savvy consumer. Social observation of others (bizarre/ young male) food practices; eating as comic, social interaction.

## **Vernon**

### ***Image IMG\_0016: mood-festival advertisement***

Representational: This is a poster, advertising a forthcoming event, called a 'Mood Festival' (synthesis of 'food' and 'music' in 'Mood'). It has a conceptual structure: a 'portrait' of the participants in the festival creating a mood together. The images of the players are unified in ethos, their physical movement signifying their participation in the music and the food and the ensemble. The modality of the line drawing is low, as though representing an

essential quality, the 'mood' of pleasure/ exhilaration (perhaps what the participant means by 'family and celebration') achieved by the participants together.

Compositional: The title of the event that this poster is advertising (written text 'Mood Festival July 22nd 2011' - high left) is elaborated by the images that fill most of the space of the poster: six figures in the central space of the poster (two figures to the left only partly seen behind the figure at the front who holds a food whisk; and three figures to the centre and left who are recognisably (jazz) musicians 'playing' with food related objects - one eating a wrap/ sandwich - as though singing into a mic; another playing a frying pan - as though strumming a banjo); another playing with chopsticks over a plate of food (as though beating a drum). The text and images explain one another, the title of the festival paraphrasing the images. The text of the website (top right) gives additional information about the festival.

Interactive: the perspective organised is of a spectator - of the band and the other participants; the gaze of the most salient figures (of the band members) is averted; only two of the group (one playing/using a food whisk, the others observing/ enjoying the 'music') look out to us, as people engrossed in the occasion. The title incorporates this participant's connection between food and music: music and food conflated as 'mood': so music and food festival. This idea of conflation is continued in the transformation of the images, their instruments rendered as cooking implements. The title is linked, through the images, on the left –right reading trajectory, to the web address informationally. This is also about the transformation of information into experience, the given to the new, in a left to right movement.

themes: blue **theme 4**: food as part of celebration/ sociality/ festival - food as 'mood music'.

***Image IMG\_0017: wheel mind-map***

Representational:

Conceptual structure - mind-map analytical structure for collecting and developing thought (in order to distinguish personal and valued food associations, 'my food', from other people's food and concerns (in the context of the workshop, in feelings and ideas).

Compositional: Outside of the frame of the last circle, this participant has placed 'COMMERCIALISM' in large, double-lined capitals; also in that furthest space from what he feels is closest to him is 'Religion', 'fast food' (with a McDonald's logo running through it), a capitalized 'DEATH' nearby, and 'DECOMPOSING!' in small letters 45 degrees away. Near to 'fast food' he has written 'keeping healthy' with the image of a running figure next to it, as though it was triggered by thinking of 'fast food': an arrow indicates its preferred place for him, in the third ring from the centre. At the very centre is a capitalized (most salient) 'FAMILY', together with 'celebration' and 'visiting'. In the second ring is a capitalized 'PEOPLE', along with 'holiday', 'taste', and 'hunger'. A capitalized 'FAIRTRADE' began in the next, third zone, but on further reflection, he moved it one further circle out, leaving only money in the third zone. along with 'cooking' and 'culture'; bridging the fourth into the fifth is a capitalized 'CLASS', accompanied by an image of a be-suited, hated figure.

Themes: blue [theme 4](#) and green [theme 1](#) (as resistance to it): sociality and positive affect; negotiating wider food culture, negotiating hunger and social expectations of ideal food practice, including healthy eating.

### ***Badriya***

***Image IMG\_0018: cover of 'Indian Cuisine' cookbook***

Compositional: the curvilinear font of the words 'Indian Cuisines' and the baroque swirls on the decorative margin frame, on the cover, are related by extension: similarity and complement, and have one connotation of elegance, refinement and style. Another connotation is the space of an Indian restaurant, in British food culture, and their traditionally ornate decorative style.



Representational: a genred organization –Indian Menu/ cookbook (title and decoration); so interactively and compositionally in the space left mid- words, emphasizing the opening of the menu; the divide/cut in the middle of the page invites its opening.

***Image IMG\_0019: recipe pages***

Representational:

This is mixed genre, combining the informational function of the recipe with the structure of an Indian menu (starter, curry, desert, chutney); the five images (colour photographs/ high modality) are illustrative of sections of the text, specifying the dish that is described in the text. Compositionally, the font for the category of dish (starter, curry, desert, chutney) are in the same curvilinear font as on the menu cover, whereas the font for the recipe instruction is functional and plain (eg Calabri or Times Roman). The simplicity of the font aids clarity/ ease of reading, particularly to those not familiar with the food culture.

Interactive:

the point of view is organised according to the practice of reading both menus and recipes; most salient in the written text is each of the headings, requiring decisions according to the structure of the meal, and the left-right reading trajectory, according to the process of participating in it; the image for each course is also salient, illustrating the goal of the recipe.

Themes: purple **theme 5**: curating personal food culture ('Indian Cuisine'); teaching others to make 'Indian' food.

***Leona***

***image IMG\_0022: traffic lights***

Representational: This participant has used a conceptual structure of a set of traffic lights: three large circles, coded by their colour red, amber and green. The metaphorical meaning for food is anchored by the key, using the

convention of coloured square with the texts, in order 'unhealthy, ok, healthy' making the images even more specific. Within the amber and green circles, there is a 'found' image of a food type to illustrate the text boxes and to explain the use of the traffic light structure: for amber – steak on a flaming barbecue grill and two loaves of bread; for green slices of cucumber and a slice of pink watermelon. Within the red, there is another kind of representation – a KFC logo and collection of multi-coloured balloons (see compositional below)

Interactive: the traffic lights establish an imperative voice: 'stop', 'be wary/ prepared for what follows', 'go' and an objective modality, that derives, as the participant says, from the health discourses realized within medical spaces, such as a doctor's surgery: the objective modality thereby derives from scientific discourses, drawn on by public health discourse.

Compositional: each circle framing the food types differentiate them illustrated categorically: each type is offered to our view as if it was under scientific scrutiny; each is offered to us to take notice and act appropriately on it. The two images (a KFC logo and collection of multi-coloured balloons) in the red light frame extends the meaning of 'unhealthy' food and develops the nature of the interaction with the reader, warning her/him not to read the beneficent imagery used by such 'fast-food' producers as KFC as signifiers of healthy food: a smiling, avuncular gentleman and the childlike fun of balloons are offered for ironic reading within the red frame. This complements the simple illustrations of food types and text information. The colours of the images within the other two frames further reinforce the colour coding of the conceptual structure – the golden bread and the barbecue flames, compared to the green cucumber; but the contrast between the glistening of water on the surface of the cucumber and melon connote freshness and hydration, whereas the glistening of fat on the surface of the steak connotes the saturated/ unsaturated fat distinction and increase in cholesterol levels. This increases the offer of a recommendation in the images, in terms of healthy eating discourse.

***Image IMG\_0021/ IMG\_0022: traffic lights (2)***

Representational: in her folder, shows the same use of the conceptual structure, traffic lights, and the use of colour of the food, and the type of food to anchor the metaphor. Again the red-light frame is reserved for an illustration of food from a fast-food chain: a red McDonald's box (with yellow 'M' logo) filled with French fries. Amber is spaghetti with meat-balls in a rich sauce; green, again, slices of cucumber. This time, a key box specifies the meaning of the lights image: 'Unhealthy: fast food, sweets'; 'Ok: pasta, bread, red meat'; 'Healthy: fruit, vegetable, white meat'. Note: her earlier work (***image IMG\_0023***), in her workbook, showed her experimentations about colour and food (as an exploration in graphic design) and comments upon them. She had been focused upon investigating distinctions between 'healthy' and 'unhealthy food' – colour and structure. She had been using food items graphically as letters and words. She had been using plates to present contrasts between healthy and unhealthy food, representing to herself how unhealthy foods were visually appealing. She had wanted to make clear visual contrast between healthy and unhealthy food. She had been impatient in those images that were unclear, or graphically cluttered, in their message.

Themes: green **theme 1**: healthy eating; campaigning for healthy eating; purple **theme 3**: being a savvy consumer (not to be deceived by fast-food advertising).

***Noemi***

***Image IMG\_0024: healthy eating advice posters***

Interactive: the text, in the right hand corner of her sheet, specifies the context re. social practices: 'A series of flyers that can be put into fresher packs ... for students to decorate their rooms with'.

Compositional: the above text also explains, 'I kept the designs simple, with short one-liners and used bright backgrounds so they look appealing for students to decorate their rooms with'.

Representational: Each of the seven flyers employ intertextuality: using cut-out messaging from 'found' letters (of different font size, a mix of bold and normal, capitalized and uncapitalised); using collage, with found images anchored by the proceeding cut-out text and the text within speech bubbles from the comic genre, also employed in advertising and satirical magazine text, such as student magazine and advertising posters. In this way, the interactive function of appealing to a younger audience, that the participant described in interview, is achieved through the form (intelligent, ironic and creative) and the polyphony of voices distributed through the different formal frames: the one-liners (in cut-out) addressing the reader like public health messages in simple rhythm, rhyme and pastiche, for example 'An apple a day keeps hunger at bay'; 'Start the day the right way'; 'Eat smart, be smart', using ambiguity to develop the reading trajectory, across the image, to the speech bubble that anchors and specifies the message (for example 'Pouring on the pounds' across the image of red wine pouring from a bottle into a glass, to 'on average a glass of wine is 115 calories'; and 'Eat it fresher' across the image of a bowl of fruit to 'An average student gains 15 lbs in their first year at uni so cut out the take-aways and eat more fruit'). Within the social context envisaged by this participant for the handing out of these posters, the voice within the speech-bubbles is that of older students, sharing their wisdom gained from their experience, in order to help. In this context, the heavy-handed use of clichéd images (for example, the finger pointing out at the reader on the 'Eat it fresher' poster, and the brain on a plate on the 'Eat smart, be smart' poster) are ironic, as a means of negotiating the objective modality of the voiced messages (eg 'Eating an apple before your meal will stop you overeating', 'Eat breakfast!', 'Fast food increases your cholesterol levels') through wit and helpful tips ('Fruit juice counts!' toward the 'five a day').

themes: green **theme 1**: healthy eating; campaigning for healthy eating; purple **theme 3**: being a savvy consumer re. sourcing 'healthy food'.

**Gabriela**

***image IMG\_0025 and image IMG\_0026 (gorging students)***

Representational: This participant has used the rhetorical structure of the public health poster, displaying a narrative in which the goals of the participants featured should to be avoided.

Interactive: The images of each young person have high offer: the distance between viewer and person observed is close, presented to us for close inspection. The point of view is of an observer, of others whose gaze is averted because they are absorbed in gorging on unhealthy food: they are objects of our inspection. This establishes an 'othering' of them. This is a teaching text: we should learn from their poor example. The strap-line has high 'objective modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008, after Halliday). The image-text relation is one of extension by contrast: they have not heeded the knowledge of healthy eating that is voiced in the strap-lines: '2000 calories a day is all that most adults should eat' and 'A healthy woman should have NO more than 20g of saturated fat a day'. The underlining and capitalization are examples of emphasis, expressions of knowledge inferred to be that of medical knowledge from the NHS logo underneath each statement. Compositionally, the relation between the authoritative (ideal) knowledge at the top of the poster and what we are asked to observe as the real mistakes being made by young people in eating so unhealthily, is clear. It would seem that the purpose of the vertical organization of the images, from information text to young person gorging to plate of unhealthy food, is anchored by the name of the campaign next to the NHS logo beneath the statement: 'NHS/Choices'. The vertical organization presents the agency of young people at the centre of the composition: through the contemplation of the poor choice being made, the young reader of the poster is intended to reflect upon the choices s/he makes and is being invited to make improved choices from here on in.

Compositional: (above) In addition, the organization of the food upon each plate is hyperbolic: a mound of cakes and sweets in image IMG\_0025 and a mound of doughnuts, sugar lumps and chocolates in image IMG\_0026.

Themes: green **theme 1:** healthy eating; campaigning for young adults' healthy eating; purple **theme 3:** being a savvy consumer re, sourcing 'healthy food' away at university.

**Erica**

***Image IMG\_0031: photographic images of 'sweet tooth'***

(note image IMG\_0033 a caption for both IMG\_0031 and IMG\_0032)

Note: The participant herself describes an ambivalence of positioning to healthy eating discourse represented in the two images (photographed as image IMG\_0031) in her explanatory note: the one on the left would be suitable for a dentist's waiting room, 'almost putting people off eating sweets'; the one on the right shows the fun of having a sweet tooth. The way she extends that in her text note is 'with the colours, shapes and delicious nature of a sweet tooth'. 'Delicious nature' seems to be a summing up of the experience of eating sweet things, when the objective distinctions of 'colour', 'shapes' etc are forgotten in the sensation.

Representational: This has a conceptual structure. It explains to the audience, addressed by both images and the written text at the bottom of the page of the workbook, an ambivalence to eating healthily. The two images are not narratively linked: the left -hand image, presenting a warning, does not lead to the right-hand image, representing a mini-narrative - of the mouth 'desiring' sugar sweets and then of the co-mingling of mouth and sugar sweets. Both images work with the sexualised imagery, denoting sensory pleasure, in mainstream advertising practice, combined with a use of 'sensory modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008), for example Magnum ice-cream products, to associate the product, through sexual innuendo, with a sense of transgressive pleasure. The right-hand image goes further, and employs an artistic, psychedelic graphic, convention in its use of the vibrating effect of graphic lines, textures and colours. This hypothetically gestures toward a pleasure in eating sugar which is visually inaccessible, described in the accompanying written specification as the 'delicious nature' of eating experience.

Interactive and compositional: The participant inverts the conventional reading trajectory: from a delight in the 'prettiness' of the image to a recognition of the damage that sugary sweets cause to teeth (unlike image IMG\_0032 - which uses both the left-right development of 'before' and 'after', and the top-down development of 'ideal' and 'real'- to drive the warning of the consequences of eating sugary sweets: dental decay and the ruination of beautiful teeth/ female beauty.)

The offer of the image for the aesthetic appreciation of the reader would seem to come, in part, from its intertextual reference to advertising images, in which the female mouth, in for example food advertising (eg ice-cream and chocolate consumption), is used ambiguously as a signifier of (female) pleasure; in part, from an intertextual reference to beauty advertising, for example cosmetic products; and in part, a female reading of beauty and ornamentation – of the features of the face offered to view, and of the multi-coloured piercings of the lip, in the shape of a heart, extended in shape to the sweet in the mouth, greeting the viewer with the inscription 'hello', and the matching of lipstick colour to piercing and sweet. The piercings also remind me of 'hundreds and thousands' cake decorations. The rhetoric of the image is expected to work once the dentist's tools, three semi-transparent line-drawings superimposed over the mouth, are noticed. In a sense, then what achieves salience because of its attractiveness, is replaced by what subsequently achieves salience because of its disruption of pleasurable engagement. The meaning of the close proximity to the mouth switches from intimacy to dental intervention, and the objectification of the teeth, and the scientific discourses that come along with it.

The second image, according to the participant, represents 'the fun' when all of the shapes and colours and sensations come together. The development, then, from the left of the image (an intact image of two-thirds of the face of the same woman from image one, in the same attitude, except this time the mouth is more closed, showing no sweet, and perhaps suggesting that it is within) to the right of the image (the remainder of the face rendered as three vertical strips, in between each, in four vertical strips, blurred images of sweets and

piercings/ or 'hundreds and thousands'. The loss of framing between face and sweets seems to indicate a loss of distinction in sensation, a melting transformation.

Whereas the left-hand image objectifies the eating of sugar - the superimposition of the three line-drawn, dental instruments, disrupting any imagined pleasure in eating sugar - the right-hand image represents the pleasure of eating sweets. The logical extension, by contrast to the right-hand image however, according to the semiotic convention of left-right distinction,<sup>19</sup> of before and after, the right hand image, of pleasure, is now, not the past, and, as such, an escape from what is known about eating too much sugar, and conformed to. The incursion into both images of the authoritative warning of healthy eating discourses produces a virtual masochistic experience: masochistic identification with the pleasure of the transgressive eater and defeat; and a sadistic identification

with the hegemony of medical/ healthy eating discourse, and the power of objectifying science. The design is organised to both recognise the pleasure of sugary food and to surrender; to accept the price paid for transgression and maintain the status-quo. The pleasure of 'unhealthy' eating which is bracketed off, as the 'sweet-tooth' of a childlike alter-ego, in the conformist position of the first image, is allowed the final statement in this organisation.

Themes: yellow **theme 1**: resisting healthy eating discourse; asserting the pleasure of eating unhealthy (sugary) food

***image IMG\_0032: ruined teeth.***

(note image IMG\_0033 a caption for both IMG\_0031 and IMG\_0032)

Representationally: again a workbook entry, to be shared with a tutorial audience: the written text presents the poster as design work of a student, in an educational setting. It is a narrative image.

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<sup>19</sup> van Leeuwen, *ibid*, p201f



Compositionally:, the vector of reader trajectory is primarily top left to bottom right, from the image of the perfect teeth to the teeth destroyed; the written text (and as question) disturbs the first image's purity/stability; repeated, after the evidence of the image of the consequence of eating sugary food, the written text is the 'last word', authoritatively confronting the reader. The movement from the top to the bottom of the page is also the movement from the ideal to the real (the undermining of the child-like phrase 'sweet tooth').

Interactive: This image is shown to adopt the rhetorical purpose of a health campaign (to engage the reader in order to make them reflect upon themselves through an objectification of the image, and sense of shock, reinforced by the rhetorical question, 'Sweet tooth?'). Note, the explanatory note in her workbook, next to a copy of this image, where she writes that 'the writing with a question mark questions people's perception of a sweet tooth' marks this narrative as a warning. This, latter image shows the complication of that purpose by the assertion of the pleasure of eating such food. Note the caption (image IMG\_0032) specifies the purpose of this, and the preceding image, for the reader of the workbook with an interest in the design choices of a student: 'These two images show the two differences of a 'sweet tooth' the top image shows how I imagine a sweet tooth, pretty, colorful and sweet whereas the image below showe (sic) the effects of a sweet tooth, turning it into something more serious. The writing with a question mark questions peoples (sic.) perception of a sweet tooth.'

Themes: green **theme 1**: campaigning for young adults' healthy eating (danger of sugary foods)

**Jed**

***Image IMG\_0037: burning broccoli***

Representational:

The piece is organized as an explanation of a process, and as a narrative in the genre of a workbook in an educational institution: the participant's search

for an image adequate to the meanings he wanted to express: 'how I could visually denounce broccoli'. Next to earlier experimental images, he describes the subject of his work here as 'our' hatred towards greens. In those earlier pieces, he uses spaghetti letters to create protest slogans, including 'FREE OUR FOOD', 'FUCK THE SYSTEM', 'STAND UP', 'NO MORE GREENS', consistent with the genre of protest texts, placards, graffiti, banners.

This image (IMG\_0037) comprises of two blocks of text (top left and centre right) and two sets of photographic images specifying the experiments described in the texts. They are situated in the bottom left quadrant, below the first text, and on the right hand side of the page, framing three sides of the second text.

The first block of text explains his first efforts (transforming broccoli into an animal and killing it/ use of red paint to signify blood); the second his next experimentation (of burning the broccoli). This text celebrates a sense of success in two ways: that form now represented the force of his (and others') antipathy toward healthy eating discourses, specifically the pressure to eat vegetables: 'through the use of fire, I was able to create some very strong images – dramatic, and bold imagery that clearly presents the anti-veg stance I was going for'. He also found a means of situating his subject of protest into a genre of protest: 'Fire is something that is commonly found at protests and rebellions (burning flags, documents, money etc)'.

Interactive/ compositional: As work in the genre of protest, the offer of the images (salient) of the impaled broccoli and bloodied broccoli (of the first stage of experimentation) and the burning broccoli (of the second stage) are for the viewer's pleasurable contemplation - pleasure in the symbolic representation of a negative position. However, the representation is organized around a second purpose, that of showing his design process. As such, the offer is made to judge and share his sense of having arrived at an adequate design solution. For both purposes, the distance organized between the object and ourselves is sufficient for a documentary interest.

Themes: green **theme 1:** resistance to healthy eating discourse;  
demonstrating design acumen

***Image IMG\_0038: rotting banana***

Again, representationally, this is a workbook entry, organized as an explanation of a process – of choices, intended effects and his reading of the effects. Deictic reference of place ‘here’ and of person ‘we’ ties the textual discussion of design choices (of physical distortion, bruising and blackening the fruit, and colour alteration) with the images so that it specifies our reading of the images – both to his design work and to the position that he wanted to take up to healthy eating discourse that recommends the eating of fruit and vegetables. He wanted to ‘make it (banana/fruit) an object of unfamiliarity’ such that we would have ‘a negative response to this’. The first text box explained the effect, ‘a negative impression of it’, as having the purpose (so the arrow to the right) of being ‘anti-fruit and veg’. next to the first image of the banana with the slit skin, showing the glistening dark brown of the fruit within, he anchors our reading with ‘distorted’ and ‘unappealing’: we might infer that the connection is that rotten fruit signifies a warning of unhealthiness. In the next text, besides a similar image, the colour ‘brownness’ is explained as ‘unsettling’ us, extending our reading of the first image and text. The following six images complement what has been established in the first two, and illustrates the design intention to ‘distort’ the image.

Interactive: the choice of close-up for these shots invites the reader to share a sense of aversion (disgust) toward the fruit (salient). As such, we might infer that this participant has chosen to contradict both advertising and lifestyle discourses, such as food features in magazines and on-line, and food television: there, fruit and vegetables are contextualised in place and person, in terms of health and high status social style. This is the deliberate antithesis of that.

Themes: green **theme 1:** resistance to healthy eating discourse;  
demonstrating design acumen

(note images of earlier workbook entries of experimentations with spaghetti letters: IMG\_0034, IMG\_0035, IMG\_0036)

## **Susie**

### ***Image 100\_0056 : circles mind-map***

#### Representational:

a conceptual structure - a mind-map structure for collecting and developing thought (in order to distinguish personal and valued food associations, 'my food', from other people's food and concerns (in the context of the workshop, in feelings and ideas).

#### Compositional:

On the outside of the wheel, outside of the last circle, she has placed the Nestles' skimmed milk scandal (image of bottle/ 'breastfeeding'/ 'skimmed milk scandal'); also at this furthest point is an ideological point of view she represents as distant to her more personal interests - 'vegetarian', and personal dislikes (eg 'oysters', 'noisy eaters', 'fussy eaters'). In the next ring in (ring five) there is 'fairtrade' and logo, and 'grow your own' and images of carrots and tomatoes, and 'OBESITY'. At the centre, is 'mummy' and a heart image and a pinafore; in the second circle, close by, 'cheese' on a drawing of a block of the food, and double-lined 'sticky toffee pudding', and an image of a hen; in the third circle, 'family meals', 'SOCIAL', 'coffee', and 'herbs and spices'; in the fourth, health concerns: an image of a weighing scales, 'healthy (on an image of an apple) skin', an image of a saucepan ('cooking for someone' written on it), and an image of farfalla pasta.

Themes: yellow **theme 1**, yellow **theme 2**, yellow **theme 3**, blue **theme 4:**

negotiating a wider food culture/ the food practices of others; 'home food' and comforting sociality of home.

***image 100\_0060: cheese objects***

this participant has researched how cheese can be made into unusual objects  
The page photographed is from her workbook. The page was used by her, in the interview, to refer to the process of working toward the end product (image no.). The page comprises of seven ('photoshopped' compositions) images which are advertisements for cheese:

- 1) top left, Norwegian , traditionally dressed peasant girl descending wooden stairs (playfully) on a rope (written text, "Embrace the Nordica Lifestyle! "; bottom left - image of cheese packet with name of product visible; hand written notebook text to the right linked by line, so on the reader trajectory as explanation, "Promoting a foreign, lesser known cheese. Introduce random new cheese to everyday life."
- 2) centre left - image of large wedge of white cheese with chillis (?) peppered throughout, and strung with two rope handles, to give the appearance of a handbag; handwritten notebook text to right, linked by line, "making cheese into something else. Funny unique. Not actually advert, but does catch your attention".
- 3) bottom left, advertisement, image of blue food grater with cheese piece inside; grater sides like bars of a prison; written text in cheese colour and composition, "Low Fat cheese is a crime against taste" (strapline) and below that, additional writing (as voice of producer) That's why we won't make it": and image of product packet. Background red, as packet (transgressive). Written text of workbook voice, linked again by line includes reference to an interest in design "simple imagery, clever use of grater as prison cell ..."
- 4) top right -spider's web made of cream colour cheese, in which farfalla pasta shapes are caught; written text of explanation linked by line to left of image (more a pragmatic decision - no remaining space?) again in language of design, including "clear image. Cheese traps pasta. Highlight cheese and pasta is a good partnership".

- 5) middle right - close up of stilton blue cheese, superimposed by image of wine glass and wedge of cheese with written text beneath, "Cheese come and smell it!"; written explanation again design evaluation, "Highlights main quality of cheese - smell come embrace the smell, the cheese is worth it.
- 6) low right, image of cigarette style packet with cheese straws (like cigarettes) protruding (inviting). The design of the packet (including mountain landscape of adventure), tobacco ochre background overlain with gothic writing, "They are unique" are all pastiche of tobacco advertisements of the past. Linked explanatory text: "Presenting like cigarette, comic ... quite unexpected."
- 7) bottom right - two, juxtaposed images of women ('glamour' left, woman passive, glance averted, written text "Artificial" across breasts, clothed; 'natural' left, fully clothed, animated invitation, extended arm and hand with cheese piece, eye contact with reader, written text, "Earthy" across chest. Image of packet of cheese bottom right. Connecting workbook text "Highlights cheese natural, better for you, tastier. Effective comparison - gets attention ..."

Representationally, the workbook is demonstrating a knowledge of advertising genres, and a design skill with the syntactical relationships of images and written text found in advertising.

Compositionally, the page frames the totality of those demonstrated uses, each of which is framed within the page layout and is explained.

Interactively, the 'sensory modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008) of the images made / the hyperbole of advertising is distanced from the reader of the page by the composition, of examples upon one page, and the explanatory comment which organises the point of view to be about the design choices. Note, there is a metadiscourse, too, that is about the qualities that this participant wanted to sponsor in the playful role of advertiser: that, for her, cheese signifies a) sensory pleasures (worth compromising healthier choices at times); b) being with other people/ happiness; c) playfulness and d) healthy eating

Note images also shown in interview: **100\_0058** - possible plans of making recipes and photographing them; **100\_0059** - development ideas for design work on recipes of how to make cheese meals; **100\_0061** - development ideas for design work on packaging, shapes of commercial cheese products; **100\_0062**: full page, hand drawn (pencil sketch) of a block of cheese, with 'cheese-like' pencil-drawn text of 'cheese' sitting on top.

Themes: green **theme 1**; yellow **theme 1**; self as design student as a part of a construction of identity as someone with a healthy relationship to food and eating; blue **theme 4**; personal meanings associated with the food cheese as a) sensory pleasure; b) being with other people/ happiness; c) being playful; d) healthy eating.

(note: workbook notes made, reflecting on 1st workshop materials 100\_0054, 100\_0055, (100\_0057 (mis-shot))

### ***Michael***

#### ***Image IMG\_0031: 'comic book' of student living***

Representational: This participant has a narrative structure that draws from the graphic narrative/ comic genre and conceptual art, in order to represent 'a diary of like a week' for a student like himself, to show how food fits into it.

Compositional: The framing (of the comic-book/ storyboard) represents the passing of time, from left to right, in three phases (morning and the preparation of breakfast; shopping and daytime eating; night-time return home after drinking). However, these frames are unusual in terms of comic animation: the first and last frames are full page, the middle broken into two types of illustration: a supermarket receipt (photocopy of actual receipt) showing the purchases bottle of vodka, two types of tortellini and two types of stir-in sauces for the pasta; and a sketch of an opened tin between a knife and fork.

The framing is constantly transgressed: milk flowing into the frying pan, containing the egg, from the carton above, from a space denoted as morning

by the window frame of a terraced house, itself crossed by a title board ('Harry French') at a 45 degree angle. The participant himself adds a designer's annotated comment, to the effect that he likes this multi-layering. From the bottom, right-hand frame, a figure of a young man (Harry French himself?) throws an egg which, in comic book convention, is seen again, larger, crossing the upper, central frame containing the supermarket receipt, lines signifying its trajectory across the page, back to the morning column: we could infer that this suggests the way in which the egg was thrown into the frying pan. Further, dynamic rendering of movement communicates a sense of spontaneity and chaos in the food-life of Harry French: in the upper two-third of the right-hand column, denoting night-time, chips seem to be still tumbling down the stairs, from where the burger was dropped in its container, along with the owner's discarded shoes.

Interactive: the modality fluctuates, from the high objective modality (van Leeuwen, 2008 after Halliday) of the receipt, to the highly conceptualized representation of the opened tin, seemingly passing satirical comment upon the eating practices of the allegorical 'Harry French' (student as comic-book character). The account of the student's world, and the student's relationship with food and drink, is satirical.

Themes: (as resistance to interpellation in 'healthy eating' and consumer savvy discourses) - green **theme 1** and purple **theme 3**: being an observer of student life/ the reality of student food/ drink consumption as chaotic, hedonistic, driven by immediate need for pleasure and to satiate hunger, unhealthy.

### **Steve**

#### ***Image IMG\_0041: photographs of personal cooking***

#### Representational:

This works as a record of achievement. It turns outwardly to a tutorial audience. It is a narrative image, showing both the achievement of goals



(meals cooked) and snapshots of a process underway, of learning how to cook meals like this for himself.

Compositionally, The page is organised in four quadrants, top left, bottom left and bottom right all containing two photographic images of cooked meals; the top right quadrant containing written text which explains all of the images together in terms of his quest to improve his cooking skills, and a specification of the first quadrants' two photographs. Those first two are about cooking a meal of potatoes and chicken: the first of which addresses the tele-chef genre, showing plated up food next to composite ingredients displayed in a saucepan, a dish and on a chopping board: they illustrate process and final outcome. The written text explains that these are instances of an educational process, and a self-improvement process underway: 'this relates to how I have been learning to cook and educating myself in different ways'; 'the idea was to make them (known foods) more interesting which is something I intend to explore while living as a student.' He uses the lexical field of education heavily: 'experiment', 'learning', 'educating', 'explore', 'learnt'; and words related to the social practice within schools and universities, of target setting and review: 'final outcome', 'how I have been learning', 'something I intend to explore', 'successful for a first attempt, and I have learnt from it'.

Interactively, the 'sensory modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008) of advertising images, and tele-chef images of food are not used: the hyperbole of advertising is distanced from the reader of the page by the use of 'naturalistic modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008); and by the composition, the examples displayed upon one page, and the explanatory comment which organises the point of view to be about what the images mean to him and what he wants to communicate about them, as the process of self-improvement. The point of view is organised, in the images, with high 'offer' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996), analogous to the inspection of food in television cookery programmes, magazine/ online recipe pages and so on; but with the avoidance of 'sensory modality' (van Leeuwen, 2008) the offer is not so much about showing the 'plated-up' dish for appreciation/ inspiration, or for the informational purpose of

stage, by stage recipe instruction, but as a documentary record of what he has done/ his achievement.

Themes: purple **theme 3**: learning to cook independently as self improvement; self-improvement in food competency as a part of the disposition to learn as a student at university.

**Juliana**

**Image IMG\_0042: thumbs up/ thumbs down**

Representational: This is a poster. This is also what the participant says it is. It is a conceptual image, representing a personal position to kinds of food ('student food' and 'home food'), kinds of food performance (being passive, eating what is provided by the institution of university and its service providers v being active in healthy food sourcing and preparing food) and negative and positive self-maintenance and resultant emotional states. The poster also functions as a public address (to other students) to prompt action/ healthy food, self-provision, performance of self-responsibility.

Compositional: The image of the thumbs-up/ thumbs down, as a social code, signifying approval/ disapproval, is elaborated in the text that frames the outline of the hand and lower arm: the subject of approval/ disapproval is food – 'home food' and 'student meals'. The text that specifies what is approved is apparent when either the image is rotated, or (as a poster) when the reader turns her/his head. The voice of the text that is read, according to the thumbs-down position, is accusatory. In describing this representation as 'a poster', the participant seems to have a 'public-service'/ healthy food/ health discourse purpose in mind. However, the personal voice of the text evokes a persona who has struggled with the difficulties of doing the 'right' things – preparing and eating good food, imploring other students who read this to do the 'right' thing. That 'right' thing seems to be to live up to the expectations of your mother, not to be lazy, not to trust other preparers of food outside of the home, but to use the knowledge that was given to you at home, and to live according to the highest standards away from home : 'student meals are not the answer,

and are not the way to go about having a nice homely meal. If anything it's the total opposite. You should not be lazy and not cook food! Give it a try and cook whatever you want to. No one is stopping you. Student meals are unhealthy and not the way to go. You are lazy. Cheap too. You don't know what they are putting in your food. You just don't know. It could be disgusting and gross. You also have a limited variety of food to eat if you stick with them. So don't and change your habits. Go shopping and eat proper food. You'll be a lot happier. At least I was. You won't miss home as much. And you can show mum that you can cook. Don't eat cheap food. It shows its side through yourself. You don't need lots of money. (Don't) waste (it on ) fast-food. Laziness. Unhealthy. Fast-food.' (Note: bracketed words are inferred as the words that have 'disappeared' over the horizon of the hand). As such, the persona reminds me of those sometimes used in charity advertisements, that communicate to a youth audience, that their predicaments and life experience is understood by the organization represented.

Interactive: Even though the voice foregrounds the personal, the modality is objective (van Leeuwen, 2008, after Halliday): the things it says are true, are asserted. The inversion required to read the opposing text, may be motivated by now needing a positive message. This reading trajectory would be based on the order of reading/ the first orientation of the head. 'Health. Happier. Yummy. Choose what you want to eat at any time you want to eat at. You get to choose. You know what is your food. You know how healthy it is. It reminds you of how proud to say I can cook. Time-consuming but cooking as a group can help that. It brings people together in a way. Eat what you feel like eating at the time so you'll always be happy. (Contains (obscure)). Healthier for you. Makes you happy. You feel at home. Miss it less and feel like you have achieved something. That you can cook. Prove to mum that you will survive food-wise without her cooking. Yummy and always content with what you eat. And they are your lifestyle too. It would be good as well. You are not lazy and can definitely eat what you want.' Clearly, what is salient depends upon orientation, and, like participant 2 (Catherine) that is about the orientation around the person/ personality that 'wears' the text. That earlier example was about physical orientation to an embodied person; here, it is physical

orientation to the symbol of a person's body, and to a pathway of deepening personal knowledge of another person (here the persona/ the voice). That would seem to play into a key social practice of being at university: meeting others and exchanging details about yourself. The voice of this text is encouraging in its recommendation, based on experience of being in this situation: away from home, needing to generate self-respect and confidence in the presentation of self (personal style). As such, this text communicates the voice of an older student, giving advice in the manner of a 'big-sister'.

Themes: green **theme 1**; purple **theme 3**; purple **theme 5**: home food v student food; curation of home food; personal responsibility and self-help in food sourcing and food preparation; personal responsibility in emotional self-maintenance through food practices; consumer savvy movement/ social identity.

***Juliana (cont.)***

***Image IMG\_0043: circles mind-map***

Representational: This has the conceptual structure of a mind-map, and its social context was the workshop that I ran in November. It was, as such, located in the social practice of learning within an educational institution.

Compositional: On the furthestmost points of the wheel (and hence the furthest away from what she considers is her food, or things she considers closest to her as a person, or that she holds most dear to her, in their associations with it) are 'counting the CALORIES', 'THE DIETING' and 'WEIGHT LOSS' (crossed by 'THE DIETING' and an extract of female to female discourse, constraining girls and women's eating, "a moment on your lips, forever on your hips"): they are outside of the concentric circles, the framing devices of this cognitive structure. On the next tier in, there is, at '10 o'clock', in massive capitals, the name of the catering company who provide food services to the university. It is double bracketed ((IMAGO)) with the comment, at right angles, 'CAN'T BELIEVE HOW BAD IT IS!!'. At the centre of the wheel, she has written, 'stuff I do care about' and 'more personal stuff': around them she has

written, 'mummy's cooking!'. It is within a kind of jagged advertising frame (used in old fashioned advertisements, to forcefully announce; now used ironically eg in student posters) and is separated from the other text by its colour (mauve). In that frame is a heart shape. Outside, but at an angle, close to the black frame around this is 'I miss'. Opposite, at the same distance from the hub is capitalized in green 'Healthy'. This is bounded on three sides by three fluid lines: within them direct speech of advice, 'Stick to a balanced diet, that's all' with a smile emoticon. Again, below that, on the next circle out, a traffic sign triangle, lends authority to another piece of advice, 'Don't miss a meal!!'. Next to this, at an angle, in light pencil is a comment that is linked to the advice by the device of an asterisk, 'Grumpy ol' girly otherwise!!' together they seem to mark the accommodation of the high modality of the advice, in an ironic voice. Across the diagram, snaking through, under and around text are the rails of a train: they are rendered in the genre of cartoon, such that they seem to be mobile, in the air, and dynamic. The text 'CHRONIC', at the beginning of the track, and end of the track (at 'ten o'clock') 'hop on the chronic train' are rendered in a similar graphic style. The track begins and ends on the periphery, and passes through capitalized 'STUDENT MEALS' in the same colour: this seems to order the syntax, 'Chronic student meals! Hop on the chronic train!!' This ironic comment is consistent with what was said repeatedly in interview, that 'student food' was bad, the antithesis of 'home food'; and consistent with the elaboration of that in the image 0042.

Interactive: Within this representational form, interaction is first and foremost with herself, affirming (so the value of home food and appreciation of the strength personified by her mother, in the face of industrial/ mass catering food), clarifying (so the acceptance of parental advice; so representing the experience of having to go along with the food that is provided by the catering company in hall – riding the 'chronic train').

Themes: purple **theme 3**, green **theme 1**: student food/ food of mass catering company v home food; self-responsibility and consumption; being a healthy eater; co-presence of mother in food consumption

## ***Roli***

### ***Image IMG\_044: textile fishes***

Representational/ interactive: The structure is of a decorative artifact: three textile objects, in the shape of fishes, held together by woolen strands. It is a conceptual image/ object. The simplicity of the representations play into the genre of young children's toys, akin to what may be hung across a pram or cot, that may move as the baby plays with them. As such, they are symbols of fishes, akin to the representation of fishes to be met in other toys and animation. Their transformation, from fish that live only in water, that evade our touch in water, that are slimy to touch, that die before us if taken out of the medium of water, is profound. It is the transformation of a being that has a use as food (within the field of the task setting) into a toy in the fields of childhood and child-rearing.

Compositional/ interactive: These representations of fish have an abstract modality (van Leeuwen). They are made of substances that are comforting, familiar to us and accommodated to touch our skin as clothes are: felt, buttons, safety pin, cotton, ornamental flower. There are no scales and no differentiation in colour or substance: solid blues in two instances, one pastel, and one black. They have no biology and seem to symbolize a state of childlike innocence and peace. They also do not present a sense of confronting something else that is alive, that is a being apart from ourselves: as toys and clothes, they are subsumed into other social practices (of making toys for children, of making ornaments, of making clothes, of wearing clothes) and of those discourses embedded in them, other than those of hunting/ killing/ cooking and food discourses. They lend themselves to tactile, gentle experience. As toys, we imagine controlling the distance we have from them and other people, such as children, have from them. We think about their use in our social interaction with children.

(Note. In interview, she says that the whole point of them is to invite others to touch them. She has not specified children, so we are not entitled to infer too much, but we can be mindful that the use of such objects, as toys for babies, recommends discourses of child-rearing development through fun and through playful interaction with adults present. Such toys also contribute to the

construction of 'childhood' as protective of the child from the harsh realities of the world, and connote child-adult-child interaction.)

Themes: purple **theme 3**: the transformation of food as living being to (child's) toy; the use of toys in social interaction; sensory pleasure and objects.

### **Charissa**

#### ***Image IMG\_0047: Heinz bean can labels***

##### Representational:

This participant has made labels for food tins. As such they represent what is contained within each tin (of baked beans): a dialogue from producer to consumer. These images are stuck to the bottom of a page of text that explains the design decisions that she made.

##### Interactive:

Her text is turned out toward her tutor. She shows that she is a competent student of design and she shows her 'position' to standard commercial practice re. the information that industrial manufactures of food do and do not give consumers. Her labels are a part of that dialogue with us about what the manufacturers do. It is a comment about that general practice, and not specifically about this producer (Heinz). She may have chosen this specific food as a highly used commodity by students like herself. She is also participating in discourses of healthy eating: the information on the tin that she makes salient is nutritional information. In her interview she said that manufacturers conspire with consumers who do not want to think about nutrition ('the nutritional information, at the moment they try to avoid that, hence the small type'; 'they try to hide aspects of what's in it'; 'the can sells the product and appeals to the customers'). She cites her label image within the commercial discourse, and negotiates with it: 'I also made the text "nutrition information" larger, but not dramatically, at the same time. I also made this 3D but decided to stick to a colour that wasn't too harsh and instead was still subtle and didn't draw too much attention away from the rest of the label.'

Compositional:

This negotiative position conditions the choices she made regarding salience of nutritional information alongside other information that would be required by the consumer. The nutritional information is like a net cast over the whole can: as such, it intervenes in and frames the dialogue between producer and consumer; it disrupts the known label/ conversation between brand and consumer and makes the healthy-eating discourse prominent/ interruptive. (Note: we recall in interview her saying, 'font size – :“nutrition information” – American Typewriter/ : (type over the majority of the label) – Ariel, 18pt'/ 'made the weight of the can bold so it stands out a little more'/ 'I decided to keep the existing font size for “Heinz BAKE BEANS” especially as I added text over the top of this so the brand and the product name still needed to be visible'. 'The font colour used for the text over the top of the label was a slightly darker colour than the existing background colour. I chose this so that the text isn't too overpowering but can still be seen and draws the audience in closer to view this.' The nutritional information is like a net cast over the whole can: as such, it intervenes in and frames the dialogue between producer and consumer; it disrupts the known label and makes the healthy-eating discourse prominent.

Themes: purple **theme 3**, green **theme 1**: consumer activism; savvy consumer and healthy eating; criticism of industrial food producers.

***Image IMG\_0045: circles mind-map***

Representational/ interactive: again this is the cognitive structure of a mind-map. Within this institutional space and within the relationships of tutor-student and visiting researcher-student, it is a representation of personal thoughts both to herself and to those other audiences.

Compositional: At the core of her wheel is 'Relationships – connecting people. Eating with family and friends'. The clause 'eating with family and friends' specifies what she is representing in this second draft of what means most to her ('refined inner circles' is the title she has given). However, in the next ring



out, she has represented another aspect of her experience with food in a much more forthright manner: in as large, thickened capitals as will fit in the circle, she has written 'EMOTIONAL' with the specification 'FEELING PAIN TOWARDS FOOD!!!' Opposite 'EMOTIONAL', she has another specification, 'Desire for certain foods'. These specifications signify the embodied experience of wanting to eat but denying it, the kind of self-policing familiar in female negotiations with eating and body image. She uses salience (capitals and exclamation marks) to announce the trauma she feels, and ambiguity of term ('EMOTIONAL') and specification, eg. 'certain foods', as though she is maintaining her privacy. The next two rings are dominated by the difficulties of negotiating the presentation of self before others. One such is: 'Appearance – WEIGHT'; a question ('what do you do in that situation'), foregrounds the difficulties of knowing how to negotiate being hungry and avoiding eating certain (fattening or unhealthy), and acts as a specification of the two-way arrows that link 'What we don't want to eat' and 'hunger'. Another is the memory of being made to remain at the family meal table until vegetables were eaten and the difficulties of managing cooking. The next ring out maintains this theme of embarrassment in front of others, this time in restaurants (spilling and negotiating price): 'Conscious about eating in front of others' is the headline before the specifications. The subject that this participant chose to handle is found right out, on the outside of her fourth and last ring: 'Learn to read food labels'. As such, it would seem to be a sub-set of the more important concerns in the inner rings, to do with negotiating hunger and appearance. We might infer that its appeal for the task was that it was pragmatic and not emotional, more easily handled as a design task. There is what seems to be an important reference to an artist in ring three, 'Joana Vasconcolos'. It is written in blue ink, all other writing is black. It is placed below 'Appearance – WEIGHT', to which is linked '-london exhibition'. This was not picked up in the interview. I do know that this student recently went to this exhibition with other Graphics students from the university, on an organised trip. Vasconcolos's work has been characterized by its confident creativity, often on very specific female themes. It is only speculation to see, here, a reference to an icon of female confidence, juxtaposed to this participant's anxiety about her appearance.

Themes: yellow: **theme 1**: dysfunctional relationship to food; oppressive discourses about female body and female eating; self-policing; personal progression and self-confidence as a woman.

**Vanessa**

***Image IMG\_0048: three plates of food***

Representational: This page of three images are snapshots of food prepared and plated up, as though documentary of food practice. As a part of the workbook, they are presented as meals that she has cooked/ that may represent her food practice. They have a conceptual structure; they are showing the way that something is/ establishing a fact/ illustrating a fact, but without linkage to text, this is difficult to establish. As a part of a verbal/ image multimodal communication in the interview (below) a meaning of the documenting of practice is clear in that punctuation. Without that link, the juxtaposition of photograph two and three is unclear, but because it is the same meal, there is likely to be a link of logical extension (van Leeuwen, 2008) either of contrast or similarity.

(Note. (and further note in compositional and interactive section)The interview suggested that the three photographs, vertically organized, are a representation of the kind of food that students cook independently when at university. The interview also indicated two motivations for this representation – one rhetorical: to demonstrate to an outside audience of adults/ parents/ those not at university that students are capable of cooking adequately healthy and interesting food; and one documentary: to record the kinds of food that students cook. The interview showed a contradiction in her representation of student food: on the one hand, she wanted to represent the ability of students to handle their own affairs, here to cook good, healthy food; and yet, on the other, she wanted to distinguish herself from what she judged to be often the case, that students cooked inadequate, unhealthy food.)

### Compositional/ interactive:

In each of the photographs, food is composed upon the plate according to conventional food practice in homes and restaurants and other eating institutions - additional elements and sauce on top of, or through, a staple base such as pasta or potato. The first and second image have the addition of a fork placed on the edge of the plate, as though eating has begun, or is about to begin, suggesting the documentation of personal food practice. The food elements are healthy/ balanced and represent 'proper food' as opposed to 'junk food'. This is not the conventional presentation of plated up food in media forms such as telechef programming, or magazine or online recipes for example. This is despite the 'high offer' re. viewpoint. Each plate of food is salient and fills the space: spacial/ social contexts are not a part of this communication. It is the fact that the participant has produced all of or some of this food. The lighting appears unfiltered. The modality is 'naturalistic' (van Leeuwen, 2008) according to a documentary purpose.

(Note. In the interview further meaning was made about the alignment of the three images; in the interview, it had a comparative function: to compare the participant's ability to cook with that of her mother (the middle image is said to be that of her mother's food, comparing only equally with her own version of the same meal at the bottom of the page. The comparison between the second and third is explained by the participant in the interview, that 'It turned out that we eat exactly the same at uni and home'. The interview explains that the food that her mother cooked at home was prepared under duress, within the exigency of moving house and having little time to make a meal. The implication is that this circumstance replicated the everyday experience of students like herself, having equally little time to make 'better' food.)

Themes: purple **theme 2**; yellow **theme 2**; personal capability in making 'proper food' independently at university.

### ***Lily (2)***

#### ***Image IMG\_0049 (2): circles mind-map***

(note also IMG\_0049 (left hand page of image photographed)

Representational/ interactive: A cognitive structure of a mind-map. Again, within this institutional space and within the relationships of tutor-student and visiting researcher-student, it is a representation of personal thoughts both to herself and to those other audiences. The conventional structure of a mind-map, or the concentric-circle structure, used in the workshop, has been transformed into a spider's web, in terms of a convention of animation/ cartoon. The reader's trajectory would seem to be led between the accusatory statements of others, and self-accusation, and the positive affirmation of the mother's words. The spider's web, in this context, would seem to signify the judgment of the maker of this artifact, that it is almost impossible for a girl to escape from the sense of being trapped by the objectification of your body by others, even in inner-dialogue.

Compositional: The mind-map structure has been transformed into a spider's web, with strings of words emanating from the centre, where the word 'GIRL' in thickened capitals overlays (and almost obliterates the thinly drawn 'BOY', again in blue). Two thirds of the strands of the web emanating from the centre are in red. Key words are given salience by being rendered thicker. Some are complete statements, others fragments. Most are in an accusatory voice, reminiscent, perhaps, of the voices of female bullies. Clockwise, from a 'seven o'clock position' to a 'five o'clock' position: 'JOIN A GYM, **FATTY**', 'UNATTRACTIVE', 'DIE YOUNG', 'CELEB BODIES', 'YOU'RE **DISGUSTING**', 'YOU SHOULD LOOK LIKE ...', 'YOU'RE **NOT SEXY**', 'YOU'RE SO UGLY', 'STOP EATING', 'YOU SHOULD BE **ASHAMED**', 'YOU'RE SO FAT', 'NO DESERT FOR (YOU)', 'YOU NEED **EXERCISE**', 'WHY AREN'T YOU AS THIN AS' . Such statements emanate from the social practice of bullying, or the self-accusation of eating disorder. They incorporate female to female discourses of self-improvement, which, in turn reference discourses of female beauty and celebrity. Below 'GIRL' at the core, three more strands extend downwards, again statement, but this time 1<sup>st</sup> person self-accusations, a voicing of feelings and self-regulation: 'NOT GOOD ENOUGH', 'SIZE ZERO. I MUST OVER-EXERCISE. I DON'T DESER (VE)', 'NOT THIN ENOUGH. I EAT TOO MUCH. IT'S MY FAULT'. These three strands are distinguished from the others (above) by their special separation and coloration (green/blue/

green). The voices of others are attributed, ambiguously as their connection with a specific statement is not clearly made; but they are 'SAID BULLY', 'SAID TEACHER', 'SAID BEST FRIEND', 'SAID YOUR PARTNER', 'SAID THE MEDIA', 'SAID DOCTOR'. Centre to the page, two-thirds down, there is a specific attribution and a statement directly established through proximity, as a title: 'SAID MUM: Be yourself: be who you want to be. Don't let others tell you how to live.'

Themes: yellow **theme 1**: being trapped by the social objectification of your (female) body; dysfunctional relationship to food; food and self-policing; personal progression and self-confidence as a woman.

***Image IMG\_0049: poster of girl wearing blue***

(Note: on right hand page of two pages that were photographed together)

Representational/ interactive: A poster, that, in its address to a female audience, might appear in a magazine aimed at female readers. A narrative image, a snapshot of action, of the female figure dancing.

Compositional/Interactive: Both written texts are required to fully anchor the text. The first, in mood/ ethos, complements the image: matching the delight represented by the young woman in the image, in the wearing of her blue dress. It plays into female discourse, to an address either between women or from producers of products, in advertising, regarding the relationship between the consumption of products and the improvement of self-image and image presented to others: "a new you". Blue is salient in word and image (in word through its obvious capitalization, but also through rhyme, in bringing what is significant in the object of the young woman's gaze into relationship with the address to the reader, 'You'. Furthermore, what is on offer, in both word and image, is a 'New You', a transformation. The image can now be re-read in terms of that self-realisation: elements of the woman's performance most prominent being her elegance in movement, her lightness of tread as she moves/dances and her self-regard: it appears to be a representation of the experience of feeling free and happy in physical movement. It is the third

written text , at the bottom of the page, that finally anchors the image's meaning and completes the rhetoric of the text as a whole: 'Did you know that the colour blue suppresses appetite?' The voice is of one woman to another, supplying advice to another about how to eat less to achieve a better body image. The cohesion is achieved through the implicit understanding that any other woman would have noticed the grace and happiness of the female depicted, and would, as a consequence, want to know 'her secret'. This form of offering an enviable representation of another woman, or her experience or achievement, to other women, followed by a revelation of what 'her secret' is, belongs to advertising discourse, and lifestyle discourses (television, magazines, on-line).

Themes: yellow **theme 1**: female control of eating in order to improve self-esteem.

***Gabriela***

***Image: the salad van***

Compositional:

(Note: The image was not photographed.) I observed that the image comprised of a photographic image of a roadside catering van, its hatch opening precisely like one that would be used for selling burgers and other 'fast food'. However, this van had the words 'the salad van' written across it, above the hatch. It was positioned in an open space, much like a car park. The van was a Volkswagen camper van, covered in photographic images of salad, most prominent being a giant lettuce. The images were gigantic in proportion, intense in colour; the images of lettuce, tomatoes, radishes etc offered an appealing variety of colour, and thereby (as in advertising practice in supermarket retailing) offered a sense of choice. The salad items were glistening with water droplets, connoting freshness. The scale of the images proclaimed the healthy-eating message confidently. The superimposition of the images upon what was both an iconic image of youth culture, and recognizably a vehicle type that is associated with the sale of fast-food, created irony for the late-night student consumer. This cheekiness, was added

to by the intertextuality of the painted decoration of the VW camper, alluding to the retro-pop decoration of VW campers, and, in turn, 'alternative' lifestyle (such as the surf community). The naming of the van-object, through the logo, 'the salad van', again plays into those traveler discourses that nominate significant venues for meeting up with fellow travelers.

Representational: This is, in one sense, a complex conceptual structure, because it that places the van within youth eating practices by conflating healthy-food discourses and youth cultural discourses. In another sense, it has a narrative - the young people outside of the van are caught, in a snapshot of action, seeking their goal - to eat healthily; their glances toward the van acting as the vectors of that action.

Interactive: The point of view and the distance we have from the van is of a social observer. It gives us a view of youthful social practices of hanging out together, eating together and having made a healthy choice of food. The 'salad van' is salient (if this were on offer, then this may be what young adults would eat.) It is a drawing, imagining this situation of young adults seeking out healthy food as street food (medium objective modality (van Leeuwen, 2008, after Halliday)). The visual information of the food available is displayed with high offer, much as food is within supermarket retail space, or in 'foodie' discourse in magazines, television or on-line. It aims to be appealing to the young adults as consumers making choices.

Themes: green **theme 1**: purple **theme 3**: 'healthy eating'; consumer savvy young adults.

***Jilpa***

***Image IMG\_0050: circles mind- map***

Representational: A conceptual structure that allows this participant to nominate her food, and place that in the centre. The structure of the 'wheel' structure allows, hypothetically (note prompt in workshop said this was a use that participants could make of it) for the nomination of food that is the antithesis of what is at the centre, to distribute it away from the core. ( Note in

the interview, a separate 'punctuation' of meaning: 'on the outside, stuff I really hate like like food fat and stuff and meat.)

Compositional: The word 'vegetarian' holds centre position, together with a small image of a plate, with knife and fork either side. Around that are the taste sensations of eating, 'spicy, savoury, sour, sweet', extending into the next, third 'zone' with 'salty' and the unpleasant 'greasy'; kinds of cuisine, as 'Chinese', 'Indian' and 'Mexican' are here too. The small drawing/images of food types elaborate the names they are near eg salt pot near 'salty', fish near 'Fish' and so on. Although there is the structure of movement from the centre, there is some ambiguity in the third 'zone'. In the outer area, she also has 'McDonald's' (graphology that of the commercial logo) and drawing of beef burger in a bun, fries and large drink with straw, as well as the food items 'chicken, MEAT, fish, eggs'. The graphology is the same for the three food items other than the capitalized 'MEAT'. This distinction the rounded lower-case and the three-dimensional, blocked capitals, may suggest a categorical distinction between them, often points of negotiation for those averse to meat-eating.

Interactive: the salience of 'vegetarian' at the centre and the positioning of the three items on the outer circle, in block capitals, 'GELATINE' and 'FULL FAT' and 'MEAT', display her personal evaluation of food - at the centre, food practice she identifies with, and, on the periphery, her identification of antipathy to those kinds of foods, or sensory sensations. The point of view that is organised is both for herself and of herself, presented to the inspection of an outside audience (certainly in the use that it was put to in the interview, a separate 'punctuation' of multimodal meaning). The specification of 'McDonalds', with the paraphrasing of the drawn image, suggests that this is a headline statement for her - that she wants to see herself, and wants to be seen by others, as distant from eating such food, and from those 'youthful' food practices.



Themes: green **theme 1**, purple **theme 3**: personal vegetarian food practice as highly valued; personal distance from 'unhealthy eating' practices and from 'unhealthy' 'youthful' food practices; meat eating as 'unhealthy'.

***Image IMG\_0051/IMG\_0052: Sharon fruit***

Representational: A conceptual image, that hypothetically employs a Hindu hooked cross, or 'swastika', to organise words

Compositional/ interactive: The image comprises of three sharon fruits in the top left, and then words distributed, in a sequence horizontally, vertically then horizontally, as in the first half of the 'swastika', the Hindu shape denoting prosperity and health. (Note. This is an inference; she did not make reference to this shape. In interview, she had talked about her experiments with borders (of fruit images). Clearly, here, she had abandoned the idea of a border; instead, it would appear that this structural shape has given her the sense of cohesion, three sides achieving the framing of a quadrilateral. Each of the three colours used in the Sharon fruits are extended in the words; the fonts of the words are differentiated along with the colours. (Note, in interview, a separate 'punctuation' of meaning, she had said that 'the typography is the most outstanding thing'.) The salience of bright colours hypothetically signifies the 'brightness' of the fruit as a diet and as personal style (ie. energy and freshness). The bright yellow, orange and reds do that work. (Note, in interview, a separate 'punctuation' of meaning to be sure, she had pointed out in her workbook that she had been reflecting on her strengths, from what her friends had said to her, and written them down as 'courage' and 'determination'; and her 'weaknesses' as 'impatience, dislikes inactivity' – from her workbook).

Themes: green **theme 1**, purple **theme 3**, purple **theme 5**: food choice as personal style; vegetarianism as conserving religious/ ethnic identity; vegetarianism as healthy well-being.

**Hollie**

**Image IMG\_0053: the Sunday roast**

Representational: A conceptual structure. A hand-drawing of objects of condiments, plates, cutlery and two, additional food items which denote the practice of eating a 'proper meal' (and in the choice of condiments of mustard and horse-radish, and the food items of 'Yorkshire' pudding and potato, the specific traditional Sunday family meal).

Compositional: The found images (of the pepper grinder, fork, plate, potato and 'Yorkshire' pudding) and the pencil drawn images (of knife, other plates, and other ) condiments are connected/amalgamated as a 'whole', circle shape, hypothetically signifying plate/ table of a 'proper meal'. There is no external framing. The object assembly is central and the one salient object of our gaze. They symbolise what is known as a UK social practice of eating together, predominantly as a family on a sunday. The background colour is a pink toward the blue end of the spectrum. The handwritten words 'The Sunday Roast', below the objects, is a specification, or heading in a workbook.

(Note, in interview (yes, a further punctuation of meaning) she explained the background colour chosen, as signifying what other colours could not – that is happiness, interest/attraction and the feeling of being within family: 'blue was kind of really sad and pink was the obvious kind of family, warm colour; orange kind of looked, it looked a bit dull because obviously the white's kind of quite pale and ordinary, so I settled on a bright pink'.)

(Note, in interview, the meaning of this drawing was then made that there was the 'theme' of a family together: "it was supposed to be almost like a ball of all the things to do with like the Sunday roast; a lot is to do with food and stuff, but yeah, it just kind of, yeah everything is all kind of squashed together, but it's all as important as the theme; I think that **for me**, the main thing about the Sunday roast is that all our family is together.")

Interactive: the assemblage is, hypothetically, presented for recognition of its symbolism, to viewers familiar with 'mainstream' UK food practices. Within the institutional context of the university, of her course and in response to the prompt of the task, and the social interaction with her tutor and myself, there is the function of showing that she can make effective design choices based upon research, as well as this being her nomination of a food practice that either means a lot to her or is of particular interest to her.

Themes: blue **theme 4**: sunday lunch; 'proper meals'; the mainstream UK food practice of sunday lunch

***Image IMG\_0054: family meal (found image annotated)***

Representational:

A conceptual image. A found (online) image of an ideological representation of an 'ideal' (white, middle-class, father, mother and two children, one boy and one girl) family, attended to by a servant in a domestic setting, is used as a part of a workbook presentation. The found image is surrounded by her explanatory annotation, including attribution to the website and date of access. The written text makes the meaning of the found image specific for the reader of the workbook (including herself in her reflection upon it.) Most prominent and most summative, is the written comment, high, left on the page: 'Almost represents the idea of sunday meal times at home' followed by a colon (explicit anchorage of what follows - image, other writing, justification and the process of thought in the other writing) and a closing bracket, as though diminishing its importance and framing it off from the rest of the information. Its interactive function is to explain the theme of her work. Her interest in this design was in the clarity of the idea being expressed. The design choices appeal because they do not obscure what interests her: 'single line, no tone, no colour'; 'black and white image is very effective in communicating a certain idea' – for example the interaction between the family members. She comments upon the 'staged' nature of their performance, and of the atypicality of its representation of family, but persists in the process of writing to assert that 'the idea still(s) appear to be the same' ie justifying the drawing's

value in her research process - of helping her to focus upon what interests her in her task (to make a representation of her own). The comment on the left hand side of the page identifies importance again, here as a 'time' which means that 'everyone' is 'sitting together'.

Themes: blue: **theme 4**: the togetherness of a family at mealtime.

### ***Stella***

#### ***Image IMG\_0055: photographs of sushi***

##### Representational and compositional:

This page comprises of three photographs, two beside one another on the top half of the page; the third, larger, in the bottom half, and written heading and, then, captions beneath the top right hand, and bottom images. The 'heading' specifies the photographs as being of the food preparation of the participant - 'Final product my made sushi'. The two captions show that this page has a narrative structure, of a process of experimentation in presenting the food: the last part of the caption beneath the second image reads, in parenthesis) 'can't present right now' and the caption beneath the last image reads 'Final product presented'. The narrative shows a design decision being made by the participant, as to the best way of presenting this food - hypothetically to show it at its best or at its most interesting. Representationally, this page belongs to a larger text, together with ***image IMG\_0056***, and other explanation of her design work in her workbook.

Interactive: In her organization of these images, we can see two functions and two engagements of her readers. The three different frame selections, aerial, front and obliquely angled shots, offer the prepared food for full admiration, according to the cultural process of presenting food in 'foodie' discourses, for admiration and interest, or domestically the presentation of food prepared, for admiration and the shared pleasure of eating together. The 'offer' to the spectator is high (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). The arrangement of the sliced fish, in front of the sushi rolls, together with the swirl of sauce, make an emoticon, a smile, which addresses the reader as meta-discourse (a

communication of the maker's pleasure in what she has made, and a presentation of herself within the image, to accompany the moment of presentation, as cook).

Themes: yellow **theme 2**, purple **theme 2**: the 'impressive' presentation of food; celebrating ability to prepare food.

***Image IMG\_0056: lighting sushi***

Representational/interactive: A representation of her photographic work for a tutor/ design student. The informational value lies in the written text's explanation of the variation of brightness and contrast used in each of the images, anchoring their technical reading. The text is a key. The orientation of point of view, through the reading trajectory, across the six shots, has the purpose of technical comparison, compared to the appreciation of the food in ***image IMG\_0055***.

Themes: purple **theme 2**: lighting photographs of food; the presentation of food (personally made).

***Bess***

***Image IMG\_0057: textile strawberry***

Representational:

A conceptual image. Representationally, this page belongs to a larger text, that of an explanation of her design work to her tutor: as such a workbook. This page is one of two that are presented together. The caption at the top of this page announces the subject of the design student's work: 'I have decided to look at the concept of comfort food'; and the caption in the bottom left-hand side of the page specifies the artifacts displayed on both pages, and extends our reading of them: 'I have made a strawberry and a chocolate bar out of my clothes. The clothing represents the comfort I find from eating these foods'.

Interactive/ compositional: Within the informational function of the workbook, there is a further function of exhibition: of displaying personal style/ artistry (to tutor/ to student). The centrality and scale of the artifact/art-work (80% of the page) marginalize the information in the captions. The use of material - personal clothes, and the personal voice of the texts, referring to her personal experience and lived practice, recall perhaps art discourses, for example realized in the work of Tracey Emin. The three dimensional quality (creating the roundness of the strawberry) is achieved through successive layering of clothes. The high modality of beads, buttons, cuffs, tights make them stand out, undermining the visual metaphor of the food, and foregrounding the conceit: this is much more than the representation of a strawberry. It could also be a pile of discarded clothing and beads, thrown onto a bed. In this way, the artifact deconstructs itself. The informational value is now not so much that of a workbook: it is personal.

Themes: yellow **theme 1**: (as resistance) comfort food; personal design acumen

***Image IMG\_0058: textile chocolate bed***

Representational/ interactive: At first sight, a conceptual image once more. Representationally, this image is ambivalent: as workbook illustration, again anchored by the first caption ('I chose chocolates and strawberries because ...'); but also as self-disclosure and personal expression. There is the second interaction of a narrative structure, this being both a narrative snapshot of eating 'unhealthy food' whilst negotiating with conformist, 'adult' expectations of being more in control, and being a 'healthy eater', her 'real' food practice lying in the ellipsis between caption one and two: ('I chose chocolates and strawberries because one is healthy and the other isn't ...' / '... Unfortunately I rely on chocolate for comfort more frequently than strawberries'.

And it is also a narrative snapshot of a bed, the quilt pulled back and the earlier occupier absent from view, having left a note, the second caption.

Compositional: As with image IMG\_0057, the page is dominated by the ambiguous object of the bed/chocolate bar. Its metaphorical identity as a chocolate bar is established through intertextual reference: the purple of duvet cover alluding to the purple of the Cadbury's wrapper, the rolled back duvet to the unfurling of a wrapper around chocolate during eating, the shiny sheet to the glossy surface of the chocolate, the colour of the bed beneath the duvet to the colour of the chocolate itself. As with image IMG\_0057, the metaphor has a double articulation, not only playing between the bed and chocolate bar, but between the spaces of workbook/ institutional space and those of private/ personal space; and, as with the narrative abstract, her concrete experience is what is finally signified, if only elliptically: she needs 'comfort', but what kind and why?

Themes: yellow **theme 1**: comfort food; personal design acumen; negotiating with dominant 'healthy eating' discourse and preserving personal space.

### **Sasha**

#### ***Image IMG\_0059: poster of baby and strawberry***

##### Representational/ compositional:

A conceptual image. A poster. The strapline across the bottom of the image is the slogan: 'TEMPTATION CAN KILL!' The capitalization and use of exclamation mark denote urgency. There is a relay between image and text and vice versa: the high colour saturation of the red of the strawberry in the baby's mouth making that salient, and, as specification of the slogan, identified as 'temptation', or as symbol of temptation/tempting foods. Is there reference to the agency of adults? To adults damaging babies/children through the provision of unhealthy foods? Parents or industrial producers of food? Is the choice of the baby could be a highly rhetorical use of metaphor? Strawberry as fruit would be an unusual means. There is reference to a horror genre of filmic codes: the caption is 'written' upon a banner of blood: the reader's trajectory is between the red of the blood (as symbol of visible damage to the body?) and the red of the strawberry in the baby's mouth. The rhetoric is unclear. In both cases, the red disrupts the colour and tones of the

rest of the image. In terms of idea associations of the horror genre, often 'temptation' has sexual reference to young teens not babies; children often have demonic reference, but not babies.

***Image IMG\_0060: poster of strawberry and mouth***

Representational and compositional:

This has conceptual and narrative meanings. Similarly organized as the previous image, in terms of the syntax of a poster: image with strapline caption. The fragmentation of the image (nostril to throat), the dramatic colouring of lips, strawberry in the mouth and blood, the splattering of 'blood' across the woman's chin, and the tilted angle of the caption disrupt the representation of the woman, in the manner of a book cover (genre: murder or horror). The use of sensory modality (van Leeuwen, 2008), the intertextual reference to surrealism, and then to fictional genres, takes this artifact far away from public service discourse, healthy-eating discourse, for example. The reference to the horror genre works well here (compared to ***image IMG\_0059***) re. the age and gendered identity of the face: and the use of mouth has clear reference to the sexual connotations/ gendering of desire in food advertising. Again the use of blood on the chin of the actor is as stylised violence/ injury but again the whether that is reference to her agency or that of others upon her, is unclear. Did she just contrive to make 'sexy', 'shocking' images to show design acumen, or is this a knowledgeable address to contradiction of food advertising that interpellates young women as both needing to be at ease with being (post-feminist) participants in sexualisation of everyday practices (including eating), consume with pleasure, and needing to police their own consumption and that of others.

Themes: yellow **theme 3**: negotiating being sexy with food and having to police personal consumption

***Image IMG\_0061: poster of strawberry and mouth (2)***

Similarly organized as ***image IMG\_0060***: this time words are used to disrupt and fragment the image of the woman's face. This hypothetically plays into the



representational practice of advertising (and photography) in which the fragmentation of women's bodies and the incorporation of the 'surfaces' of women into other forms and materials is commonplace. The superimposition of the written text "TEMP' horizontally and 'TATION' vertically, and 'KILLS' in entirety then twice in part, over her face, is further example of the use of woman as surface material to be written on. As with *image IMG\_0060*, the rhetorical purpose of this design could be to pass critical comment upon the representational practices of advertising/ food advertisers, or to be further employment of them in order to show design acumen, in the context of the brief.

Themes: yellow **theme 3**: the representational practices of advertising/ food advertisers; the contradictory interpellations of young women by food advertising (and healthy eating discourses)

### ***Firoze***

***Image (Food-Final Firoze. jpg): Cooking Club and Curry night***

#### Representational:

This works as both conceptual and narrative image. On the one hand, all of the photographic images compliment the slogan at the footer, extending the idea that 'food brings people together'. On the other, there is a narrative development, through the reading trajectory from top left to bottom right, in seeing how the evening progresses; and also in seeing how the actions of the participants' generosity has effects in both the pleasure of his guests and in their subsequent actions of sharing with other guests. The relationship between the two pieces of text, at the top and bottom of the page anchor the arrangement of images in a complex way that has direct implications for the interactive meanings: the 'header', as a title, anchors the images as an event to some extent, answering the reader's question, 'What is going on?', 'what has happened?' and what is the relationship between these people?', for example. The 'footer' is a slogan, making a highly rhetorical claim. This claim is not then linked to a commercial product, a food or a venue for example, or to a political organisation; nor is there information of the time and place of a

future event, with details of how to take part. As such the purpose of the whole text is uncertain, and its form of representation is ambiguous. It could be a poster to stimulate interest in further 'Curry and Shisha nights'; it could be a celebratory text, intended only for those who took part, playing into the genre of shared photographic images posted on social networking sites, and into the genre of photographic display upon physical wallboards in home. The latter works for the organisation of the photo display, on the colour wash background; but the use of header and footer remind us of the institutional context of this communication - fulfilling the task set, within the Design course, for the audiences of tutor and researcher, and other students. As a response to the prompt (see description of task), it is the elaboration of an important food meaning by this participant, a production of a version of himself that he wants to make to these audiences. The compendium of photographs shows that he is someone who can prepare food, and uses that skill generously. It shows him making a positive contribution to university life, and to using food to bring people together.

Interactive/ compositional:

The images are in the form of photographs, and their overlapping and distribution across the page calls upon the social practice of sharing photographs together, next to one another, in conversation. The sequence has a narrative structure, achieving temporal and spacial extension: images in the top left show the cooking of dishes in kitchen space, then the serving/ plating up in dining space, then the eating and enjoyment of the food by guests at table, and then the smoking of shisha, after the eating, in lounge space. As self-narration and display of personal style, this sequence features the participant prominently at key stages of the process, as activant: in the kitchen cooking, serving the food and posing to camera, smoking shisha, and finally watching a friend smoke shisha. As well as these narrative functions, the sequence has the logical function of representing just how food has brought these people together: relaying between footer slogan and key indexical information in the photos, such as smiling, sharing, giving and receiving.

The photographs have a natural modality, the colour images being snapshots like those regularly taken in everyday social life. They show the fun of social interaction and the attractiveness of food, images that would represent the pleasure of the experience and memorialise the event. The range of photographs taken further represents both the individual personalities and the diversity of people at the party. There is further relay between the photographs and the footer, celebrating how 'food brings (all kinds of) people together'.

Themes: blue **theme 4**, purple **theme 2**, purple **theme 5**: food bringing people together; food and multicultural sociality; networking; food preparation as generosity; personal food competence.

### ***Maddie***

***Image IMG\_0029 - drawing of corridor (leading to image IMG\_0027 and IMG\_0028 - sketches of students eating)***

representational/ interactive:

This image may be said to have a narrative structure. The vectors of the exaggerated lines of perspective, forming the corridor, which begin from the point of the family group, at the furthest point, and lead towards the point of observation. As if the markers of the corridor represent the passing of time, the point of observation is the present; and the point most distant (the location of the family) is a moment in the past. The activant (van Leeuwen, 2001) would then be at the point of observation. It is also a conceptual structure: a representation of present and past states; the corridor a metaphor for the passing of time/ relocation; and memorialisation of previous experience between the two points of 'then' and 'now'. That history is about a changing relation to food: the past - a food identity within the family; intervening period of separation from family as a period of unhealthy eating, exemplified by chocolate and biscuits; the present is unspecified but is distinguished from both of those earlier states.

This image has two audiences. First, herself, in that she has found a metaphor that fits her feelings - it is personally expressive; and secondly, it has the audiences of tutor and researcher and it presents a version of herself and her experience, opened out to them, and her design capability in conceiving of, and delivering a design to represent herself and personal feeling. As such, we are allowed to share her point of view.

compositional/ interactive:

The information of the doorways are of two kinds, larger than life images of chocolate and biscuits and words that name them as such. The reading trajectory, toward the representation of her family, is made dramatic by the use of accentuated perspective. The distance from the family is exaggerated in this way and the relationship between where we are (including the participant who made this), as observers, and where they are (over there/ then) is dynamic - there is a need to relate these different temporal and social places but there is not a confusion between them: that was then, this is now. 'Then' was about family eating. Since then, there has been a lot of possibly solitary eating of unhealthy, 'comfort' food. The spaces she is in now are explored in her other two drawings: **image IMG\_0028**, a pencil drawing of a busy student refectory, where two pairs of students are shown talking to each other while eating; and others are shown eating by themselves; one half-hidden figure stands behind a column. Salient, and central to that image is a large window at the back of the refectory, behind all of the figures. **Image IMG\_0027**, a pencil drawing of three students in a refectory hall, talking over their meal (a fourth student is at the end of the table, disconnected from their sociality). As a collection of drawings, there is a narrative development, a shift in time between present time, at university, observing others eating, the making of some new socialities around food, and then reflection back (in **image IMG\_0029**) to another time and the journey that has been made from them. As such, the drawings of the present time at university represent, hypothetically, adjustment to life now. The drawings of present life are, as pencil sketches, social and artistic observation of someone who is at university, noticing the real and adjusting to it. **Image IMG\_0029** is an abstract

piece, compared to the naturalism of the other two. It handles a comparison of times, places and socialities. Circularity is important in the composition of the image of the family: the word 'family' extends the shape of the family meal table and the family group of daughter between two parents, circled around the table. In this there is strong contrast with the verticals that represent the different experience of the recent past and the present in university spaces and socialities.

Themes: blue **theme 4**, green **theme 1**: different socialites and eating; adjusting to being away from home through food practices.

### ***Honour***

#### ***Image IMG\_0030: herbal tea***

##### Representational:

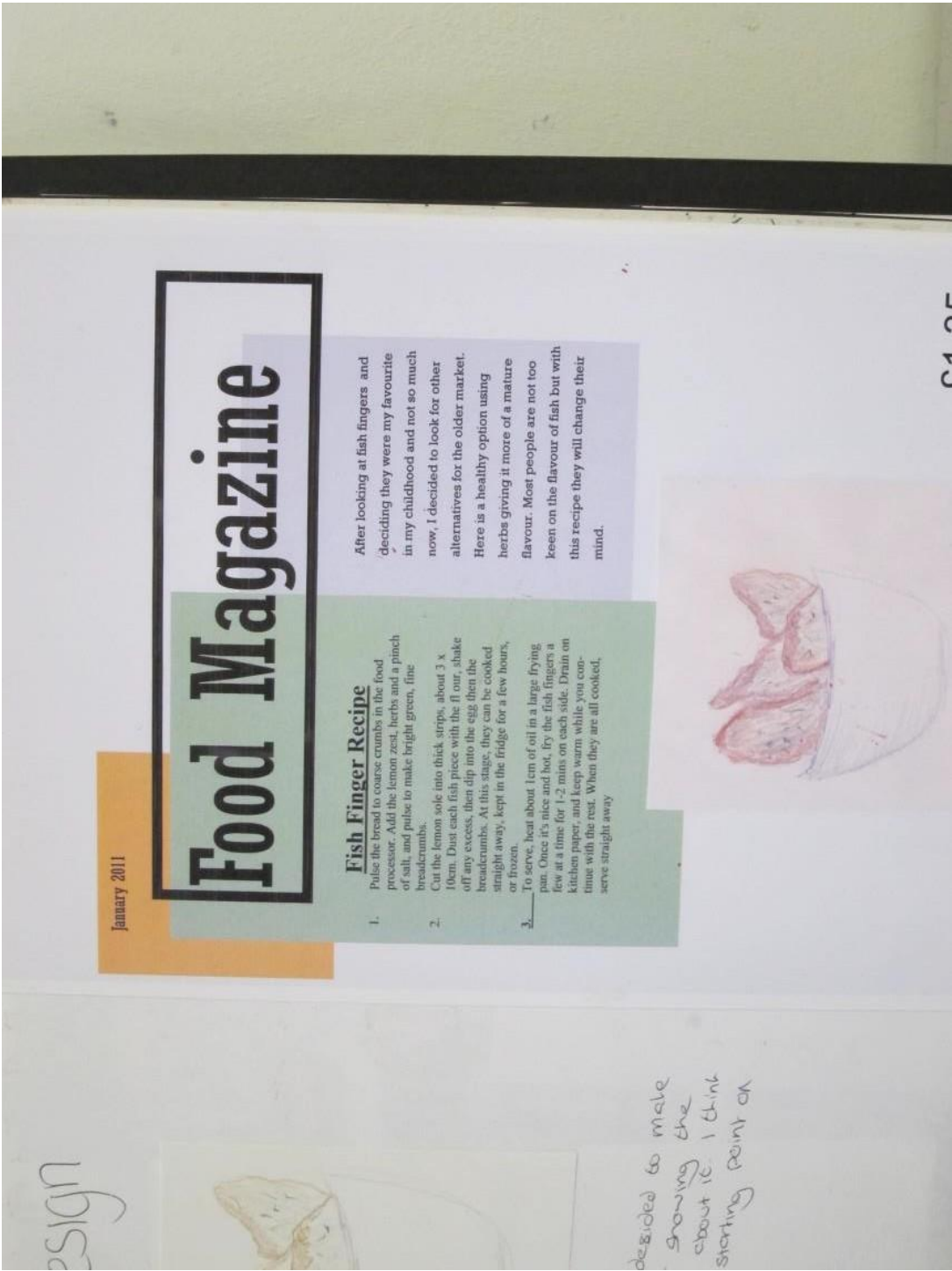
A narrative image, showing the preparation of a hot drink, a kind of herbal tea, made from found ingredients in the natural environment. Six black and white images are set out symmetrically (two columns of three) on a black background. Each of the images are photographs superimposed with black line drawings and a short written text, an instruction. The sequence, when read from left to right and on vertically down, comprises a recipe for the herbal/nettle tea in six stages, temporally linked: picking the leaves, drying the leaves, crumbling the leaves, filling a muslin tea-bag with the leaves, tying the bag, boiling the water, simmering/ infusing water in a cup with the bag, and drinking the tea. In each case, the written text and the superimposed line drawing compliments the photographic image. For example, in the first, the photograph gives a type of location, near a wood, where leaves may be found, and shows a woman involved in an action with outstretched hands; the word 'pick' is overlaid onto the hands to identify the action and instruct the reader in the first action in the procedure; the drawn leaves, enlarged, and placed in front of the hands, illustrates the kind of leaves to be picked (somewhat ambiguously). In other images, where quantity is important in the procedure, figures are given, for example in the third image, 'teaspoon x3', for the amount of crumbled leaves to be placed in each tea-bag.

### Composition and interactive:

The first image differs from the rest in its inclusion of detail: woodland, grasses, and a person (the activant, we may infer, in all of the other images). We can see a background, a spacial context, the outdoor setting of woodland, the source of the product. In the other images, there is no background, other than a work-surface, and no depth-of-field; the person is replaced by the metonym of the hand-shape drawing. The use of a kind of naturalistic modality (lack of use of colour in saturation, modulation, differentiation (van Leeuwen, 2008)) marks this off ideologically from the routine use of sensory modality (van Leeuwen, 2008) in mainstraem advertising. This is according (hypothetically) to an interest to move away from industrial production and commercialisation of the market in food. The instructional purpose of this information text is about learning to source natural products, and to be self-sufficient in meeting personal needs not through the commercial market; to live harmoniously with Nature, and to turn back to a greater simplicity in food. In that context, then, it would be important for her to establish the natural setting for the sourcing of the food item in the first image. There is further rhetorical cohesion in the visual matching of the successive images with that first, in terms of their consistent graininess, low tonal range and low-level lighting; furthermore, the choice of dark speckled work-top and bowl, match the undergrowth in the woodland image. This also constitutes a 'grunge' aesthetic, that has, in the past, drawn upon discourses of youth culture, that represent a sense of alienation from, and resistance to global capitalism, and is consonant with ecological protest.

Themes: purple **theme 3**: consumer savviness and bypassing the commercial market for food; reconnecting the consumer with natural food.

Images of participants' artifacts in phase three of the fieldwork



Lily 1: IMG\_0011

The diagram is a spiral notebook page with the word "FOOD" written in the center. The spiral is drawn around this central word, and various handwritten notes are scattered along the path of the spiral. The notes are organized into several concentric rings, each containing different themes and words. The outermost ring includes terms like "VEGAN", "GREENPEACE", "FRIENDS OF THE EARTH", "FAT GIRL", "FEMINIST", "RANADAN", "NOTIFICATION", "SICK", "DIET + GYM", "PERSONAL APPEARANCE", "MAKING YOURSELF ILL", "VEGETARIANS", "GENDER FOOD", "COMMUNITY", "INACTIVITY", "GIVING NOT RECEIVING", "WEIGHT ISSUES", "HUNGER", "CULTURE". The inner rings contain more specific notes such as "TASTING", "SMELLING", "TOUCHING", "TASTE", "SMELL", "TEXTURE", "ANALYST", "CHILDREN", "SICK", "DIET + GYM", "PERSONAL APPEARANCE", "MAKING YOURSELF ILL", "VEGETARIANS", "GENDER FOOD", "COMMUNITY", "INACTIVITY", "GIVING NOT RECEIVING", "WEIGHT ISSUES", "HUNGER", "CULTURE".

Catherine: IMG\_0012



### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Catherine: IMG\_0013

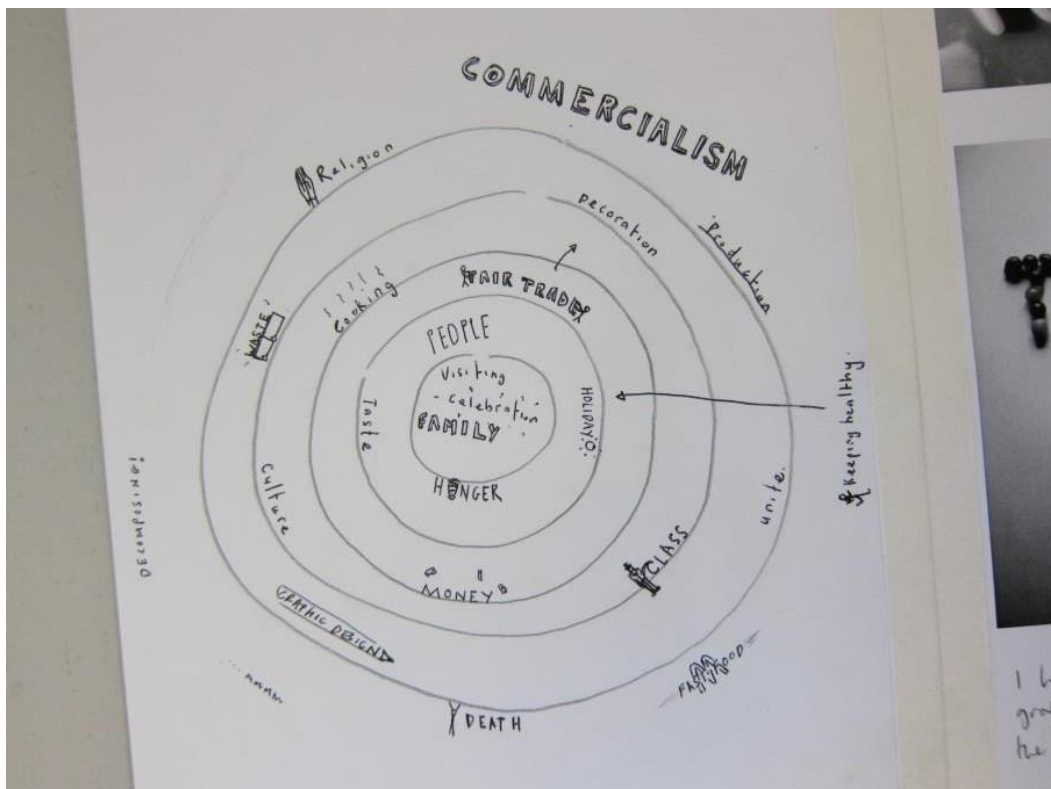


Catherine: IMG\_0014

### Phase 3 visual artefacts

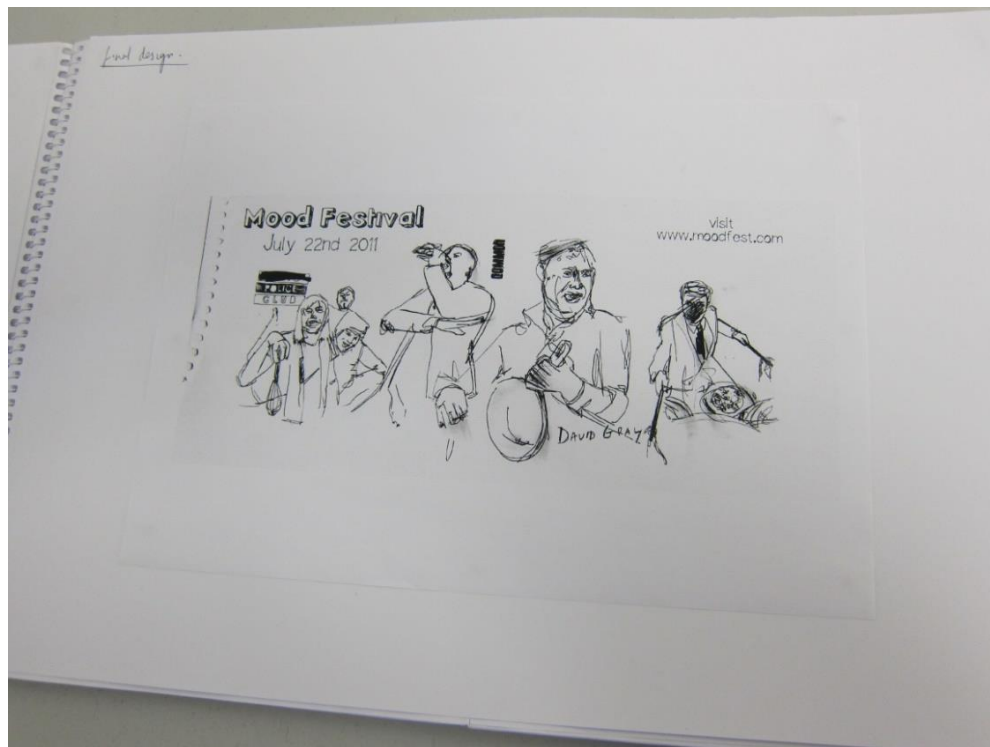


Connor: IMG\_0015

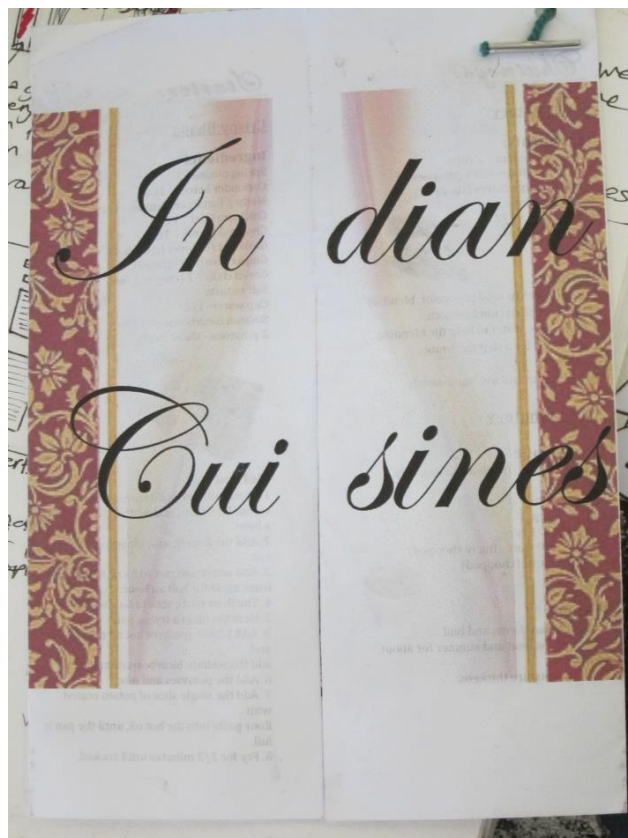


Vernon: IMG\_0017

### Phase 3 visual artefacts

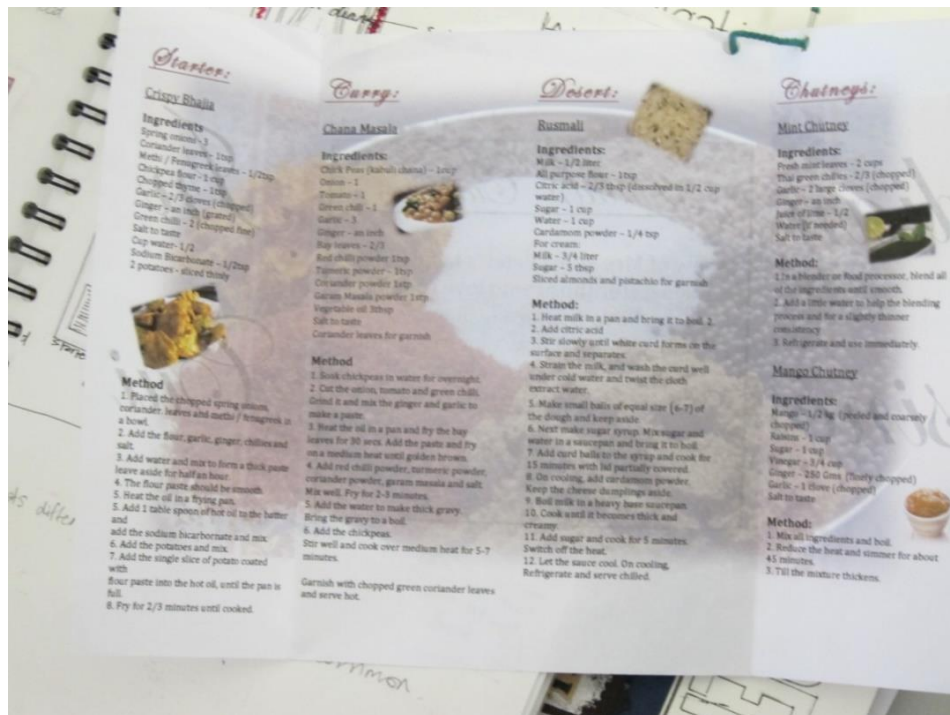


Vernon: IMG\_0016



Badriya: IMG\_0018

## Phase 3 visual artefacts



Badriya: IMG\_0019



Leona: IMG\_0020



## Phase 3 visual artefacts

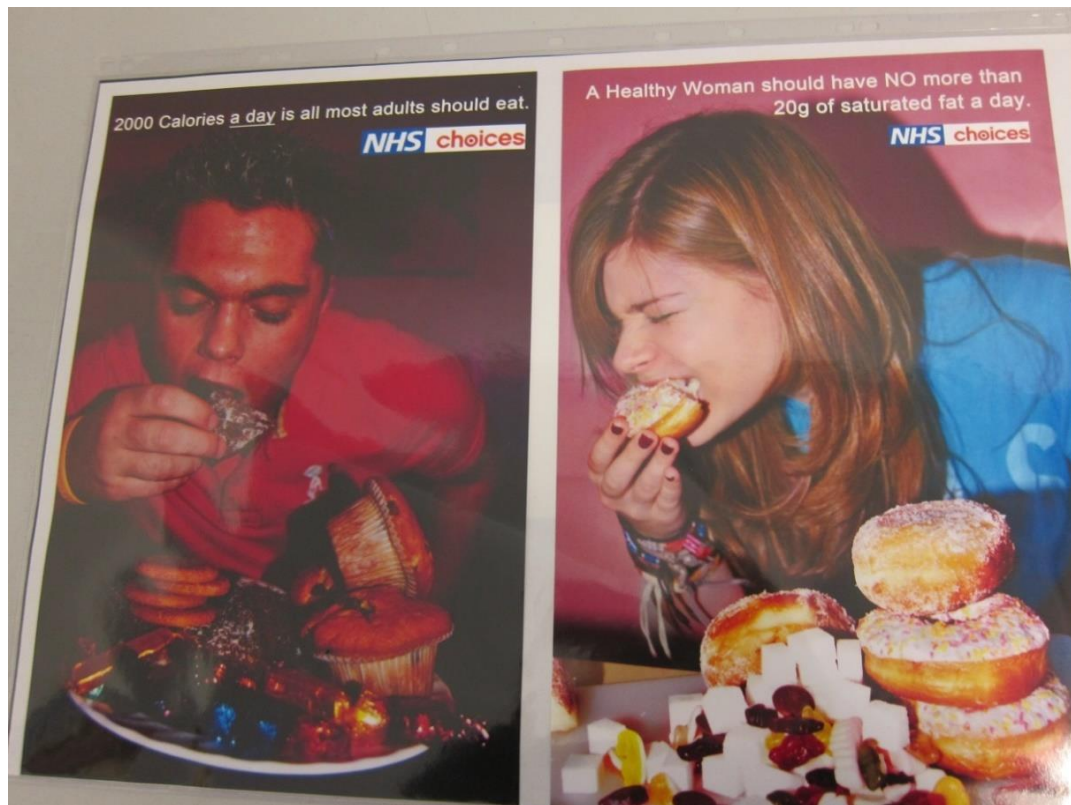


Leona: IMG\_0022



Noemi: IMG\_0024

### Phase 3 visual artefacts

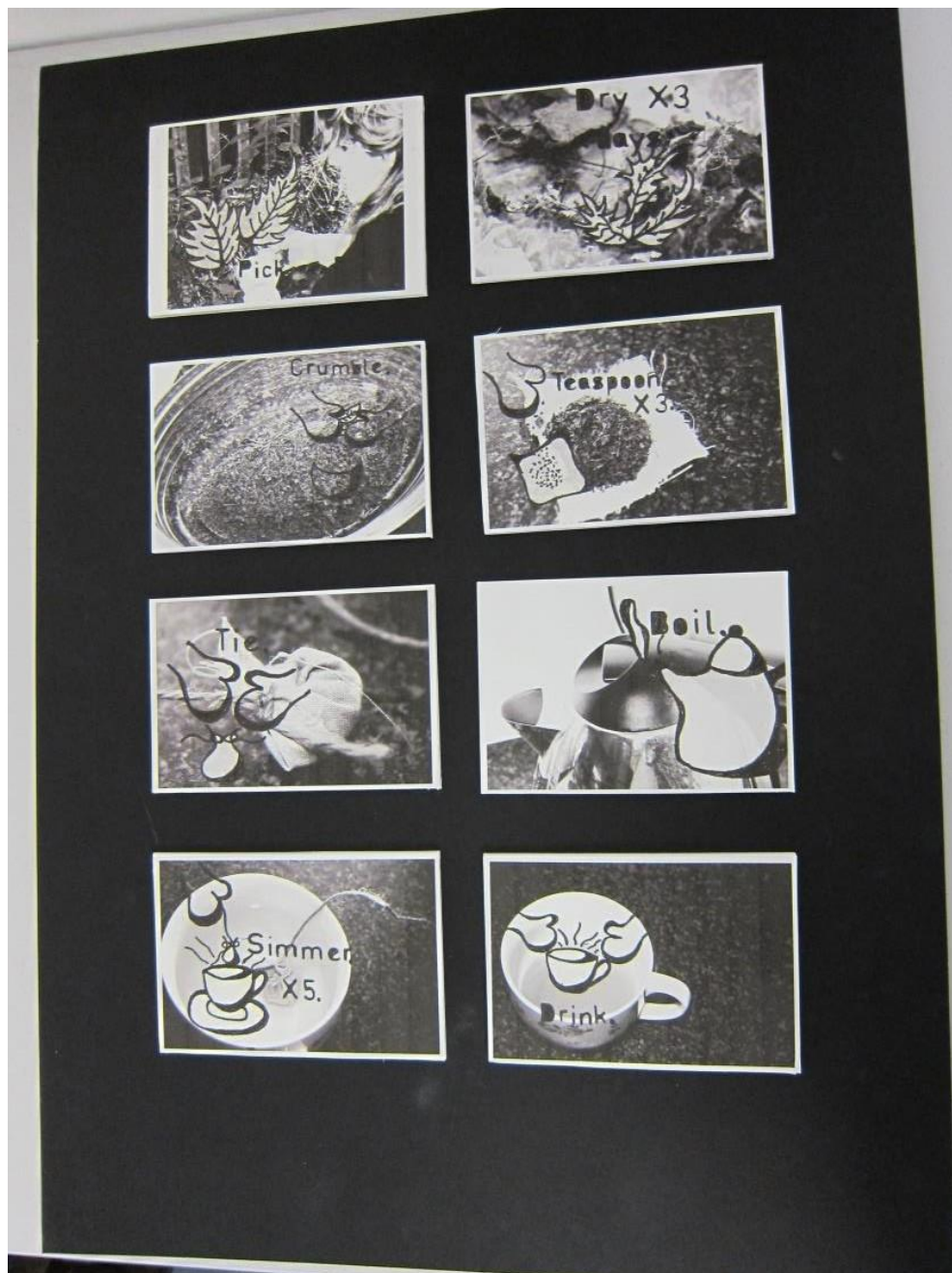


Gabriela: IMG\_0025



Gabriela: IMG\_0026

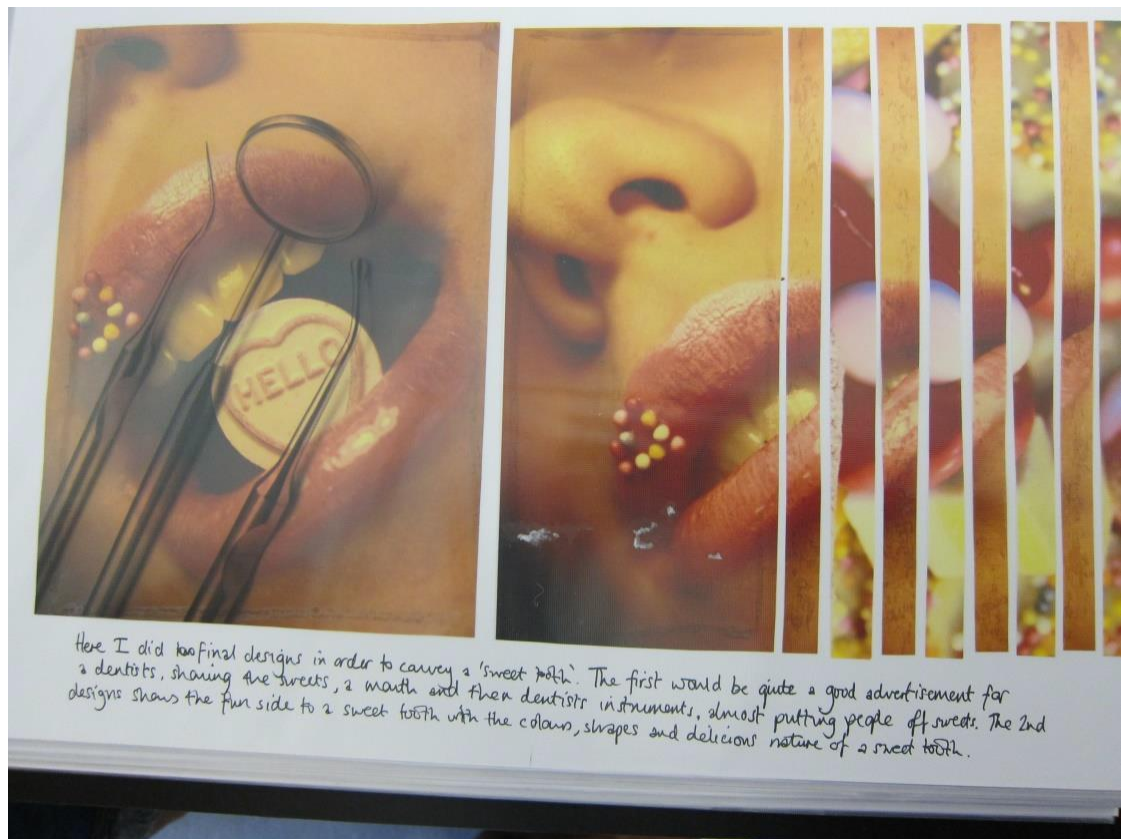
Phase 3 visual artefacts



Honour: IMG\_0031



### Phase 3 visual artefacts



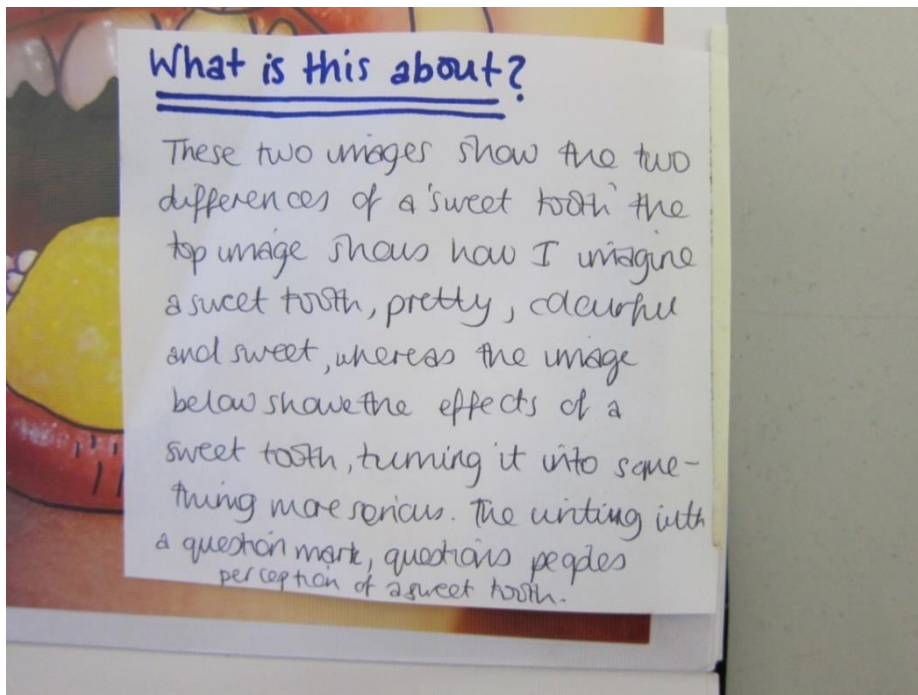
Erica: IMG\_0031



Erica: 0032



### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Erica: IMG\_0033

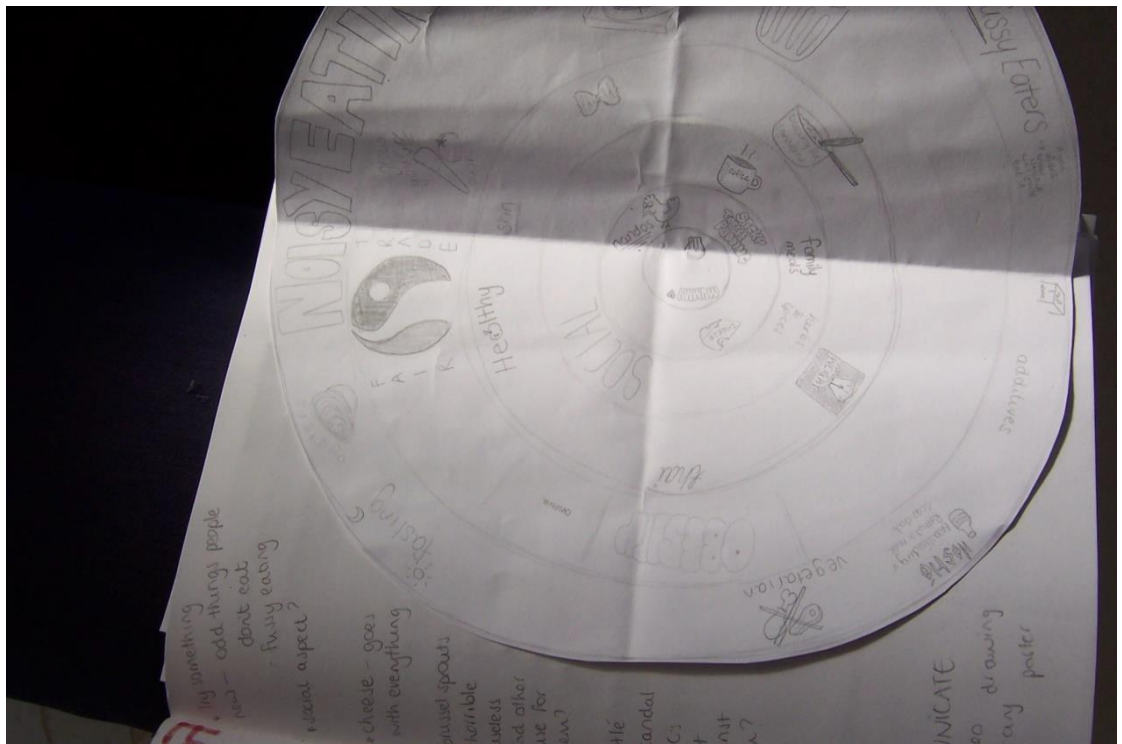


Jed: IMG\_0037

## Phase 3 visual artefacts



Jed: IMG\_0037



Susie: IMG\_0056

Phase 3 visual artefacts



Susie: 100\_0056

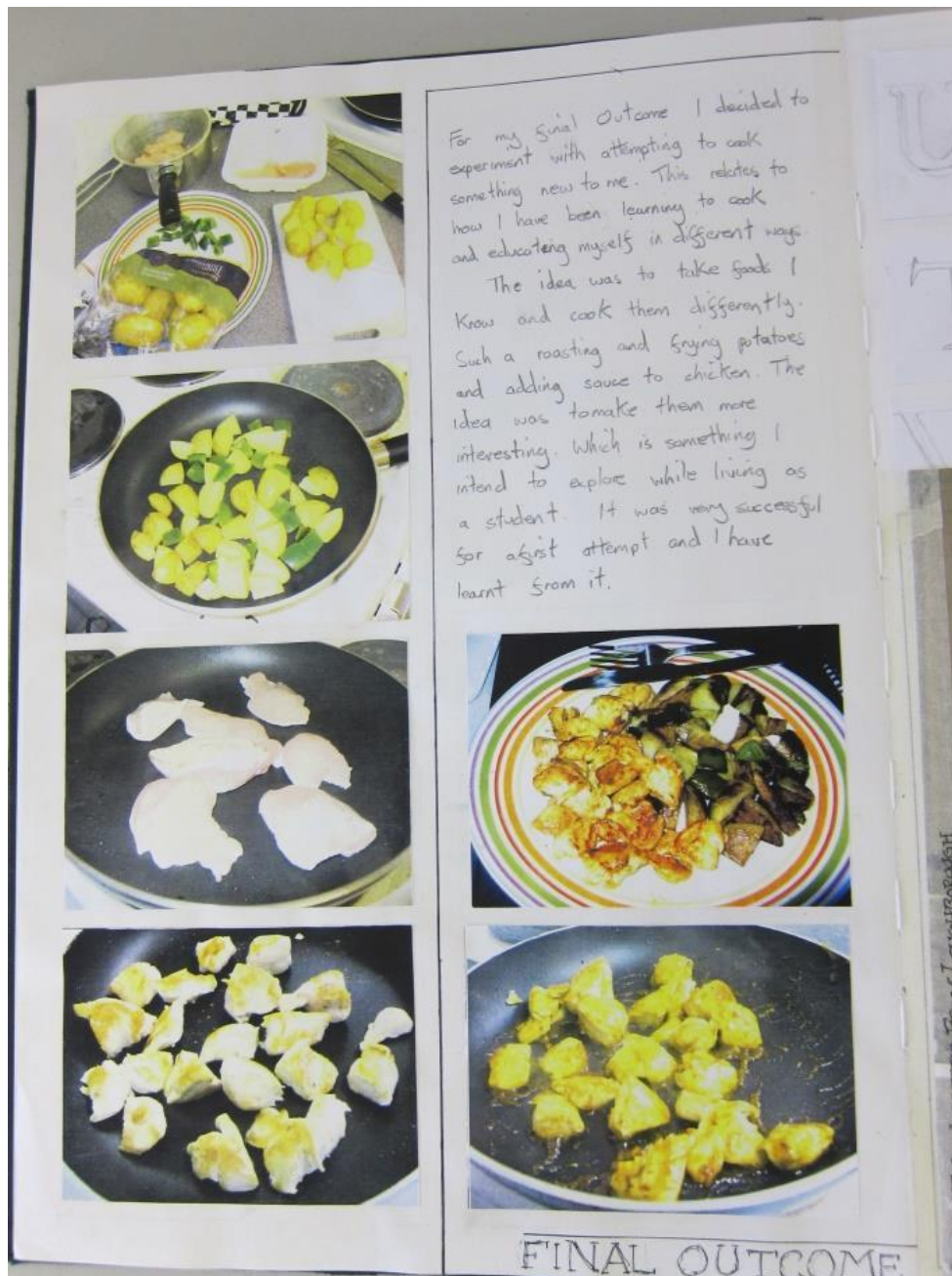


### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Michael: IMG\_0040

### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Steve: IMG\_0041



[illegible]

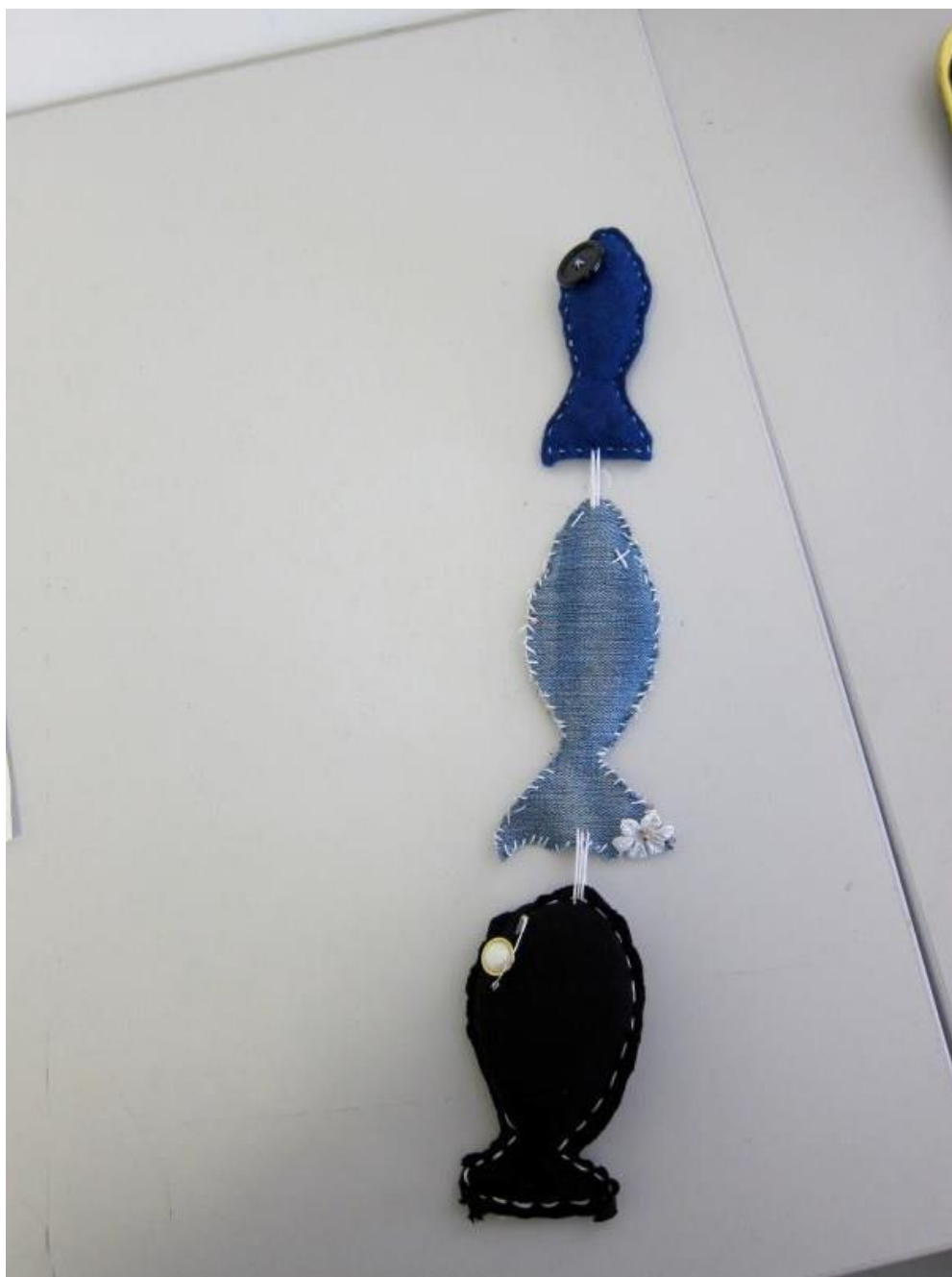
Juliana: IMG\_0043

### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Juliana: IMG\_0042

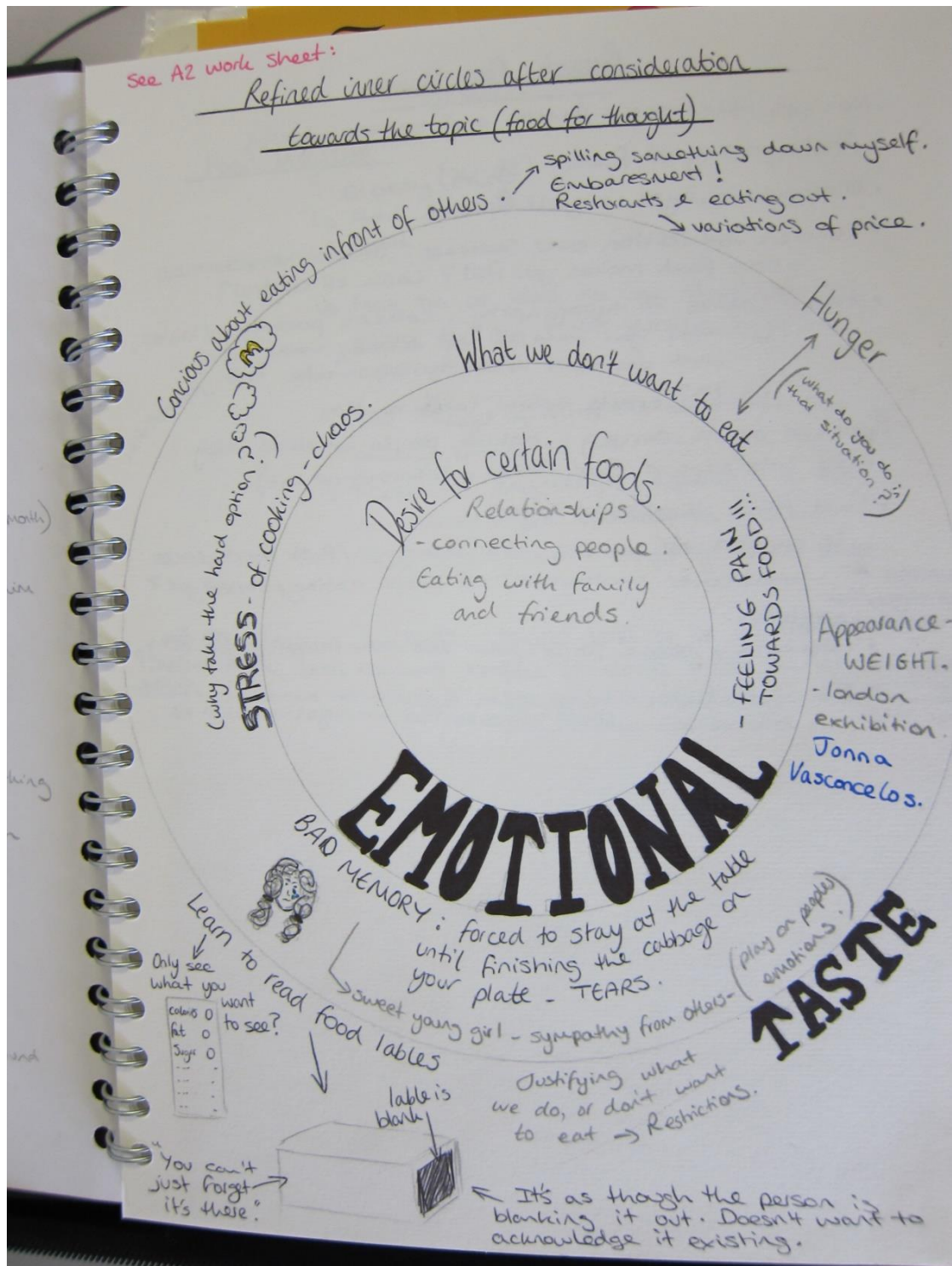
### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Roli: IMG\_0044

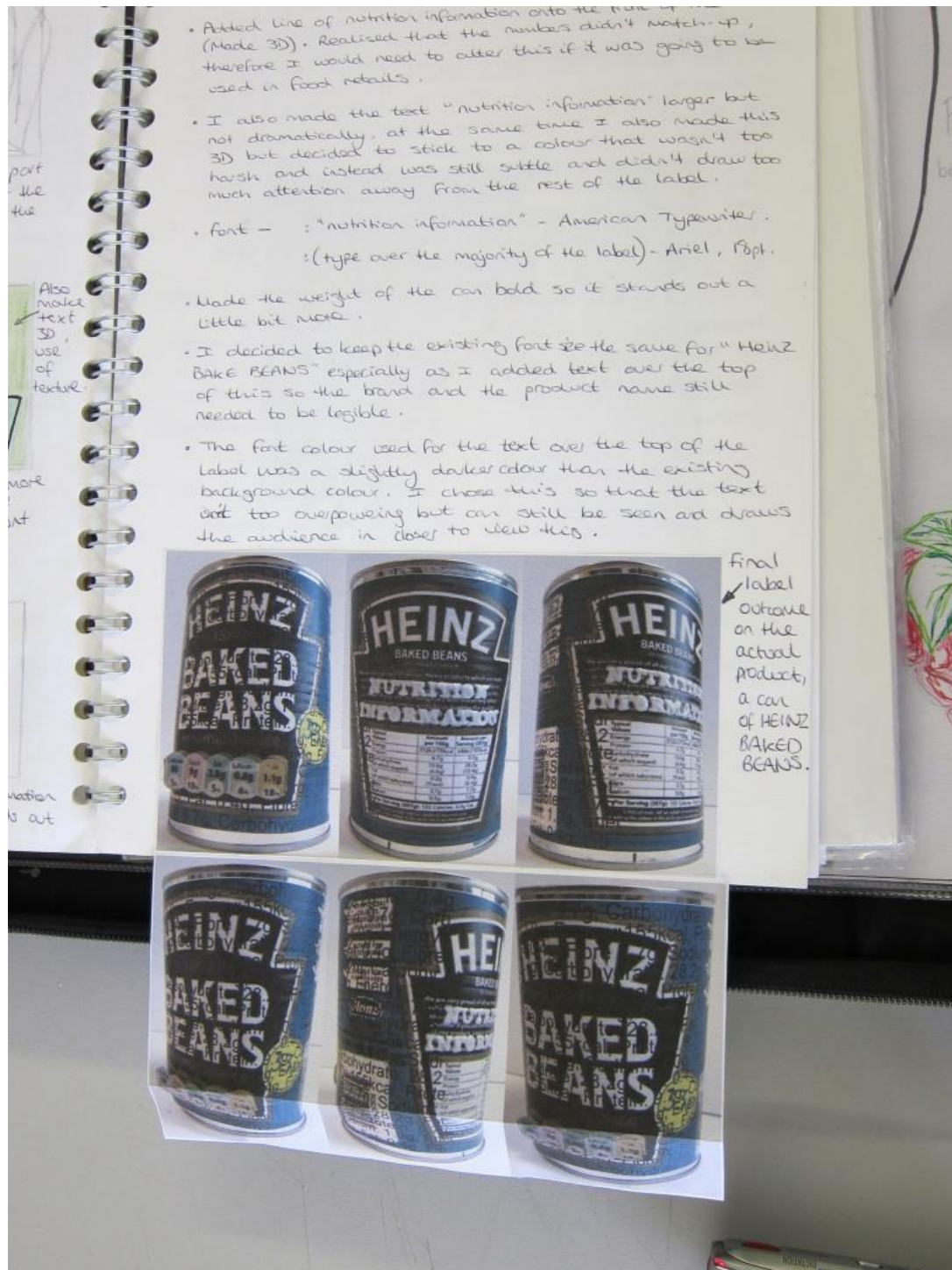


Phase 3 visual artefacts



Charissa: IMG\_0045

## Phase 3 visual artefacts



Charissa: IMG\_0047

### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Vanessa: IMG\_0048

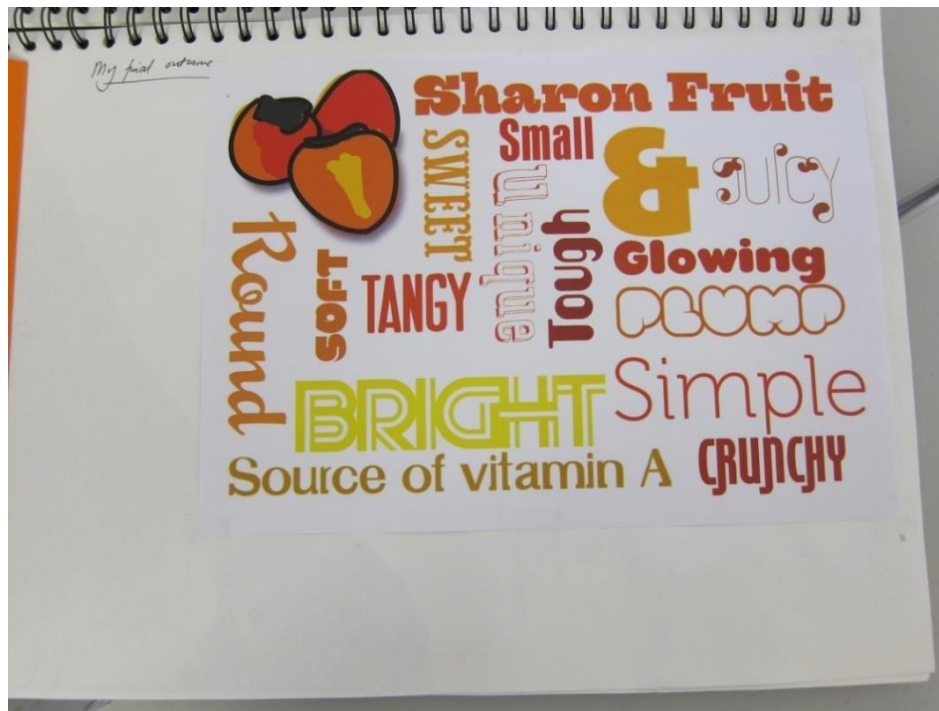


Lily 2: IMG\_0049

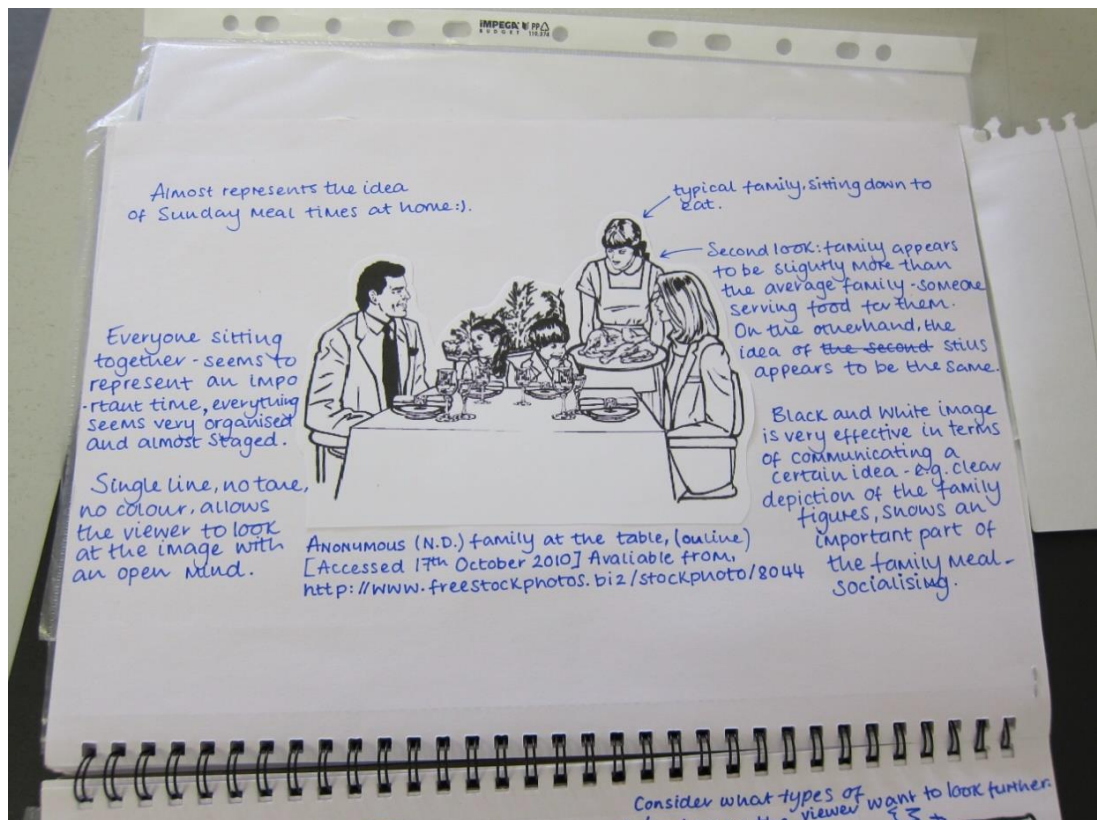


## A circular word cloud featuring various fast-food related terms. The words are arranged in a circle, with some in the center and others on the perimeter. The words include: "GELATINE", "Full Fat", "McDonald's", "CHINESE", "chicken", "On", "Soy", "Milk", "MEAT", "fish", "SALTY", "MEXICAN", "SPICY", "tar", "SANDWICH", "NO", "VOR", "and", "donald's". The words are written in different styles, including bold, outlined, and hand-drawn fonts. There are also small drawings of a burger and a chicken drumstick integrated into the word cloud. The entire graphic is set against a background of a spiral notebook page.

### Phase 3 visual artefacts

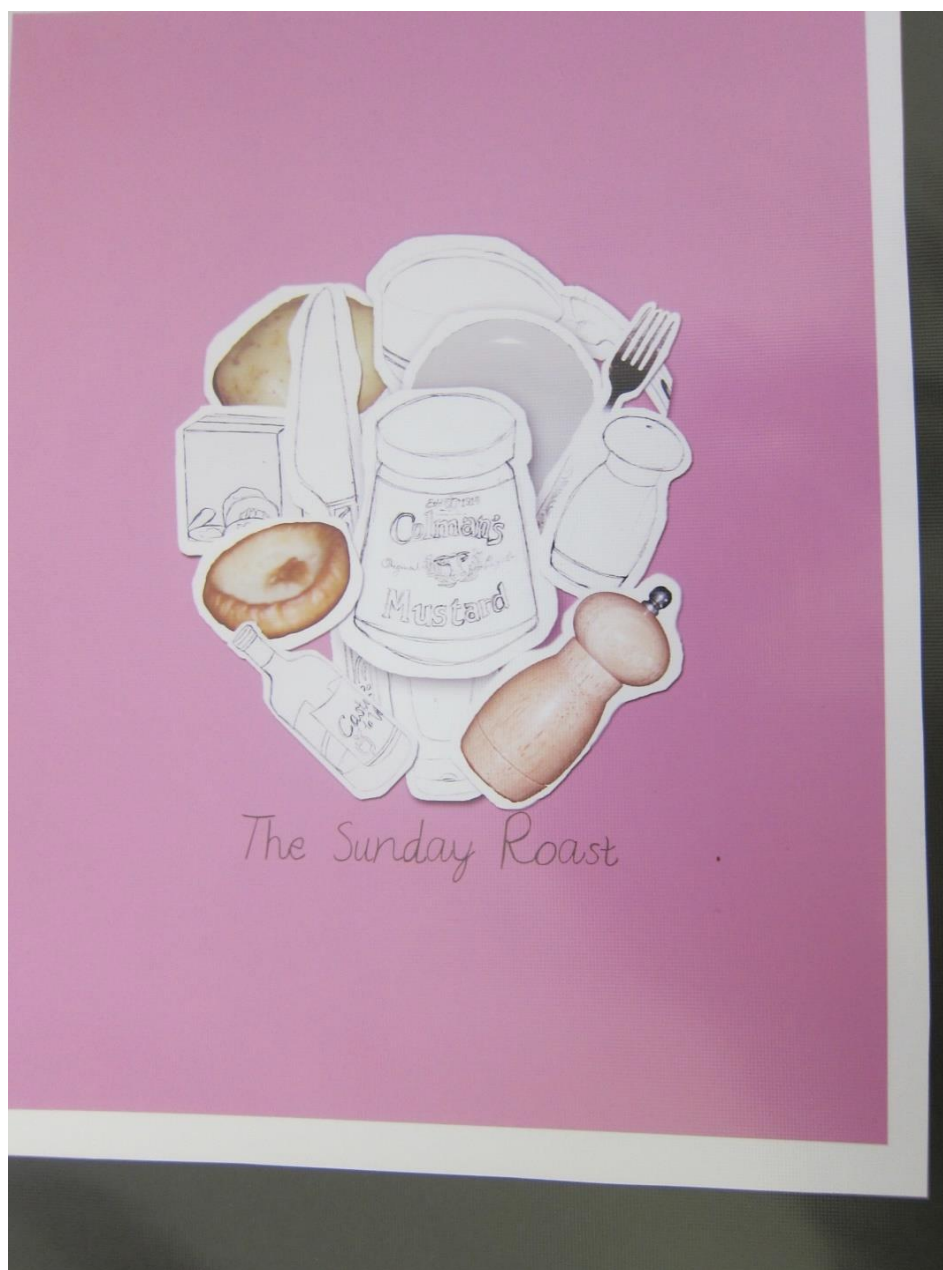


Jilpa: IMG\_0051



Hollie: IMG\_0054

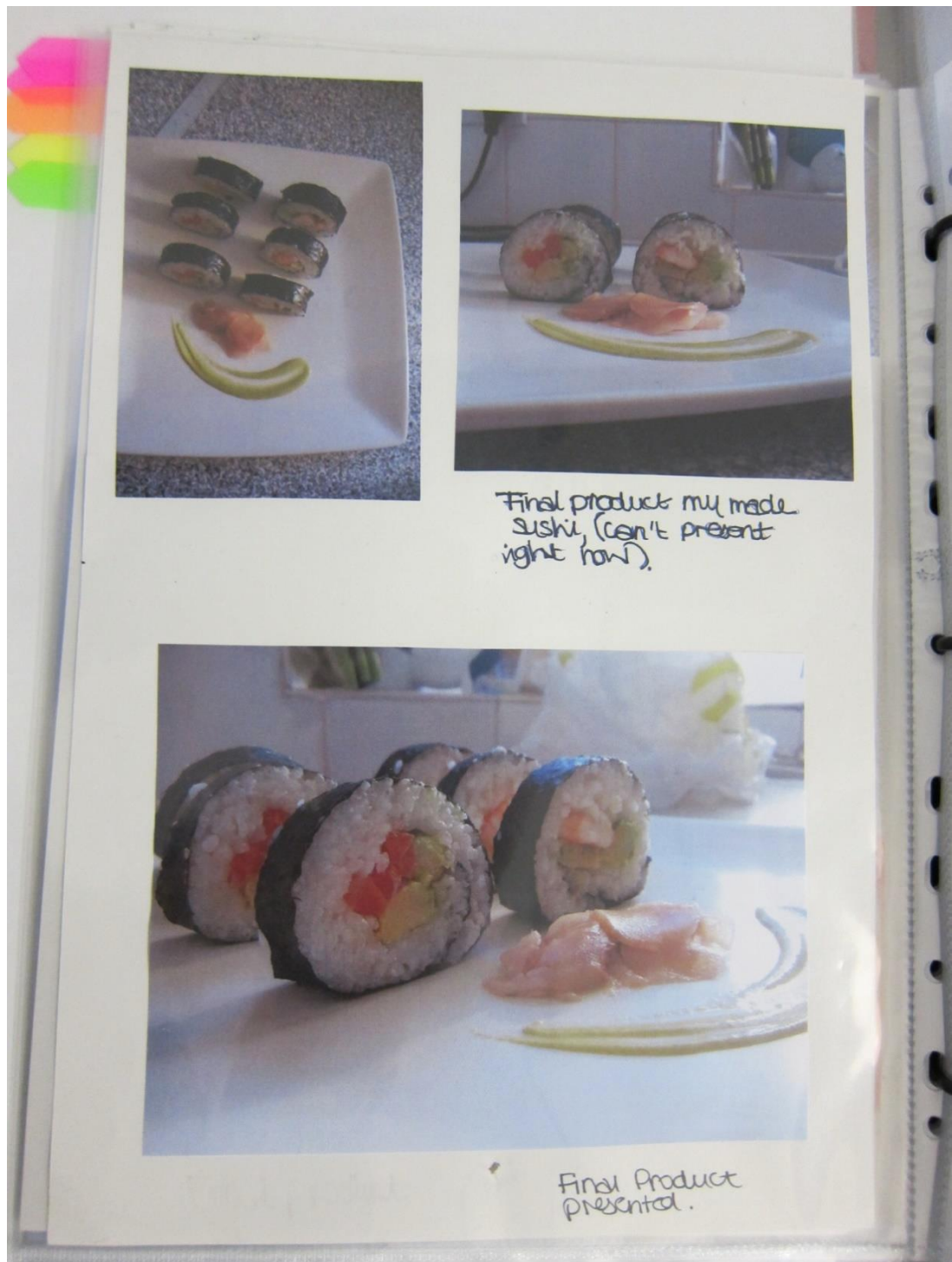
### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Hollie: IMG\_0053



Phase 3 visual artefacts



Stella: IMG\_0055

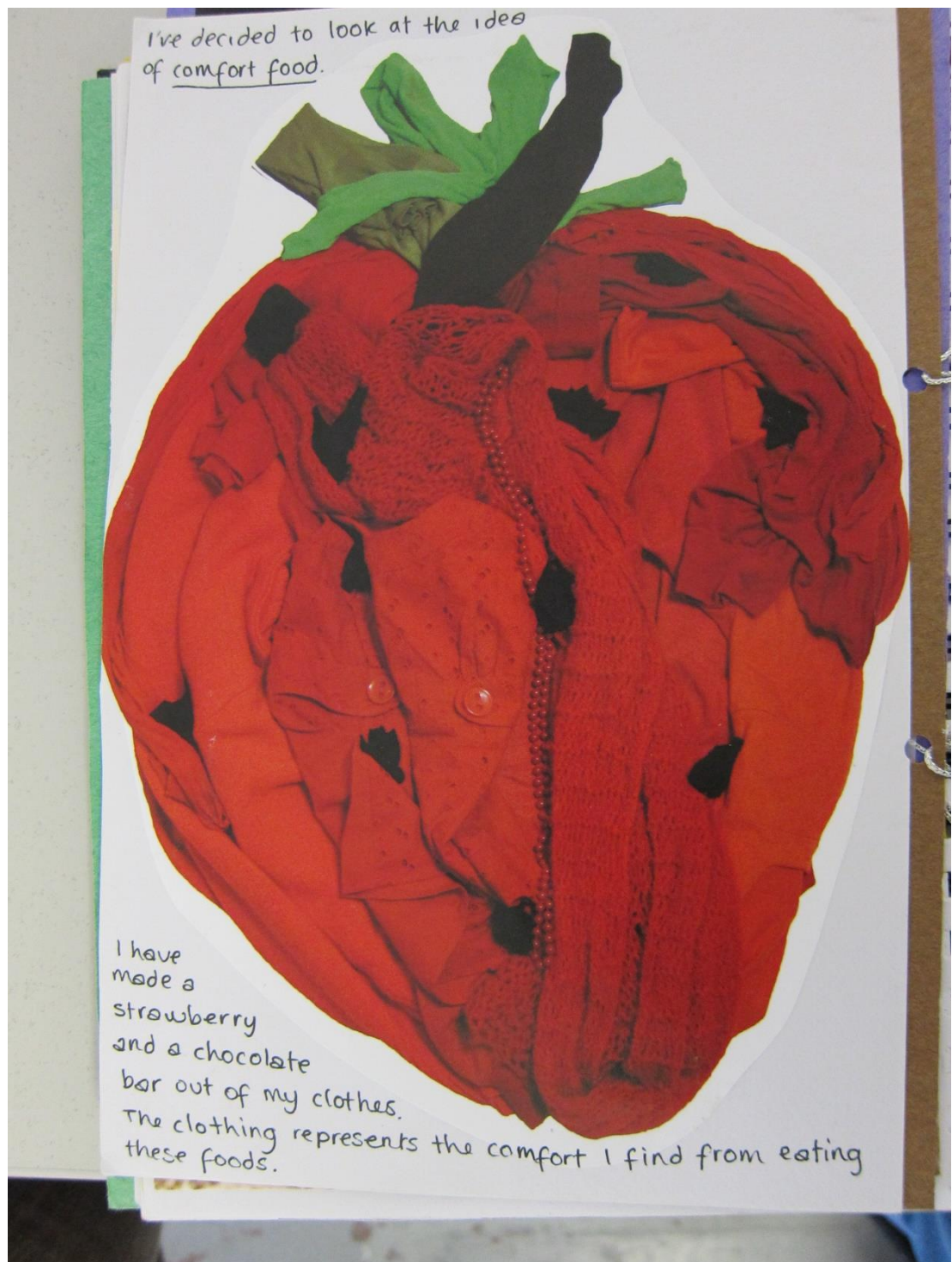
## Phase 3 visual artefacts



Stella: IMG\_0056



### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Bess: IMG\_0057

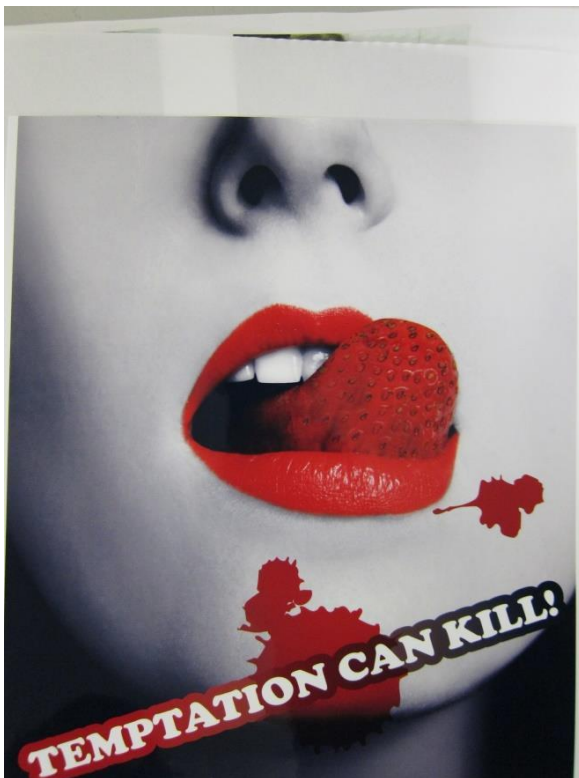
### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Bess: IMG\_0058

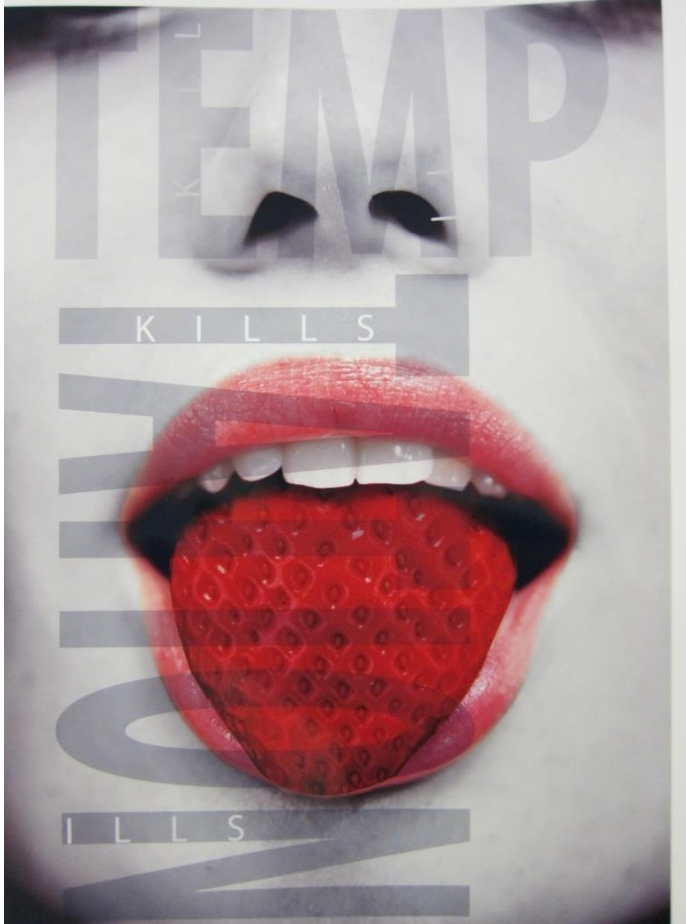
### Phase 3 visual artefacts

Sasha: IMG\_0059



Sasha: IMG\_0060

Phase3 visual artefacts



Sasha: IMG\_0061

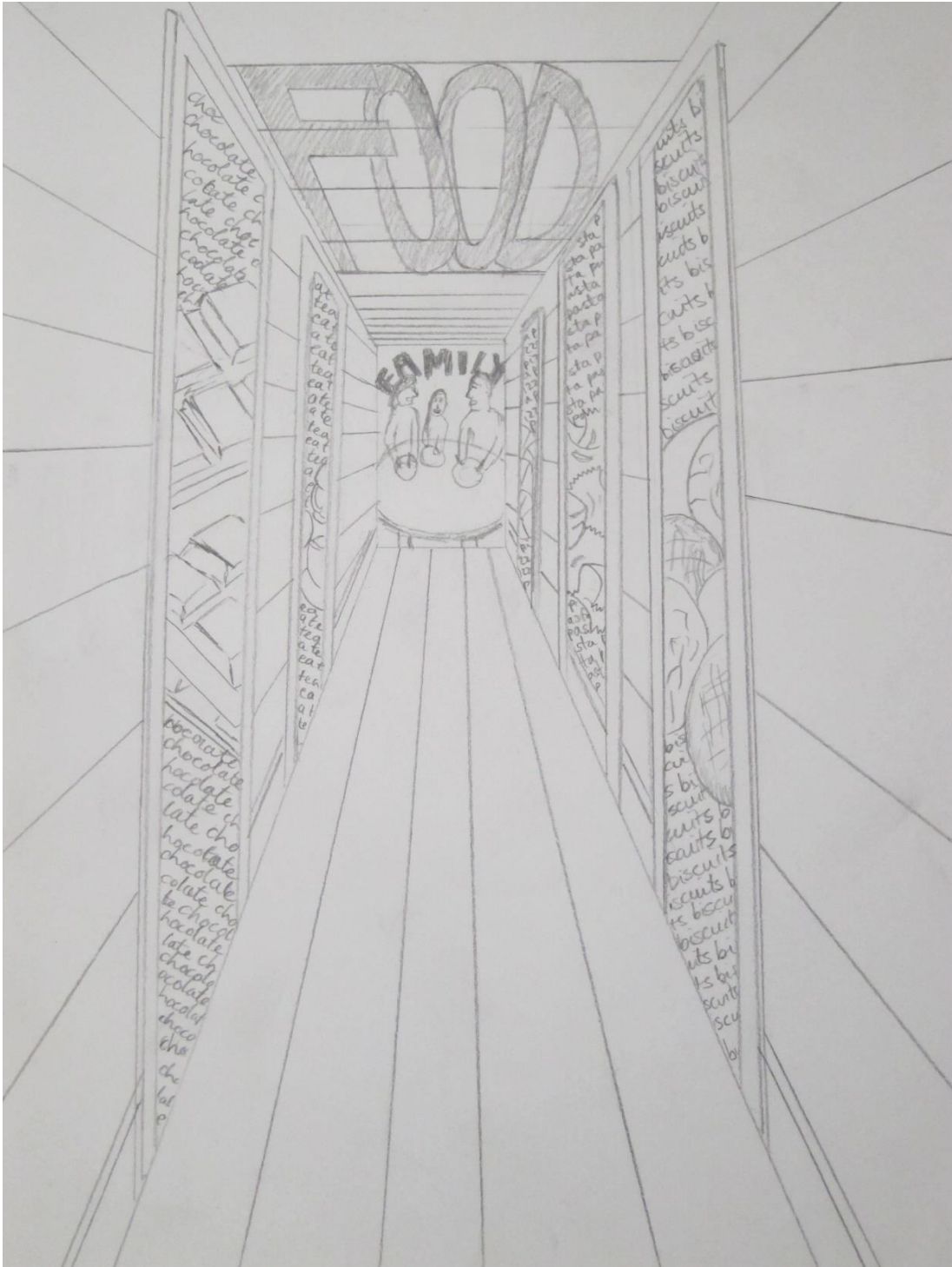


Phase 3 visual artefacts



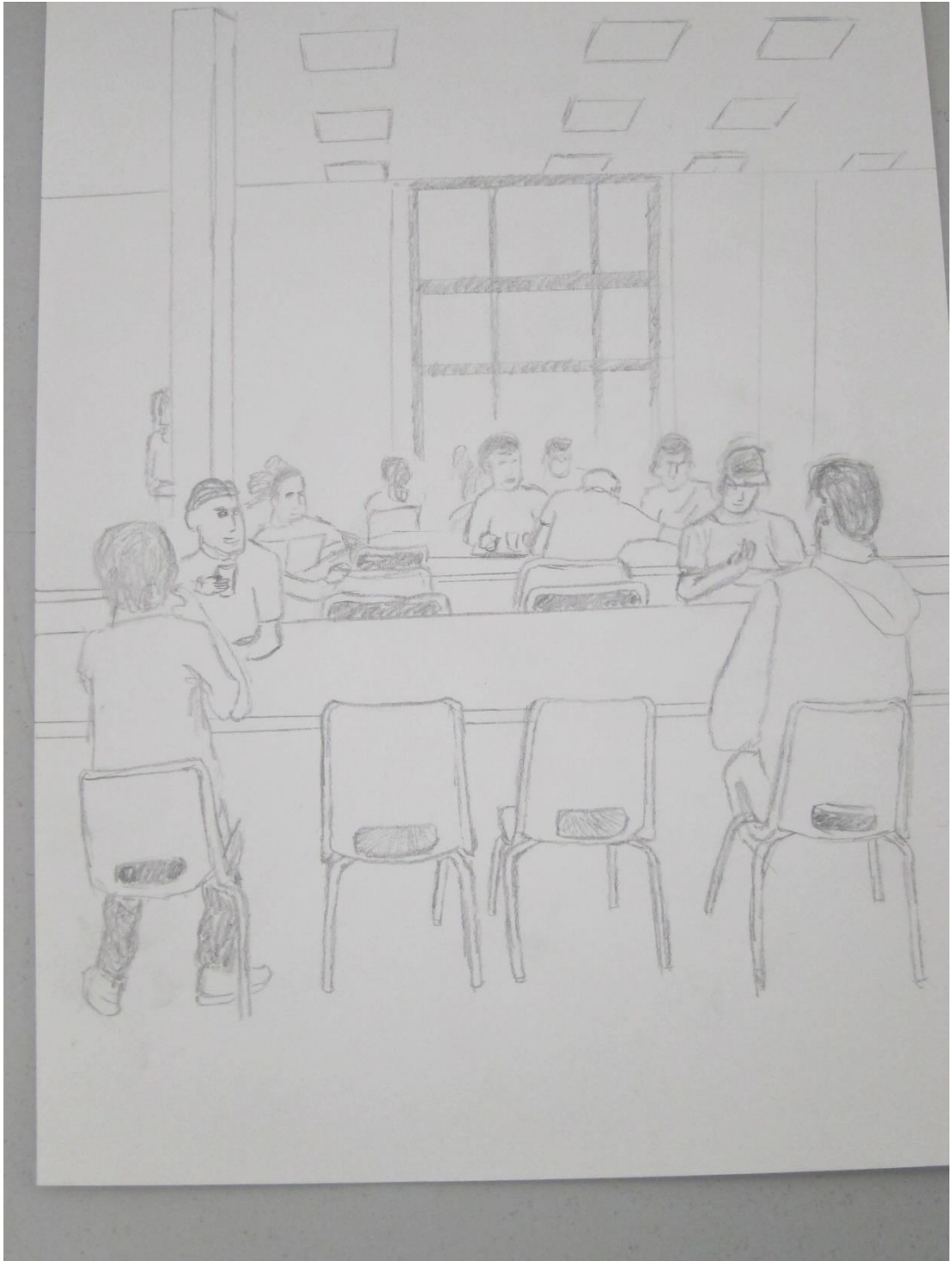
Firoze: IMG\_FZ1

Phase 3 visual artefacts



Maddie: IMG\_0029

### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Maddie: IMG\_0027

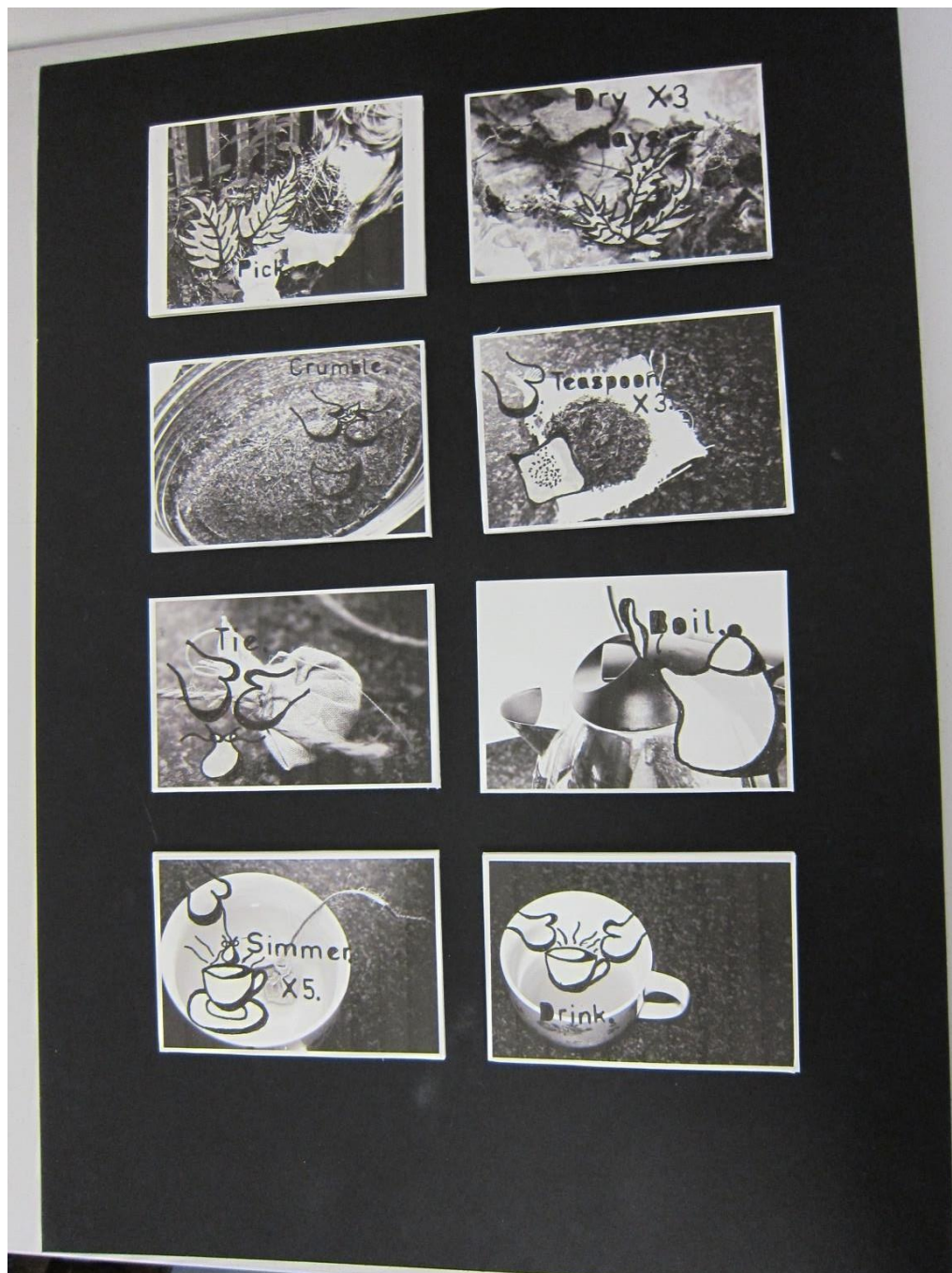
### Phase 3 visual artefacts



Maddie: IMG\_0028



Phase 3 visual artefacts



Honour: IMG\_00030

### **Summary of themes in the visual artifacts of participants in phase three of the fieldwork**

green **Theme 1:** Being a healthy eater, either in conformity to this social expectation, and dominant food discourse, or in resistance to it, is the most common theme across the visual artifacts. It is embraced by those who stage healthy eating campaigns (eg. Catherine, Leona, Noemi, Gabriela, Charissa). Being a healthy eater is associated with self-improvement, of leaving behind a social shame and in being aspirational. The female representation of this kind of progress means that yellow **theme 1** is also coded yellow.

For both male and female participants, being a healthy eater is also associated with being a savvy consumer in choosing healthy food to eat and avoidance of unhealthy food (eg. Leona, Erica, Charissa) and to make (eg. Steve, Juliana, Vanessa). Resisting the social expectation to be a healthy eater varies from campaigning against it (Jed) to representing an ambivalence to healthy eating eg. representing the pleasure of eating unhealthy foods (Erica, Bess) or representing different kinds of pleasure in food (eg hedonistic, eg. Connor, Michael, or sexual, eg. Sasha or childlike play/ sensory pleasure eg. Susie, Roli, Connor. Resistance involves a demonstration of personal progression in another way, in design acumen (eg. Jed, Erica, Bess). There are, then, gendered patterns of resistance. Female resistance emphasizes the pleasure of food as child-like or sexualized. Childlike play with food, for male participants, is more about resisting interpellation into discourses about food style or 'female food work' in the service of others: so a masculinization; childlike play for female participants may do a similar thing, but there is engagement with interpellation by commercial food discourses which sexualize the female eating of food.

purple **Theme 2:** Showing personal progression in being a maker of food. This is associated with being more independent, self-sufficient, more engaged with what adults do in dealing with the negotiations that adults have to think through. This includes thinking through ones' own and other's personal aversions to food types (eg. Lily) or pleasures in food types (eg. Susie)

which is also associated with being responsible for others, as a parent is. As this intersects with female identity, yellow **theme 2** is also coded yellow.

For both male and female participants, showing personal progression in being a maker of food is also associated with being more independent and more self-responsible and independent (eg. Steve). This theme is associated with a dominant social expectation - that one should be a healthy eater (1 above) (eg. Juliana, Vanessa) brings with it a correlation with no longer having a dysfunctional relationship to eating, or an unhappy relationship to eating (eg. Lily) that may provoke that social judgement. The correlation between being positively engaged with a wider food culture, and being savvy as a consumer (making intelligent choices), and not having a problem with food is seen in the contrasts of mind-map (retrospective) and later design (present/ future orientation) in female participants (eg. Catherine, Juliana, Charissa, Lily). As this intersects with female identity, yellow **theme 2** is coded yellow in addition. Only Honour shows personal progression in being a maker of food as working outside of the market - reconnecting the consumer with a natural world/ natural food.

purple **Theme 3: Being a savvy consumer**. This includes seeking healthy eating and being seen to be a healthy eater (so closely associated with 1 above, and 2 in the making of food). Where these associations are about women functioning in a socially and culturally valued way, a yellow code is given in addition for yellow **theme 3**. For both male and female participants, being savvy is also associated, for some, with demonstrating a knowledge that processed food is driven by interests of profit and not care of the consumer, and as such is antipathetic to home food, authenticity and tradition (eg. Juliana, Steve, Charissa. A resistance to the framing of an interest in food by advertisers or other mediators is also expressed by some male participants (eg. Jed, Connor). One of the challenges of being in a new space and time from home, for example at university, is to find ways of reconnecting with food quality that re-presences social belonging based on care (eg. Jane, Badriya, Steve, Firoze, Susie, Rashi, Hollie, Maddie).

blue **Theme 4**: Food as making sociality, pleasurable social interaction (Vernon, Catherine, Connor, There is an association with pride in showing others a personal, ethnic food culture (eg. Badriya, Firoze) – see below **(theme 5)**). It is also associated with the comforting, reassuring sociality of home (eg. Hollie, Susie, Maddie, Juliana); but in these cases, it is also associated with an interest in representing personal progress in capability, such as design acumen (eg. Hollie, Susie, Maddie, Juliana) in being independent and capable with food (eg. Juliana) and in the case of Maddie, in being independently capable of progressing to other kinds of sociality. There is a strong female interest in this theme, but not exclusively. Being independently capable of progressing to other kinds of sociality with food is an interest in most of these representations (eg Vernon, in music festivals, eg. Firoze, in house parties at university, eg. Maddie, in university hall refectory).

purple **Theme 5**: Curating personal food culture (eg. Badriya, Juliana, Jilpa, Firoze).

In the second example, in particular, this is associated with its use in negotiating with the deficiencies in the wider, mainstream food culture (primarily its unhealthiness). All are examples of different, negotiations with mainstream food culture/ multicultural diversity of student life, and the construction of a personal identity in that complex social context. As such, this theme is closely associated with **theme 3**.

### **summary of most robust themes in the interviews and the visual artifacts in phase three of the fieldwork**

1. making personal progress by being a healthy eater (themes 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the interviews, themes 1, 2 and 3 of the visual artifacts) - showing that one accepts personal responsibility for one's health and associated well-being. This includes the social judgments of oneself as a social type, producing a positive or negative affect in relationship to being a social self of a particular category: enjoying social well-being or feeling shame. Personal responsibility for being healthy may be shown in: the kind of food that one sources and cooks (theme 5 of the interviews, themes 2 and 3 of the visual artifacts); the negotiation that one makes with food that is on offer (in halls, restaurants and

food outlets and shops) independently (themes 1, 3 and 4 of the interviews, theme 3 of the visual artifacts). This includes negotiating with the rhetoric of advertising (theme 4 of the interviews, theme 3 of the visual artifacts). It also means negotiating with oneself as an embodied and social being, for example enjoying the pleasure of food consumption, and participating in social life, but balancing that with the personal and social obligation to be healthy (themes 1 and 3 of the interviews, themes 1, 2 and 3 of the visual artifacts) and the social obligation to appear socially aspirational (see 2 below). It is also associated with asserting alternative frames of social judgment about one's progress as a young adult, when one resists being a healthy eater, and accepting personal responsibility for imposing those controls upon the self. The assertion of alternative frames of social judgment include being a person of merit through demonstrating personal qualities of being resourceful, inventive, capable and independent (theme 8 of the interviews, themes 1 and 4 of the visual artifacts).

2. making personal progress by being consumer savvy. Demonstrating that one can carry out the social obligation to be a healthy eater, by successfully negotiating food sourcing and consumption in new places and in new socialities, is a means of constructing an identity of social merit: resourceful, independent and capable (themes 3, 4, 5 and 7 of the interviews, themes 1, 2 and 3 of the visual artifacts). This is closely associated with 1 above. Being consumer savvy is also associated, for some, with demonstrating a knowledge that processed food is driven by interests of profit and not care of the consumer, and as such is antipathetic to home food, authenticity and tradition (theme 4 of the interviews, theme 3 of the visual artifacts). One of the challenges of being in a new space and time from home, for example at university, and demonstrating to yourself and others that you are resourceful, independent and capable, is to find ways of reconnecting symbolically with a sense of social belonging, sometimes experienced at home, through the qualities of food products (theme 7 of the interviews, theme 3 of the visual artifacts). This latter point is closely related to 4 below.

3. making personal progress by being 'consumer savvy' in showing knowledge of the codes of social aspiration. This is associated with use of food to make

sociality (4 below) in the new settings of university, in terms of using food as a social code for self-identification as a socially approved type. This is about identifying disposition rather than pre-existing class 'taste'; but it is also about participating in adult discourses about 'food style' and their mediation of food practices (theme 7 of the interviews, themes 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the visual artifacts). This identity work intersects with social identities of gender, class and ethnicity (the cultural 'capital' (Bourdieu) of family and food cultural heritage (theme 10 of the interviews, theme 5 of the visual artifacts)).

4. making personal progress by understanding how food can be used to make sociality and showing that one is engaged with the practices independently, in new settings, including university life, (theme 6 of the interviews, theme 3 of the visual artifacts) is a further means of demonstrating personal progress (from childlike dependency at home). It is also (see 3 above) a means of finding continuity in the experience of social belonging, a bridging from home (for some) to other settings. This theme is, for some, also associated with reproducing female, food gender roles (themes 5, 9 and 10 of the interviews, themes 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the visual artifacts). Using food to make sociality intersects with class differentiation more in the demonstration of socially aspirant, personal qualities than in the aspiration for kinds of foods and kinds of social occasions (themes 5, 7, 9 and 10 of the interviews, themes 2, 3 and 4 of the visual artifacts). Making sociality brings with it positive affect of being a socially approved and aspirant self. It is, for some females, the antithesis of the suffering and isolation of females with 'dysfunctional relationships to eating' (themes 1, 3 and 9 of the interviews and themes 1 and 2 of the visual artifacts).

Note. There is a particular, and powerful negotiation of a female social self that intersects with all of these ways of demonstrating to others that personal progress: in terms of age - being more adult; and in terms of having a socially approved, self-entrepreneurial disposition. Learning how to produce a socially approved female self by self-regulation in the new social settings of university - by showing a personal commitment to produce a thin body (distinguished from being bullied to do it) by showing the work of policing intake of food, and the use of cultural resources of 'expert knowledge' of healthy eating

discourses; and by 'balancing' pleasure in eating with that self-policing. Similarly, demonstrating that one was capable of food preparation, that one was resourceful in identifying foods that socially differentiated you (and your family) as aspirational/ approved of (eg. 'proper meals' and engaged with a knowledge of changing ('legitimate') food styles, was particularly important for female students, in becoming adult female selves.

## CONCLUSION

### Summary of the most robust themes across all material from all phases of the fieldwork

green **Theme 1:** An interest to show personal progress (in being more adult) by being a 'healthy eater': to show a personal disposition to be responsible for physical health and emotional well-being; to show that one is in control of your own consumption of food, that you have a 'balance' between pleasure in eating and rational, self-regulation, according to cultural norms. By so doing, to avoid the shamefulness of unhealthy eating and unhealthy (obese) bodies, and the social stigma of dependence, lack of resourcefulness, and lack of capability signified by it. (phase 1 summary - theme 1 (and is associated with 2,3,4, 5); phase 2 summary - theme 7 and 3; phase 3 summary - themes 1 and 2). This interest is coded green in the preceding document.

yellow **Theme 2:** An interest among young women to show that they have a, present, functional relationship to food. This interest is about the specific negotiations that women have to make, through food practices, with contradictory social expectations. In particular, food is both the focus of self-maintenance, to maximize personal choice and life-chances (being healthy, 'looking good' and showing the work of someone who is capable, resourceful and determined), and the focus of being socially integrated, and invested in serving the needs of others. The opposite is having a dysfunctional, or pathological relationship to food, symbolized by 'eating disorders'. Then it as though her personal and social development is arrested, unable to make rational choices, be agentive and useful to others. (phase 1 summary - themes 1 and 2; phase 2 summary - themes 7 and 3, and the additional 'Further reflection on re-punctuation of themes from earlier stages of phase 2'



section (and note all themes in the 'robust themes in the focus group and creative work of the documentary' section, all themes of female participants); phase 3 - themes 1 and 2, and the additional note afterwards). This interest is coded yellow in the preceding document.

purple **Theme 3:** An interest to show that you are becoming consumer savvy. This is the demonstration of resourcefulness, capability and independence in sourcing, making, and allocating value to food and food work. Relocation to new places and new socialities (for example, from home to university) focuses the demonstration of personal knowledge of cultural codes of social aspiration. This is more about identifying an aspirational disposition, of self-improvement, rather than pre-existing class 'taste'; but it is also about participating in adult discourses about 'food style' and their mediation of food practices. Disposition, as a reconfiguration of the rhetoric of class, the personal potential to acquire forms of capital, intersects with the social differentiation of ethnicity and gender. (phase 1 summary – themes 2 and 5; phase two summary - themes 5 and 3; phase 3 summary - themes 2 and 3). This interest is coded purple in the preceding document.

blue **Theme 4:** An interest to show that you are making personal progress in being able to use food as a means of bringing people together, and deepening bonds between them. It is a sign of personal progress when you are able to do it in new settings and new socialities. The movements from home to university, or from university to home, are examples of this relocation. It is also a means of pleasure, individual well-being and security. Using food in this way also shows that you are capable, resourceful and independent. These are qualities associated with personal, social aspiration, and avoidance of dependency upon others. In reference to 2 above, there is gender specific interest in female identity work, in demonstrating the capability, resourcefulness and independence to make sociality, the family being one important, and obvious form. (phase 1 - theme 3; phase 2 - theme 1; phase 3 - theme 3). Using food to make sociality intersects with class differentiation, in consumer savviness (see 3 above).



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## Appendix 2

### Illustration of association of meanings in wider social discourses: representation in popular media

This document makes this illustration by referring to journalism, blogs, and some television.

#### **1. HARMFUL EFFECTS OF MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF IDEAL BODIES ON GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN AND ASSOCIATION WITH FEMALE EATING DISORDERS.**

- The Observer, 27.2.11, author, 'The great debate: how the fashion industry's idea of beauty affects young women's lives'
- BBC News Online, 22.2.2010, 'Media is fueling eating disorders, say psychiatrists' <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/health/8528443.stm>
- The Guardian Online, 2.8.2011, Hadley Freeman, 'What is the link between the media and eating disorders?' \_  
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/aug/02/link-media-and-eating-disorders>
- Huffington Post, 13.10.2012, Christopher York, 'How Social Media Helps Spread Anorexia and Bulimia In Young People' \_  
[http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/10/12/social-media-anorexia-bulimia-young-people\\_n\\_1962730.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/10/12/social-media-anorexia-bulimia-young-people_n_1962730.html)
- Youtube, 9.11.2012, Howcast.com., Allegra Broft, 'Does the Media Cause Eating Disorders?' \_  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fpvrymIVaY0>

- The Telegraph, 15.10.2012, Emma Barnet, 'Does the internet encourage eating disorders?'  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/9609534/Does-the-internet-encourage-eating-disorders.html>
- Wales Online, 19.6.2010, 'Magazine images linked to teenage eating disorders' <http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/magazine-images-linked-teenage-eating-1914020>
- Daily Mail, 29.4.2012, 'My anorexia was fueled by celebrity magazines. Victims demand ban on airbrushed photographs'  
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/health/article-2136948/My-anorexia-fuelled-celebrity-magazines-Victim-demands-ban-airbrushed-photographs.html>

## **2) ASSOCIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN AND A CRISIS OF EATING DISORDERS.**

- Marie Claire, 30.1.2009, Suzannah Ramsdale, 'One in five young women 'has eating disorder': the 'snapshot' of the nation's mental health found a fifth of British females showed signs of a problem with food' <http://www.marieclaire.co.uk/uncategorised/one-in-five-young-women-has-eating-disorder-200158>
- The Guardian, 13.8.2009, Taylor Hackett, 'I have diabetes and an eating disorder: a teenager on how she is determined not to be beaten by her twin illnesses, described by a doctor as one of the deadliest combinations he had ever seen'  
<https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2009/aug/13/first-person-diabetes-bulimia>
- SANE support forum, 21.2.2011, 'Anorexia is a daily battle: Kerry O'Brien, young ambassador of Beat charity on living with anorexia.  
[http://sane.org.uk/support\\_forum/viewtopic.php?t=14540](http://sane.org.uk/support_forum/viewtopic.php?t=14540)

- Daily Mail, 31.8.2009, Bony Estridge, 'The Cheeky Girls: 500 calories a day was all we ate' <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/health/article-1209894/The-Cheeky-Girls-500-calories-day-ate.html>

### **3) THE ASSOCIATION OF EATING DISORDER AND SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ISOLATION.**

- The Observer, 30.1.11, Melvin Burgess 'Inside the mind of an anorexic'
- The Observer, 27.3.11. 'In the real world I was lost to anorexia ...', Jemima Owen
- Daily Mail, 8.6.2009, Liz Jones, 'For 40 years I have battled anorexia – so what happened when I had to eat normally for three weeks?' <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1191429/Fatten-What-happened-anorexic-Liz-Jones-eat-normally-weeks.html>

### **4) ASSOCIATION OF UNHEALTHY EATING WITH A 'CHAV' LIFESTYLE AND SOCIAL DEPENDENCY.**

Major reference is made to Jones, O.(2012), *Chavs: The Demonisation of the Working Class*, London, Brooklyn: Verso.

Jones draws attention to the popular othering of working class values, institutions, forms of work and communities. Jones is focused upon the transformation of the description of working class people into 'chavs', which became prevalent in the 2000s. Included in this is the popular association of 'chavs' and geographical areas of economic depression and kind of working class occupation, including work in low-cost supermarkets and fast-food restaurants (p.112). Jones cites the website 'chavscum' with the tagline 'Britain's peasant underclass is taking over our towns and cities'. This othering of working class people includes associating them with promiscuity, one-parent families, and economic dependency upon welfare. Even children's free school meals is depicted as arrogant, social dependency. Amongst Jones'

examples is Wallace and Spanner's (2004) 'Chav!: A User's Guide to Britain's New Ruling Class'. This kind of social dependency is characterized by right-wing, middle-class journalists as an antipathy to 'worthy goals; education, ambition, courtesy' (Lewis (2004) '*In defence of snobbery*', Daily Telegraph, 1 February). Being economically unproductive and a drag on those who work and pay their taxes is key to their depiction. Jones cites Nick Britten's Daily Telegraph article: 'Britain has produced unteachable 'uber-chavs' (Britten, 2009): 'the offspring of the first big generation of single mothers ... Now they are adults with their own children and the problems are leading to higher crime rates and low participation in the labour force.'

Entrepreneurialism and being civilized is identified as the antipathy of being working class; Jones quotes John Bird, founder of The Big Issue', from Michael Odell's article in The Observer, "This Much I Know: John Bird" (Odell, 2006): "I'm middle class. I got out of the working class as quickly as I could ... The working class is violent and abusive, they beat their wives and I hate their culture."

Jones cites the prevalence of the 'chav' as a character to be mocked in reality tv and comedy, for example Jane Goody in Big Brother (Goody, J. (2006). *Jade my autobiography*, London: Harper Collins), comedian Catherine Tate's character of Lauren (The Catherine Tate Show, 2007), Matt Lucas' character of Vicky Pollard (Little Britain, 2008) and so on. We may add the tv reality programmes of Shameless (Channel 4, Jan. 2004- 2013) and Channel 4's Benefits Street (Jan 2014, 1<sup>st</sup> series) purporting to show the reality of life on one of the most benefit-dependent streets in Britain.

The association of the 'chav' disposition and 'unhealthy eating' is best illustrated by Jamie Oliver's Channel 4 campaigning programmes: 'School Dinners' (Channel 4, Feb-March 2005), focused upon not only improving school meal provision, but the attitudes of British working class school cooks, children and parents, and, in 'Ministry of Food' (Channel 4 Sept-Oct 2008), focused upon getting working class mothers to cook and provide for their children. Jo Hollows' (2010) critique describes the othering of working class mothers, the area of Rotherham and their food practices in this television

programme. Jones refers to Oliver's categorization of parents who do not sit around a table for dinner with their family as 'what we have learned to call white trash', in Brendan O'Neill's article for The Guardian(O'Neill, 2008).

Fatness, in its association with obesity, is associated with physical unhealthiness, fecklessness and social irresponsibility. It is also associated with promiscuity, as referenced in the characterization of the character of Vicky Pollard (Little Britain, 2008) by Times journalist James Delingpole, as the "pasty-faced, lard-gutted slapper" (Delingpole, 2006 'A conspiracy against chavs? Count me in'). We may add that the association of obesity and dependency culture is made in government discourse, as illustrated in Conservative government's proposal to target obese people receiving incapacity benefit/ severe disablement allowance or employment and support allowance: The Guardian, 11.3.2015, Clare Allan, 'Cutting obese people's benefits is bullying'.

Fatness is associated with individuals wasting national resources TaxPayers' Alliance call for obese people to 'take some responsibility' and be targeted for reduction or ending of disability benefits, and reference to Katie Hopkins' participation in documentary in which she will put on three stone in weight only to lose it again, to show lazy 'chubsters' how easy it is to do (Hinscliff, G. (2014) 'The slim and sanctimonious are behind our obesity crisis', *The Guardian*, 12 September).

Overweight people's access to NHS services will be constrained:

<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2012/apr/28/doctors-treatment-denial-smokers-obese>

Fatness is associated with low social aspiration and a lack of get up and go attitude.<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1087632/ANNE-DIAMOND-Yes-fat-woman-DOES-make-loser-life.html>

Fatness is associated with being an object of embarrassment.

<http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/266028/Too-fat-for-the-funfair-ride-so-I-shed-7-stone>

Fatness is associated with being an object of derision: 'fat-shaming' eg The Guardian, 2.12.2015, Jessica Elgot, 'Police urge commuters to report 'fat-shaming' cards given out on tube' <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1087632/ANNE-DIAMOND-Yes-fat-woman-DOES-make-loser-life.html>

The association of chav/ unhealthy eating/ obesity is the opposite of high status responsibility. Reporting of George Osbourne's 'pasty tax' illustrates this opposition. Osbourne's slimmed down physical figure as public relations strategy of embodying self-improvement, and authority, prompts the comedy of imagining Osbourne eating a pasty: In front of treasury Select Committee, John Mann's question, "When was the last time you ever bought a pasty from Greggs?" prompted lampooning of Osbourne as he declared that he had never eaten one [www.theguardian.com/global/2012/mar/27/george-osbourne-chokes-past-question](http://www.theguardian.com/global/2012/mar/27/george-osbourne-chokes-past-question)

##### **5) ASSOCIATION OF BAD FAMILY FOOD CULTURE AND DAMAGE TO CHILDREN (INCLUDING CHILDHOOD OBESITY, CHILDREN'S UNHEALTHY EATING AND POOR SOCIAL SKILLS).**

The binary opposite is the association of good parenting, family food and children's healthy eating

- Ministry of Food, 2008, Jamie Oliver, Penguin: London, New York, Toronto, Dublin, Victoria, New Delhi, Auckland, Johannesburg; Ministry of Food, Fresh One Productions (Channel 4 Sept-Oct 2008)
- Jamie's School Dinners, Fresh One Productions (Channel 4, Feb-March 2005)
- The Telegraph, 20.12.2012, Rebecca Smith, 'Sunday lunch with family boosts children's fruit and veg consumption: study' <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/health/news/9754900/Sunday-lunch-with-family-boosts-childrens-fruit-and-vegetable-consumption-study.html>

- The Telegraph, 23.4.2012, Stephen Adams, 'Family dinners 'make for healthier kids': Eating together as a family leads to healthier children who are less likely to be overweight, according to major review.\_  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/health/news/9221261/Family-dinners-make-for-healthier-kids.html>
- The Telegraph, Nick Collins, 5.9.2011, 'Obese children to be put up for adoption: a couple may have their obese children removed after social services ruled that they had not lost enough weight'\_  
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/8740200/Obese-children-to-be-put-up-for-adoption.html>
- The Telegraph, Christopher Hope, 31.1.2010, 'Fat parents to blame for childhood obesity epidemic by overfeeding under fives, study finds: Overweight parents who simply feed their children too much at a young age are to blame for British childhood obesity crisis, a report will warn this week' <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/7103587/Fat-parents-to-blame-for-childhood-obesity-epidemic-by-over-feeding-under-fives-study-finds.html>
- Daily Mail, Luke Salkeld, 'Mothers who diet are 'twice as likely' to have daughters with eating disorders'\_  
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1223641/Mothers-diet-twice-likely-daughters-eating-disorders.html>
- Daily Mail, Oliver Lichtenstein, 30.10. 2011, 'I've made my daughter hate her body: they call it 'thin heritage' – how mothers pass on their dieting obsessions <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1223967/Ive-daughter-hate-body-They-thinheritage--mothers-pass-dieting-obsessions.html>
- Daily Mail, 14.4.2011, 'Family of four lose 44 stone after taxpayers pay for ALL of them to have gastric by-pass surgery\_  
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1376611/Family-lose-44st-taxpayers-pay-gastric-bypass-surgery.html>



- The Telegraph, 30.4.2012, Graeme Paton, Children's social skills 'eroded by decline of family meals': the decline of traditional family meals is robbing children of vital social skills, according to a leading headmaster\_  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/9234631/Children-s-social-skills-eroded-by-decline-of-family-meals.html>
- Daily Mail, 16.1.2009, Dianne Appleyard, 'My father's obesity made me anorexic: how a daughter's worry turned into an eating disorder'\_  
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1117722/My-fathers-obesity-anorexic-How-daughters-worry-turned-eating-disorder.html>
- Daily Mail, 30.9.2009, So are children of working women REALLY less healthy? Two mothers fight their corners\_  
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1217032/A-study-says-children-working-women-healthy-Let-fireworks-begin.html>

## **6) THE ASSOCIATION OF SELF-RESPONSIBILITY, HEALTHINESS AND AVOIDANCE OF OBESITY**

- The Observer, 11.7.10, 'Top doctors call for 'fat tax' and warnings on junk food'
- The Observer 5.12.10, Catherine Bennet, 'Oh, Mr. Cameron, do stop all that annoying nudging'
- BBC News forum: have your say, 15.3.2011, 'Who should be responsible for keeping us healthy?\_  
[http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/haveyoursay/2011/03/who\\_should\\_be\\_responsible\\_for\\_1.html](http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/haveyoursay/2011/03/who_should_be_responsible_for_1.html)
- Daily Mail, 27.8.2006, Ian Drury, 'Overweight? It's all your fault, insist the Tories'  
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1049531/Overweight-Its-fault-insist-Tories.html>

- Daily Mail, 9.2.2011, 'Does junk food really make you child stupid?'\_ <http://hanlonblog.dailymail.co.uk/2011/02/does-junk-food-really-make-your-child-stupid.html>
- Bea magazine, 7.10.2012, 'positive Sarah', 'Is it the Daily Mail ... or is it us?' <https://beamagazine.wordpress.com/2012/10/07/is-it-the-daily-mail-or-is-it-us/>
- Daily Mail, 23.1.2013, Theodore Dalrymple, 'It's not poverty that's fattening – it's the bad eating habits – too many take-aways, too little proper food, too much grazing and too few family meals are to blame for obesity among poor' <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/health/article-1218112/Leading-food-brands-loaded-salt-supermarkets-labels.html>
- Daily Mail, 18.11.2009, Jenny Hope, 'Salt warning to the take-away generation: teens risk health by eating one ready-meal a day'\_ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1228709/Salt-warning-takeaway-generation-Teens-risk-health-eating-day.html>

**7) ASSOCIATION OF HEALTHY EATING AND PHYSICAL EXERCISE WITH a POSITIVE STATE OF MIND, SELF-AUTONOMY AND A PERSONAL DISPOSITION TO SELF-IMPROVEMENT.**

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/health/article-1368565/Overweight-Blame-cheery-personality-How-character-affect-health.html>

<https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2012/feb/07/why-willpower-matters>

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/health/article-1232188/How-I-cured-diabetes.html>

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/you/article-1237796/Health-special-Your-2010-commandments.html>

## 8) THE ASSOCIATION OF A MEDITERRANEAN DIET WITH HEALTHY EATING AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING.

- 'Jamie's Italy', 2005, Jamie Oliver, Penguin: London, New York, Toronto, Dublin, Victoria, New Delhi, Auckland, Johannesburg
- Bertoli Olive Spread and Oil <http://www.inspirationspam.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/04bertolli.jpg>
- The independent, 21.1.2010, Rob Sharp, 'Gino D'Acampo: 'This is why Italians don't get fat'' <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/features/gino-dacampo-this-is-why-italians-dont-get-fat-1874048.html>
- The Guardian, 23.8.2016, Tim Kington, 'Mediterranean diet set for place on world heritage list' <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/aug/23/mediterranean-diet-world-heritage-list>

## Appendix 3

### Key for the transcription of speech and the visual information in the shot-logs

#### **VISUAL INFORMATION**

##### **Cinematography: shot selection**

l/s	long shot
m/s	mid-shot
c/u	close-up

##### **cinematography: camera movement**

pan a shot made usually by a left to right movement (or vice-versa) of the camera on a horizontal plane, usually involving, in these uses of a hand-held video camera, the upper body of the participant rotating from left to right or vice-versa.

Zoom a shot made by using the zoom lens on the camera, which makes the object larger, giving the impression of closing in on it (zoom-in) or, in zooming-out, makes the object smaller: it recedes into its visual context.

canted shot a shot made by tilting the camera so that vertical and horizontal lines within the image are at a tilted angle in relation to the film/video frame

Note: pdvd+ number                      illustrative image with research reference number

Note: additional information about people's movements and expressions are given (note, sometimes this is inevitably interpretative eg. 'pensive with hand on chin').

## SPOKEN INFORMATION

Note: speaker's name given to inform analysis of interaction; 'narrator' used to indicate voice-over as participant operates camera.

Note: certain transcription codes for spoken language are adopted from McDonald (1992):

(.) micro-pause, less than a second

(1) pause of one second (similarly (2) pause of two seconds)

/ rising tone, most often used in asking questions

Note: the rising through a sequence of words, to make a question, is shown, by an initial rise/ and a conclusion of the rise/ as best I can when listening to the recorded speech.

\ falling tone

— level tone

` stressed word (distinction of stressed syllables is not done here).

Note, subsequently, in the main body of the study, in the chapters of analysis, italics are used instead, for ease of reading)

(cresc) increasing volume

(dim) diminuendo, decreasing volume

Other sounds made by participants are described. Overlap is described rather than notated eg. 'Alan (simultaneously): ...'

*Italics* are used for brands, company names eg *Pizza Hut*

"..." quotation marks are used when a participant is quoting someone else, impersonating someone or depicting the attitudinal stance of someone else; it is accompanied by an appropriate tonal change.

(words obscured) is used when it has not been possible to discern the word/s used from the recording.

(an action, gesture or expression described is bracketed off.)

Notes are used for various purposes: to contextualise an extract of speech; to paraphrase a stretch of speech if that is not shown; to record a note of reflection as the transcription is being done.)

# Appendix 4

## Food Television

### CONTENTS

- Overview of food television
- Typology of food television

### **OVERVIEW OF FOOD TELEVISION FROM WEEK BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 18, 2009, TO WEEK BEGINNING DECEMBER 2010, INCLUDING RATINGS INFORMATION.**

The purpose of this section is to illustrate the food television formats across the channels. It indicates the range of ratings that different ‘formats’, or genres of ‘food television’ achieve. It is followed by a summary of genres of food television with an analysis of the functions of each genre.

Note:

- the ratings are as calculated by the BAAB system, as printed in ‘Broadcast’ magazine.
- the ratings listed are for the week prior to the date given, the date being the date of the published magazine.
- the ratings that are used are number of viewers (in millions) followed by the percentage which that represents of the total number of viewers at that time, across all channels.
- the programmes listed are those appearing in the lists of ‘top 100 network’ (that is programmes with the highest ratings across all of the programmes broadcast, across all channels, including digital channels); ‘top 30 BBC2, Channel 4 and 5’ (referred to as ‘top BBC2 etc’ for brevity); and ‘top 30 multichannel’ (those channels available to viewers with a digital top-box). A programme’s appearance on a list is indicated in brackets. Where subsequent programmes that week are also found

on the same list, then only the place on that list is shown eg (5) for the programme following.

- where these programmes also appear in 'top 10 Factual' or 'top 10 entertainment', or, in one case, 'top 10 comedy', these are mentioned.
- Three samples are taken from across the period of the fieldwork with young people

### **1<sup>st</sup> sample 18 September - 4 December 2009 (12 weeks)**

#### 18 September 2009

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 3.81M/ 19.85% (45 in top 100 network; 8 top Factual)

C4/Fresh One Jamie's American Road Trip 2.79M/ 12.31% (5 in top BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Caribbean Food Made Easy 1.89M/ 8.17% (20 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me 1.81M/ 11.02% (25 in top BBC2 etc); 1.80M/ 13.46% (26); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.99M/ 4.96% (4 in top multichannel); 0.98M/ 5.41% (5); 0.88M/ 5.48% (7); 0.72M/ 4.82% (22); 0.56M/ 4.22% (22)

More 4 River Cottage Treatment 0.52M/ 2.38% (26 in top multichannel)

#### 25 September 2009

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 4.20M/ 21.69% (43 in top 100 network; 5 in top Factual)

C4/ Fresh One Jamie's American Road Trip 2.93M/ 12.62% (79 in top 100 network; 4 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

BBC2/ Shine Television Masterchef: The Professionals 2.75M/ 12.21% (85 in top 100 network; 7 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.73M/ 12.27% (86 in top 100 network; 8 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.55M/ 10.98% (92; 9 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.50M/ 11.75% (94; 10 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.37M/ 10.69% (98; 11 in top 30 BBC2 etc)



C4 Celebrity Come Dine With Me 2.12M/ 8.26% (15 in top 30 BBC2 etc);  
2.12M/ 8.26% (15); 1.98M/ 15.10% (22); 1.97M/ 14.55% (25); 1.92M/ 13.94%  
(28); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.72M/ 4.75% (9 in top multichannel);  
0.66M/ 3.25% (14); 0.60M/ 4.33% (16)

#### 2 October 2009

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 3.17M/ 15.21% (72 in top 100 network)

BBC2/ Shine Television Masterchef: The Professionals 2.88M/ 12.82% (80 in  
top 100 network; 3 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.85M/ 12.42% (82 in top 100  
network; 4 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.62M/ 10.80% (93 in top 100 network; 7 in  
top BBC2 etc); 2.55M/ 11.46% (95; 9 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.48M/ 11.10% (99;  
10 in top BBC2 etc)

C4/ Fresh One Jamie's American Road Trip 2.76M/ 11.89% (85 in top 100  
network; 5 in top BBC2 etc)

More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.84M/ 4.56% (5 in top multichannel); 0.83M/  
5.22% (6 in top multichannel); 0.75M/ 3.40% (8); 0.73M/ 4.83% (10)

#### 9 October 2009

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 3.92M/ 19.60% (54 in top 100 network;  
10 in top Factual)

BBC2/Shine Television Masterchef: The Professionals 3.12M/ 13.82% (73 in  
top 100 network; 2 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 3.01M/ 12.44% (79 in top 100  
network; 4 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 3.00M/ 13.69% (80 in top 100 network; 5 in  
top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.90M/ 12.64% (83 in top 100 network; 7 in top BBC2 etc);  
2.74M/ 11.99% (88 in top 100 network; 10 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4/Fresh One Jamie's American Road Trip 2.50M/ 11.04% (14 in top BBC2  
etc)

More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.89M/ 4.99% (5 in top multichannel); 0.81M/  
4.84% (8); 0.79M/ 3.91% (9); 0.67M/ 4.39% (13); 0.54M/ 3.93% (23)

### 16 October 2009

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 3.56M/ 16.84% (64 in top 100 network)

BBC2/Shine Television Masterchef: The Professionals 3.14M/ 13.41% (78 in top 100 network; 3 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 3.09/ 12.88% (80 in top 100 network; 4 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 3.05M/ 13.33% (82 in top 100 network; 5 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.77M/ 12.88% (90 in top 100 network; 7 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.68M/ 11.87% (97 in top 100 network; 9 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4/Fresh One Jamie's American Road Trip 2.81M/ 11.97% (87 in top 100 network; 6 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

### 30 October 2009

BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory 5.42M/ 26.25% (27 in top 100 network; 2 top Factual)

BBC2/Shine Masterchef: The Professionals 3.87M/16.19% (62 in top 100 network; 1 in top30 BBC2 etc); 3.53M/ 14.90% (77 in top 100 network; 3 in top30 BBC2 etc); 3.33M/ 13.19% (82 in top 100 network; 4 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.94M/ 12.54% (91 in top 100 network; 6 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.20M/ 11.89% (19 in top 30 BBC2 etc); More 4 Celebrity Come Dine With Me 0.69M/ 3.21% (13 in top multichannel); 0.6M/ 3.18% (21 in top multichannel)

### 6 November 2009

C4 Did Heston Change Little Chef? 2.36M/ 9.94% (15 in top BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.9M/ 12.8% (add places out of 100; and in multichannel held 4 places in top 10 this week; 1.1M highest/5% share)

### 13 November

BBC1 Jimmy' Food Factory 5.57M/24.8% (add places out of 100; 3 in Factual)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.3M/ 11.6% (28 in top 30 BBC2 etc); More 4 0.96M/4.29% (5 in multichannel); add figures (and 7); (and 10) and 11.

#### 20 November

BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory 4.05M/ 18.38% (62 in top 100 network) \*check m/c 3.8M

C4 River Cottage 2.99M/ 12.67% (5 in BBC2 etc)

Come Dine With Me 0.97M /3.95% (4 in multichannel); add figures and 4 and 5 and 7 and 12 in multichannel

#### 27 November

BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory 4.75M/21.80% (47 in top 100 network; and 7 in Factual)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.47M/ 10.84% (13 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.26M/ 10.64% (27 in multichannel); More 4 0.89M/ 4.42% (7 in multichannel); 0.79M/ 3.55% (11 in multichannel); 0.79/ 4.13% (11 in multichannel)

C4 River Cottage 2.36M/ 9.6% (21 in top 30 multichannel)\_

#### 4 December

BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory (NB BBC1's highest performer after the 6.30 news) 5.74M/28% (27 in top 100 network; 2 Factual)

C4 River Cottage 2.82M/ 11.71% (95 in top 100 network; 3 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.69M/ 12.52% (7 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.53M/10.83% (13 in top 30 BBC2 etc); More 4 0.97M/4.76% (7 in multichannel); 0.92M/4.11% (8); 0.83M/ 4.27% (12); 0.60M/3.09% (29)

#### 11 December

BBC2 Delia's Classic Christmas 3.04M/11.86% (90 in top 100 network; 3 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 River Cottage 2.73M/11.61%

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.35M/11.21%; More 4 1.01M/4.94% (6 in multichannel); 0.92M/4.81% (9 in multichannel); 0.75M/4.13% (18 in multichannel); 0.61M/2.54% (28 in multichannel)

**Sample 2: 8 January- 19 March 2010 (12 weeks)**

8 January

C4 Come dine With Me 2.72M/11.91% (10 in top BBC2 etc; 7 in Factual); 2.37M/11.35% (20); 2.35M/14.33% (22) C4 Come Dine With Me: Extra Portions 2.63/14.6% (13 in top BBC2 etc, and 9 in Factual); 2.39M/ 13.85% (19); 2.31M/13.34% (24); 2.20M/11.33% (30); More 4 0.81M/3.14% (12 multichannel); 0.80M/ 3.3% (14); 0.80M/2.92% (14); 0.65M/2.78% (25)

15 January

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Dinners 4.56M/17.97% (66 in top 100 network)

C4 Come Dine With Me 3.23M/13.51% (100 in top network; 5 in top 30 BBC2 etc); C4 Come Dine With Me: Extra Portions 2.96M/16.71% (16 in top BBC2 etc); 2.88M/12.95% (17); C4 Celebrity Come Dine With Me With Extra Portions: 2.78M/13.92% (23); 2.65M/13.47% (27); 2.63M/13.68% (28)

C4 Gordon Ramsey's F Word: The Final 3.08M/11.23% (12 in top 30 BBC2 etc); C4 Gordon Ramsey's F Word 2.87M/10.56% (19); 2.61M/9.64% (29)

22 January

BBC2 Delia Through The Decades 3.55M/12.97% (2 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

BBC2/ Cactus TV The Hairy Bikers: Mum Knows Best 3.07M/12.17% (11 in top 30 BBC2 etc; \*\*check Factual)

More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.93M/3.94% (10 multichannel); 0.90M/4.19% (12); 0.76M/3.86% (17); 0.74M/2.93% (21).

29 January

BBC2/ Cactus TV The Hairy Bikers: Mum Knows Best 3.72M/14.9% (70 in top 100 network; 1 in top BBC2 etc; 10 in top Factual)

BBC2 Delia Through The Decades 3.09M/11.73% (85 in top 100 network; 4 in top BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me: Extra Portions 2.82M/13.42% (98 in top 100 network; 10 in top 30 BBC2 etc); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.99M/3.90% (6 in top multichannel); 0.91M/4.11% (7); 0.90M/ 3.7% (9); 0.87M/ 4.24% (11)

C4 Gordan's Great Escape \*\*check figures (16 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

#### 5 February

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 4.70M/21.09% (44 top 100 network; 7 top Factual)

BBC2/Cactus The Hairy Bikers: Mum Knows Best 3.30M/ 13.49M/ 13.49% (85 in top 100 network; 8 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Delia Through The Decades 2.76M/10.54% (13 top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Celebrity Come Dine With Me 2.67M/ 9.65% (15 top 30 BBC2 etc); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.86M/3.66% (11 in multichannel); 0.82M/ 3.76% (15); 0.72M/2.91% (20)

#### 12 February

BBC2/ Cactus TV The Hairy Bikers: Mum Knows Best 3.30M/ 13.76% (74 in top 100 network; 2 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Delia Through The Decades 3.12M/11.94% (78 in top 100 network; 3 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.65M/11.22% (94 in top 100 network; 9 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.46M/11.02% (15 top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.28M/13.05% (28); More 4 0.85M/3.95% (12 in top 30 multichannel); 0.85M/3.61% (12); 0.81M/3.25% (16)

#### 19 February

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Dinners 4.47M/ 19.67% (46 top 100 network; 9 in top Factual)

BBC2, Cactus TV The Hairy Bikers: Mum Knows Best 3.34M/ 13.36% (78 top network; 2 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Delia Through The Decades 2.91M/ 10.94% (7 in top BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me: Extra Portions 3.15M/15.09% (4 in top BBC2 etc);  
Come Dine With Me 2.44M/ 14.29% (24 in top BBC2 etc); More 4 Come Dine  
With Me 1.08M/4.83% (5 in top multichannel); 1.01M/4.93% (6); 0.84M/ 3.40%  
(11); 0.82M/4.28% (13)

### 26 February

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 4.47M/ 19.95% (48 in top 100 network; 7  
in top Factual)

BBC1 Masterchef 3.78M/ 15.56% (69 top network); 3.16M/12.04% (76 top  
network)

BBC2 /Cactus TV The Hairy Bikers 2.54M/ 9.84% (12 in top BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Raymond Blanc's Kitchen Secrets 2.44M/9.39% (16 in top BBC2 etc)

C4 Ramsay's Kitchen Nightmares USA 2.26M/9.16% (27 in top BBC2 etc)

More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.74M/3.19% (23 in top multichannel);  
0.69M/3.21% (27)

### 5 March

BBC1 Masterchef 4.6M/18.03% (49 top 100 network; 9 top Factual);  
4.15M/16.79% (59); 3.77M/16.23% (72)

ITV1/ Hat Trick Michael Winner's Dining Stars 2.56M/10.46% (99 in top 100  
network)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.51M/11.36% (9 in top BBC2 etc); C4 Come Dine  
With Me With Extra Portions 2.34M/13.99% (17 in top BBC2 etc); 2.19M/  
10.08%; More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.74M/3.28% (15 in multichannel);  
0.69M/3.30% (21); 0.68M/2.78% (24)

### 12 March

BBC1/ Shine Masterchef 4.29M/ 17.59% (54 in top 100 network, 8 top Factual); 3.80M/16.9% (64); 3.64M/ 14.69% (68)

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 3.66M/16.71% (66)

C4 Come Dine With Me Extra Portions 2.78/ 13.98% (86 in top 100 network; 5 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.47M/13.59% (12 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.13M/ 13.35% (28); 2.12M/13.52% (30); More 4 Come Dine With Me 1.19M/5.63% (1 in top multichannels); 1.08M/ 44.68% (3); 0.92M/ 4.72% (5); 0.69M/ 3.98% (14)

BBC2 Raymond Blanc's Kitchen Secrets 2.5M/ 9.81% (97 top networks; 9 in top BBC2etc)

### 19 March

BBC1/ Shine Masterchef 4.04M/ 16.57% (49 in top 100 network; 9 in top Factual); 3.96M/17.25% (54); 3.84M/ 15.68% (59)

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 4.01M/ 18.34% (51 top 100 network)

C4 Celebrity Come Dine With Me 3.42M/ 12.62% (71 top 100 network; 1 in top 30 BBC2 etc); C4 Come Dine With Me With Extra Portions 2.32M/ 14.30% (21 in top BBC2 etc); 2.27M/14.20% (23); 2.26M/ 13.65% (26); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.91M/ 4.36% (6 in top multichannel); 0.88/ 4.64% (7); 0.77M/ 4.46% (11); 0.62M/ 2.71% (21)

### 26 March

BBC1/ Shine Masterchef 4.62M/20.39% (38 in top 100 network; 8 in Factual); 4.26M/ 16.81% (45; 10 in Factual)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.37M/8.63% (15 in top 30 BBC2 etc); More 4 0.9M/ 4.38% (7 in top multichannel); 0.88M/ 3.99% (8); 0.73M/ 3.94% (13); 0.61M/ 3.57% (27)

BBC2 Raymond Blanc's Kitchen Secrets 2.25M/ 8.76% (24 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

### **Sample 3: 24 September – 17 December 2010 (12 weeks)**

#### 24 September

BBC2/ Love Productions The Great British Breakfast, 2.74M/ 11.6% (28 in top 100 network; 2 in top Factual)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.03M/ 16.71% (16 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Celebrity Come Dine With Me 1.92M/ 8.12% (26 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me 1.87M/ 11.52% (28 in top30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Jamie's American Food Revolution, 1.86M/ 10.02% (29 in top30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Ramsey's Best Restaurant 1.85M/ 7.91% (30 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

\*add multichannel detail

#### 1 October

BBC2/Love Productions The Great British Bake Off 2.47M/ 10.64% (89 in top 100 network; 3 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 River Cottage Every Day 2.12M/ 9.07% (8 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Ramsay's Best Restaurant 1.98M/ 8.45% (15 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me 1.96M/ 11.94% (17 in top BBC2 etc); 1.87M/ 16.17% (22); 1.87M/ 15.53% (22); 1.78M/ 15.92% (30); 1.78M/ 12.20% (30); More 4 0.75M/ 3.05% (17 in top 30 multichannel); 0.70M/ 3.21% (22)

#### 8 October

BBC2/ Shine Masterchef: The Professionals 2.71M/ 11.22% (86 top 100 network; 4 top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.67M/ 11.10% (88; 45top BBC2 etc; 2.64M/ 11.32 % (89; 6 top BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Whites 2.37M/ 9.92% (9 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Nigella Kitchen 2.35M/ 10.16% (10 in top 30 BBC2 etc)



C4 Come Dine With Me 2.17M/ 17.77% (12 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.06M/ 15.58% (16); 2.04M/ 16.13% (19); 2.01M/ 17% (21); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.80M/ 3.68% (15 top multichannel); 0.7M/ 2.82% (17); 0.69M/ 3.45% (18)

C4 River Cottage Every Day 1.94M/ 10.71% (28 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Food, 1.91M/ 7.92% (30 in top BBC2 etc)

#### 15 October

BBC2/ Shine Masterchef: The Professionals 2.85M/ 12% (75 in top 100 network; 1 in top BBC2 etc); add Mon and Tuesday ratings (2 and 3 respectively in top 30 BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Nigella Kitchen 2.38M/ 10.44% (94 in top 100 network; 8 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4/ ITV Studios Come Dine With Me 2.37M/19.52% (95 in top 100 network; 9 in top BBC2 etc); 2.28M/ 19.77% (100); 11 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.13M/ 18.43% (16 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.11M/ 18.35% (17); 2.01M/ 16.71% (21); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.56M/ 2.68% (28 in top multichannel)

C4 River Cottage Every Day 2.00M/ 8.59% (22 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Whites 1.91M/ 8.39% (28 in top BBC2 etc)

#### 22 October

BBC2/ Shine Masterchef: The Professionals 3.08M/ 12.92% (77 in top 100 network; 1 in top BBC2 etc); 2,92M/ 11.71% (80; 3 in top BBC2 etc); 2.64M/ 10.81% (90; 4 in top BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.53M/ 19.37% (94 in top 100 network; 6 in top BBC2 etc); 2.31M/ 12.15% (12 in top BBC2 etc); 2.31M/ 12,21% (12 in top BBC2 etc); 2.25M/ 12.08% (17); More 4 o.8M/ 3,75% (13 in top multichannel); 0.78M/ 4.03% (16); 0.68M/ 3.96% (23)

BBC2 Nigella Kitchen 2.19M/ 12.04% (18 in top BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Whites 1.46M/ 6.00% (9 in top comedy)

### 29 October

BBC2/ Shine Masterchef: The Professionals 3.29M/ 13.8% 72 in top 100 network; 2 in top BBC2 etc); 3.14M/ 12.53% (77; 4 in top BBC2 etc); 3.04M/ 12.56% (81; 5 in top BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.45M/ 19.38% (98 in top 100 network; 9 in top BBC2 etc); 2.41M/ 18.24% (11 in top BBC2 etc); 2.32M/ 17.84% (14); 2.32/ 19.17% (14); 2.30M/ 18.06% (17); C4 Come Dine With Me: Soap Star Special 2.09M/ 8.83% (26 in top BBC2 etc)

### 12 November

BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory 4.41M/ 19.38% (50 in top 100 network)

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 4.38M/ 18.60% (51 in top 100 network)

BBC2/ Shine Masterchef: The Professionals 3.52M/ 16.61% (71 in top 100 network; 1 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 3.00M/ 11.58% (87 in top network; 4 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

C4 Come Dine With Me 2.69M/ 19.02% (11 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.66M/ 18.71% (12); 2.65M/ 18.54% (13); 2.64M/ 18.39% (14); 2.61M/ 18.32% (16); 2.32M/12.54% (23); 2.19M/ 10.72% (29); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.75M/ 3.18% (23 in top multichannel); 0.69M/ 3.09% (27)

C4 Jamie's 30 Minute Meals 2.26M/ 13.68% (26 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

### 19 November

BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory 4.05M/ 18.10% (59 in top 100 network); 3.25M/ 13.96% (83)

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 3.10M/ 12.72% (86 in top 100 network)

C4/ITV Studios Come Dine With Me 2.79M/ 19.68% (96 in top 100 network; 4 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.77M/ 19.52% (97; 5 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.64M/ 17.74% (9 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.51M/ 18.22% (14); 2.47M/ 17.49% (16); 2.22M/ 11.76% (28); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.67M/ 3.11% (24 in top multichannels); 0.66M/ 2.90% (28)

BBC2/Shine Masterchef: The Professionals – Michel's Classics 2.46M/ 7,38%  
(17 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

### 26 November

BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory 4.76M/ 18.14% (40 in top 100 network; 5 in Factual); 3.25M/ 13.80% (75)

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 3.11M/ 12.54% (79 in top 100 network)

C4/ ITV Studios Come Dine With Me 2.89M/ 21.27% (88 in top 100 network; 4 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.78M/ 20.43% (95; 7 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.74M/ 19.07% (98; 9 in top BBC2 etc); 2.72M/ 18.85% (99; 10 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.68M/ 19.06% (11 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.26M/ 10.95% (27 in top 30 BBC2 etc); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.97M/ 4.37% (7 in top multichannel); 0.96M/ 3.99% (9); 0.82M/ 4.02% (15); 0.75M/ 3.99% (18)

### 3 December

BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory 4.09M/ 17.88% (59 in top 100 network); 3.11M/ 13.76% (87)

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 3.52M/ 18.07% (74 in top 100 network)

\*check this programme ITV1 The Deadliest Date: Tonight 2.97M/ 11.46% (92 in top 100 network)

C4/ ITV Studios Come Dine With Me 2.94M/ 20.31% (96 in top 100 network; 4 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.92M/ 13.57% (99; 5 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.91M/ 19.7% (100; 6 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.87M/ 19.86% (8 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.85M/ 20.31% (11); 2.40M/ 9.58% (25); 2.38M/ 11.71% (29); More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.87M/ 3.72% (17 in top 30 multichannels); 0.83M/ 3.82% (22); 0.76M/ 3.00% (26)

### 10 December

BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory 3.76M/ 16.48% (76 in top 100 network); 3.44M/ 12.91% (82)

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 3.45M/ 12.63% (86 in top 100 network)

ITV Country- wise Kitchen 3.40M/ 13.47% (89 in top 100 network)

C4/ITV Studios Come Dine With Me 3.29M/ 19.47% (92 in top 100 network; 4 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 3.18M/ 19.49% (96; 5 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 3.11M/ 18.70% (6 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 3.03M/ 19.16% (7); 2.98M/ 19.21%; More 4 Come Dine With Me 0.80M/ 3.4% (23 in top multichannels); 0.77M/ 3.08% (28)

BBC2 Rick Stein's Cornish Christmas 2.66M/ 9.86% (17 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

BBC2 Nigella's Kitchen 2.32M/ 8.82% (29 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

### 17 December

BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory 3.99M/ 16.54% (62 in top 100 network); 3.55M/ 16.98% (76)

BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers 3.97M/ 15.98% (63 in top 100 network)

C4/ITV Studios Come Dine With Me 2.86M/ 18.74% (95 in top 100 network); 2.84M/ 18.99% (96); 2.79M/ 18.27% (100); 2.74M/ 18.61% (9 in top 30 BBC2 etc); 2.60M/ 18.86% (13 in top 30 BBC2 etc); Come Dine With Me: Coronation Street Special 2.61M/ 9.89% (12 in top 30 BBC2 etc)

## **TYPOLOGY OF FOOD GENRES**

This section does three things. First, it gives a working definition of the diverse genres of 'food television'. Broadcasters do not use 'genre' but 'format'.

Secondly, it illustrates each genre with an example of a programme. Thirdly, it gives an analysis of how each of the programmes, used as an example of the genre, mediates wider social discourses about food and other phenomena, and attempts to position itself alongside the perceived concerns of wider society. The analysis follows this pattern:

- pointing to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large.
- pointing to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large

- identifying how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for 'us'
- identifying which food lifestyle is legitimated.

Note:PSB stands for Public Sector Broadcasting.

### **Summary of genres**

- homage to food's high culture
- cookery demonstration
- self-transformation
- competition
- celebrity chef
- celebrity chef hybrid genres: travel and campaign programmes
- investigative
- body horror
- social observation
- celebration of Britishness
- comedy

### **Homage (to the great tradition/ to food's high culture)**

This kind of food programme, as the next category, serves the educative mission of PSB, <sup>1</sup>to improve and to civilize. This form celebrates the skills and knowledge of those who possess high culture in food. As such these programmes may distinguish themselves from mere 'lifestyle'.<sup>2</sup>

*Example of programme titles: BBC2 Raymond Blanc's Kitchen Secrets*

### ***Example Raymond Blanc's Kitchen Secrets***

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large: 'high' food culture or haut-cuisine, discourse about the production of food for the middle-classes (in

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<sup>2</sup> So, in the face of BBC's 'Quality Review', the way in which food is seen not to be 'dumbed-down' is to attach to it notions of 'high culture' ('depends on its being distinctive' (Thompson) 'like Raymond Blanc'.

exclusive restaurants and hotels) which would allow them a glimpse of the food of 'superior' classes; as such, restaurateur or chef discourse of 'democratisation' in rolling out such knowledge and experience to lower classes.

- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses across the sale of goods and services which deal with the offer of 'exclusivity' and privilege through appropriation by money; the exchange of economic capital for symbolic capital; television aspirational 'lifestyle' discourses which offer the appropriation of cultural capital and the fantasy of symbolic capital.
- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for 'us'. We want to have a masterclass with Michel Roux; we want the privilege that that signifies; we want to be able to see him preparing food for us and for himself; we want to know about the standards that he considers acceptable in food preparation; we want a share of the 'cultural capital' that he has.
- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated. It legitimizes a 'high' food culture based upon knowledge and skill, before economic capital: as such, it negotiates with 'high' food culture, and through the mediation of television, democratises it.

### **Cookery demonstration**

This kind of food programme is a classic, cheap, educative format, originally studio bound, and fronted by an expert (usually a chef). It is a format most popular now on daytime television; elsewhere in the schedules, it has been superseded by hybrid developments, for example the tele-chef programme, which contextualizes the presentation of food preparation in the lives of the celebrity, or the cookery/travel programme (below).

*Example of programme titles: BBC2 Delia's Classic Christmas; C4 Jamie's 30 Minute Meals*

### ***Example Jamie's 30 Minute Meals***

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large: healthy food discourses; discourses about 'food deserts' and impoverished food skills; food retail discourses (eg about the variety of quality food on offer in supermarkets); note Jamie Oliver's tie-in with Sainsbury's and Waitrose; tele-chef campaigns eg Jamie's 'School Meals', 'Ministry of Food' and 'American Food Revolution'/ Ted Award.
- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses about 'food deserts' and impoverished food skills; discourses about stress and parenting.
- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for 'us': Jamie's programme: we want to do the best for our kids and ourselves; we want to make and provide interesting, exciting and healthy food (so 'The Ministry of Food'); recognition that we are time-starved; so he will pass on to us ways in which we can do this in our own home.
- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated: filmed in location of Jamie's home, icons of family, domestic cooking space; Jamie's narrative about family life and our shared goals.

### **Self-transformation**

This kind of programme has a long history across a variety of genres in what has been called 'ordinary television' (Bonner 2003).<sup>3</sup> Akin to the knowledge game show tradition in some respects,<sup>4</sup> and the talent show, contestants subject themselves to the public inspection of their abilities, personalities and social style. In a wide range of 'lifestyle' formats, from 'make-overs' to consumer investigative programmes, and reality television, in exchange for

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<sup>3</sup> Bonner, F, 2003, *Ordinary Television*, Sage, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.

<sup>4</sup> Obviously some, such as *University Challenge*, foreground the formal education of the contestants, and all, as Bonner (ibid) points out, have the practices of formal education, for example question and answer, as the unspoken common knowledge of contestant, questioner and viewer.

the 'beneficent power' of television,<sup>5</sup> the contestant or participant succumbs to the presenter's, or narrator's, interrogation. As such they are offered to our judgment in exchange for the benefits of a prize, an opportunity or an experience. Clearly, reality and talent shows play into the production needs of online, print news and lifestyle publication, and 'celebrity status' is one of the more significant benefits on offer for contestants. As objects of transformation, contestants' 'ordinariness' is important. In terms of food programmes, the category of 'self-transformation' includes cooking talent shows, such as *Masterchef*, self-improvement shows such as 'Service' and healthy eating/body image shows such as 'Supersize v Superskinny'. Whereas all of these attract social networking and 'two-screen' play, the last two play into derogatory judgment, or 'symbolic violence'<sup>6</sup> toward social types. For example, Michel Roux's *Service* (April 2011) featured eight contestants, young people from starkly contrasting social backgrounds. The presentation to us played directly into wider social discourses of young people, including anxieties over NEATs,<sup>7</sup> ASBOs,<sup>8</sup> lack of inclusion in 'mainstream' society, as indicated by lack of knowledge of etiquette and knowledge of food practices such as behaviour in restaurants, education, class and race.<sup>9</sup> Successful transformation of the self, or failure to do it, within these programmes, plays directly into programmes which seek the transformation of others through intervention or campaign, for example those of Jamie Oliver (see below).

A number of programmes, across a number of genres of 'food television' may include young people in their audience, but are not directly addressed to them.

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<sup>5</sup> Bonner, *ibid*, pp126ff

<sup>6</sup> So Borudieu's use of this.

<sup>7</sup> Not in Education And Training

<sup>8</sup> Anti-Social Behaviour Orders

<sup>9</sup> The Daily Mail's headline (21.1.11), anticipating the series, was 'Asbo Kids To Top Waiters: a Tall Order For Michel Roux'. It described the contestants in the following way: Roux's motley crew includes Brooke Arnold, 18, who's worked for McDonald's, Nikkita Palphreyman, 19, a single mum, and Niki Bedson, 22, a history graduate who was rejected for numerous jobs. The oldest is 24-year-old James Marvin, who gave up his sales job because, 'I hated lining my boss's pockets'. Then there's former hairdresser Danielle Meenagh, 19, who admits: 'Before Michel's show I'd never drunk wine and had only heard of pinot noir.' But the biggest surprise is 21-year-old Ashley Flay. 'I left school at 14,' he says. 'Then spent my time getting drunk and being abusive, so that earned me an Asbo. What a waste of my life. Before the show, I'd never eaten in a place which had table service.'



There is a lot of 'food television' being broadcast. Most do not feature young people. However, those programmes which are *about* young people and food, play into discourses of dysfunction, for example obesity and 'unhealthy eating' or social inadequacy. At such times, we can see the broadcaster sharing the perceptual categories and values of those discourses, and producing their power further; but we can also see how, through programme design, the makers of programmes produce a sense of a practical familiarity with the 'lived world' of the viewer by 'othering' the subjects of 'moral panic', by documentary technique. For example, in 'Supersize v Superskinny', the stripping bare of two young, working class participants to the gaze of the viewer, the 'inquisition' by the middle-class doctor, the use of the confession for the participants and their families, the use of personal photographs from the past and observational mode of cinematography following them in their plight. In 'Jamie's American Revolution', a similar use of confession by those working-class young people with a dysfunctional relationship with food, and a cinema veritee style of cinematography to show us Jamie's confrontation with authority resistant to his message of healthy eating, with cut-aways of Jamie in which he bares his soul about the difficulty of his struggle. In 'Michel Roux's Service', a voice-of-God style commentary introducing the background of each of the participants, an observational cinematography following the training of the young people, with cut-aways of Michel Roux and his maître-d, or Michel and one of the young participants negotiating about the best way forward, or of one of the participants explaining their problems.

This kind of programme has been seen by programme commissioners as a 'feel-good' form of television, uplifting particularly in recessionary times.

*Example of programme titles: BBC/ Shine Celebrity Masterchef; BBC1 Celebrity Masterchef; BBC2/ Shine Masterchef: the Professionals C4 Supersize v Superskinny*

***Example: Supersize v Superskinny***

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large. The 'obesity epidemic'; 'moral panic'

about dysfunctional relationships to food, and to loss of food heritage; discourses about 'healthy' and 'unhealthy food'.

- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large. Discourses about dysfunctional society, about the inhabitants of social housing, 'chavs'; discourses about 'ideal' body image;
- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for 'us': we want to see and understand what we have heard about regarding dysfunctional people and social types; we want to avoid an unhealthy and unbeautiful body; we want to recognize the authoritative discourses of science in matters of food and the body. We want to see individuals empowered by our attention (and that of television) and to turn their lives around
- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated. This programme legitimizes 'healthy eating' and the inclusion of 'healthy eating' discourses in our eating practices. It warns us of the consequences of transgression, or of relaxing the self-policing, involved in it.

## **Competition**

The format of the competition food programme intersects with other genres of food television, particularly the last category, the 'self-transformation'. It lends itself to be 'stripped' across the week's schedules, building audiences as the competition develops. Its elimination format readily engages online and face-to-face recommendation and response. To judge the performances of the competitors, an expert is required. This provides the opportunity, as in the earlier category of 'homage to great tradition', to celebrate high cultural values and celebrity, so, for example using Michel Roux junior to adjudicate masterchef: the Professionals, beside Gregg Wallace.

*Example of programme titles: BBC/ Shine Celebrity Masterchef; BBC1 Celebrity Masterchef; BBC2/ Shine Masterchef: the Professional; C4 Ramsey's Best Restaurants*

**Example: Masterchef:**

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large. Discourses about food styles/ knowledge about different food cultures; discourses about 'fine dining' and the social practice of eating in 'fine' restaurants and making critical comment and appreciation of 'fine' food; discourses of food as art; chef discourses.
- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large. Discourses of competition, the work-place and personal advancement; discourses of personal and social differentiation eg class, gender, ethnicity, nationality and age; discourses of national identity and British society.
- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for 'us': we want to see how others negotiate the stress of being judged in a work-place; we want to be able to identify the qualities of a winner; we want to be able to own and use 'cultural capital' associated with judgments of 'fine' food; we want to see individuals realize their potential and to share in the 'feel good' emotions of personal success.
- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated. This programme legitimizes personal creativity in food preparation, the culture of eating in restaurants, and the re-reading, and appropriation, of 'high' food culture by all of us/ the democratisation of 'high' food culture, once reserved for a social elite.

**Celebrity chef:**

This has evolved from the cookery demonstration format. Arguably, *Floyd* was key in its early development in the UK (See \* add reference to text) and the 2000s saw the development of Jamie Oliver in 2001 ('the Naked Chef') and others such as Nigella Lawson and Gordon Ramsey, where their personality

became a key index of the programme's identity, their following and the development of a brand of not only television programmes (driving distinctive formats) and books but cooking consumables and, in some cases, restaurants. More than Rick Stein and Heston Blumenthal, for example, who articulate an aesthetic and style of restaurant food, celebrity chefs such as Nigella Lawson, Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall key into important developments of lifestyle, rereading cooking and the kitchen in terms of gender, gender and class, and ethics respectively.<sup>10</sup> A key feature of this type of programme is that we see what purports to be the lived contexts of their cooking, for example, their homes, their family and friends.

Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall. The River Cottage brand, through its extensive online development of both the River Cottage food lifestyle (environmentally sustainable, local provenance v industrial/ production and supermarket capitalism) and its campaigns, plays into a younger, 'net-savvy' demographic; although, through its address to class (see MA dissertation) and its format, it is to be differentiated from a format such as *Come Dine With Me*, which encourages 'two-screen' viewing practices more. River Cottage, on the whole<sup>11</sup>, nurtures a longer-term on-line engagement, for example at times when the programme is not being viewed.

*Example of programme titles: River Cottage; ITV Hell's Kitchen; C4 Ramsey's Kitchen Nightmares USA; BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers; C4/ Fresh One Jamie's American Road Trip; C4 Did Heston Change Little Chef? BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Dinners; C4 Gordon Ramsey's F Word; BBC2/ Cactus TV The Hairy Bikers: Mum Knows Best; C4 Jamie's American Food Revolution; BBC2 Nigella Kitchen; C4 River Cottage Every Day; BBC2 Rick Stein's Cornish Christmas*

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<sup>10</sup> See MA dissertation, 2008 for development of this.

<sup>11</sup> Sometimes, for example series that show Hugh bringing his food lifestyle to inhabitants of a 'social housing' estate, or Hugh advising 'ordinary' families how to eat more fruit and vegetables (\*add titles for these programmes), and those programmes, such as news, which feature Hugh carrying out his campaigns (eg. Chicken Run and Fish (\* add detail) could be seen to encourage simultaneous, on-line viewing.

### ***Example: Nigella Kitchen***

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large. Technologies of social differentiation through food sourcing, preparation and sharing, in late modernity. Female guilt and female pleasure in eating.
- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large. This programme addresses the relationship between women and food, and invokes a post-feminist re-reading of food preparation as pleasurable for the woman. It also addresses discourses of self-management, stress and time-management (aspirational but time-poor). Discourses about Nigella Lawson; about 'food porn'.
- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for 'us'. We want to know what a privileged person like Nigella knows about food; how she prepares food ; and we want to share the cultural capital that she has; we want to enjoy watching her pleasure in preparing food. We want to enjoy aspiration; we want to enjoy the pleasure of food without guilt or anxiety in these thriftytimes.
- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated: a cosmopolitan, middle-class food lifestyle, in which women enjoy being a 'domestic goddess'.

### **Celebrity Chef hybrid genres:**

#### **travel**

There is a long tradition of personalities, with professional cooking expertise, who act as intermediaries for us in their acquiring knowledge about other food cultures as they travel the world. This kind of programme may combine the pleasures of education, visual pleasures of seeing other parts of the world, as well as an authentic access to a cuisine. For food styles familiar to us through high street brands, or genres of restaurant in UK settings, this kind of programme offers a chance to reread them and acquire cultural capital. This kind of programme integrates cookery demonstration into new settings. Where

programmes are celebrating British locales, then they have been placed in the 'Celebration of British Food' category.

*Example of programme titles: Ramsey's Kitchen Nightmares USA; ITV1 The World's Best Diet; BBC2 Rick Stein's Far Eastern Odyssey; C4/ Fresh One Jamie's American Road Trip*

**Example: Jamie's American Road Trip**

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses about 'authentic' food ('authentic' in provenance, region, ethnicity, tradition; and 'authentic' in terms of the expression of the personality of the person cooking); discourses about personal responsibility in food provision for family (so Jamie's earlier 'Ministry of Food').
- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large: American national identity; political discourses about 'the special relationship' between America and Britain; film and literature discourses about American regional identities; multiculturalism; political discourses about personal v state responsibility for the 'well-being' of people; educational discourses about peoples and places; liberal discourses about a 'common humanity'; discourses of travel genre, including the transformation of the traveler through the experiences of the journey.
- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for 'us': we want to learn about other people's culture; we want to travel somewhere else, so that we can clarify our values (for example, in a common humanity, in the value of cultural diversity/ food diversity); we want to find 'authentic' food; we want to travel to learn about 'real' America and Americans (beyond the clichés).
- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated: an 'authentic' tradition of cooking which is grounded in family and community relationships.

## **Celebrity Chef hybrid genres:**

### **campaign**

Both this kind of programme, and the following ‘investigative’ category, key into consumers’ unease or anxiety about food production, for example factory farming (so Whittingstall’s ‘Chicken Run’ (2008), and current ‘Fish Fight’ (2011) campaigns), or food practices – for example Jamie Oliver’s campaigns against School Dinners (Jamie’s School Dinners 2005; Jamie’s American Revolution 2011) and family cooking skills (Ministry of Food 2009); and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall’s attempts to convert those in social housing from being consumers of supermarket food to smallholders (Chicken Run 2008) As in the examples given, this form of programme contests political and economic power through the power of television celebrity, online community and multiplatform development to drive the campaign and recruit public interest and support, and plays into key regulatory, environmental and ethical discourses.

*Example of programme titles: C4 Jamie’s American Food Revolution*

### **Example: Jamie’s American Food Revolution**

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses about the ‘obesity epidemic’; discourses of ‘healthy’ and ‘unhealthy’ food.
- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses of national leadership (and leadership of America; leadership in America/ Jamie as winner of the TED prize 2010); discourses which have played across Jamie’s further campaigns, of which he has become emblematic (for example, discourses about the family and the state); discourses about Britishness (Jamie as representative of it, in this American context).
- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for ‘us’: we want to see if Jamie, as protagonist, can overcome the resistance railed against him, and achieve what he did in

a British context; to see young people turning their lives around (becoming healthier and more confident people, and overcoming a dysfunctional relationship to food).

- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated: a healthier food lifestyle; a provision, by state institutions, of healthy food for young people.

### **Investigative**

This kind of programme is straight in the documentary tradition of television, on a subject of food. As such, these programmes sponsor our interest and concern with mass food production, retailing. They use campaigning presenters to confront the producers of food, who may confront them on the viewer's behalf, for example James Doherty, in Jimmy's Food Factory, in interactive documentary mode.

*Example of programme titles: BBC1 What's Really In Our Food? C4 Did Heston Change Little Chef? BBC1 Jimmy's Food Factory; C4 Food*

### **Example: Jimmy's Food Factory**

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses about 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' food (including discourses of regulation, for example over the advertising of foods high in sugar, salt and fat)
- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses of consumer rights (vis-a-vis big business); discourses of investigative journalism (the expose); advertising discourses; discourses about nutrition/ scientific discourses which distinguish fact from fiction; diverse campaigning discourses about food.
- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for 'us': we want to see behind the scenes of the industrial production of food; to see the 'spotlight' of scientific reason turned upon the industry and the food we consume.
- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated: a 'healthier' food lifestyle.



## Body horror

This kind of programme plays into obesity discourses, showing the consequences of transgressing regulatory messages about the individual's maintenance of the body. It features individual stories, incorporates confessional pieces of how individuals got themselves into such a position, and displays the bodies of the obese individuals to the gaze of the viewers. As such, it attempts to shock, makes judgment about the individual's failure to control her/his body, usually through a presenter or narrator, prompts viewer judgment of the individual and social identity of the obese person, and consequent reflection by the viewer on her/his own eating habits.

*Example of programme titles:*

*ITV1 Supersize Teens: Can't Stop Eating; C4 Embarrassing Bodies; Supersize v Superskinny*

### **Example: Supersize v Superskinny**

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses about obesity and the 'obesity epidemic'; about 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' eating.
- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses about nutrition/ scientific discourses which distinguish fact from fiction; discourses about social dysfunction, about a 'culture of dependency', about 'Chavs' and 'NEET's'<sup>12</sup>; about eating disorders; about discourses of 'well-being' and counseling; television discourses of personal transformation.
- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for 'us': we want to see what people like this are like and to understand how 'they' become what they are; we want to see the 'spotlight' of scientific reason turned upon their lifestyles; we want to see people taking control of their lives and becoming happier and 'responsible' people.

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<sup>12</sup> 'Not in Education, Employment or Training'.

- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated: a 'healthy' food lifestyle.

### **Social observation**

In this kind of programme, the food practices of others are scrutinized, along with other aspects of their social performances. Here, knowledge about food, and skill in sourcing and preparing it, is presented as an indicator, amongst others, of social and personal style. For example, *Come Dine With Me*. Note that this programme's extended scheduling (across daytime and evening schedules on multichannel (More 4), as well as evening slots on C4<sup>13</sup>), and in reprise and developed formats such as 'Extra Helpings' and 'Celebrity Come Dine With Me), making it closer to a VoD model in its accessibility, together with its narrative invitation to the viewer to make judgements about the contestants, and its online dimension (specify), plays into contemporary 'two-screen' /multi-platform practices of a younger demographic.

Behind the scenes: or example, programmes showing how the food that we consume is manufactured industrially (eg 'Jimmy's Food Factory') or how the food industry operates, for example how restaurants work or how those who work in the industry are trained (eg 'Whites', the training and experience of chefs).

*Example of programme titles:*

*Come Dine With Me; ITV1 The World's Best Diet; ITV1/ Hat Trick Michael Winner's Dining Star/ Michel Roux's Service*

### **Example: Michel Roux's Service**

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourse of 'high' food culture/ 'haute cuisine'; food discourses about a loss of traditional knowledge and aptitude around food in Britain.
- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses about dysfunctional and

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<sup>13</sup> For example, week of 24 September 2010: C4 Wed 17.00, Sat 18.00.

‘feckless’ youth; about ‘chavs’; political discourses about ‘a broken Britain’; about the loss of respect in the young for older generations; about a ‘failing’ education system; liberal, ‘redemptive’ discourses about intervening in other people’s lives; television discourses of self-improvement; education and training discourses.

- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for ‘us’: we want to see the ‘real’ diversity of young people in Britain; we want to see the ‘redemption’ of dysfunctional young people; we want to see behind the scenes of a diversity of restaurants; we want to gain access to the privileged spaces of prestigious restaurants and to receive a ‘masterclass’ from esteemed practitioners such as Michel Roux; we want to share the cultural capital which he and others at the top of the restaurant business have.
- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated: a diversity of food lifestyles where ‘quality’, in preparation of food and the interaction between those working in restaurants and customers is characterized as the ‘best service’, a style derived from high food culture.

### **Celebration of Britishness**

There has been a marked trend in celebrating British food culture in recent years. This coincides with a prominence of other, retrospection, in other television genres,<sup>14</sup> and may be seen as characteristic of a response to economic recession, thrift and an uncertain future. It also coincides with a middle-class movement away from forms of ‘foreign’ cuisine now made commonplace by high street restaurant brands and supermarket retailers,<sup>15</sup> and no longer per se a key distinguisher of cultural capital. Celebration of British food also plays into discourses of provenance, environmental sustainability and carbon miles, all of which are qualifications of value for middle-class consumers of food. In television programming, this celebration takes a number of forms: celebration of regional food traditions; celebration of food preparation skills and knowledge passed down through the generations, and celebration of British chefs and cooks. In this last category, ‘Britishness’ is

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<sup>14</sup> illustrate

<sup>15</sup> This could be expanded upon; reference is made to this in the MA dissertation

celebrated in many ways, for example creativity (including the creative assimilation of food traditions from many cultures) and resourcefulness (also playing into discourses of thrift in recessionary times).

*Example of programme titles:*

*BBC2 The Great British Menu ; BBC2 Supersizers (eg. Supersizers Eat ...the Eighties; eg The Supersize Eat ...The Twenties ); BBC2 What To Eat Now; BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers; BBC2 Delia's Classic Christmas; BBC1 Nigel Slater's Simple Dinners; BBC2 Delia Through The Decades; BBC2/ Cactus TV The Hairy Bikers: Mum Knows Best; BBC2/ Love Productions The Great British Breakfast; BBC2/Love Productions The Great British Bake Off; ITV Country- Wise Kitchen; BBC2 Rick Stein's Cornish Christmas*

***Example: Nigel Slater's Simple Dinners***

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses about British food (including its 'integrity' and 'traditions' as well as its multiculturalism); discourse of 'seasonality' in food; discourse of 'provenance'; discourse critical of modern, 'convenience' shopping at supermarkets/ discourse of 'slow-food'.
- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses of 'Britishness'; 'self-realisation' and 'well-being' discourses; discourses about the 'stress' of modern life; discourses of 'masculinity'.
- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern, interest and aspiration for 'us': we want to express ourselves; we want to be in touch with the world around us in a more satisfying way than modern, competitive life allows; we want to rethink our habits as consumers of food; we want to rethink the preparation and consumption of food, away from complex, time-consuming and 'affected' styles of food (about status and prestige) towards something simpler and better.

- To identify which food lifestyle is legitimated: thoughtful, personal food which uses quality, seasonal and local ingredients to enhance a sense of well-being in ourselves and those we share our food with.

## **Comedy**

There are very few examples of this kind of television. The one example below is a sit-com, following the lives of chef and sous-chef characters in a country-house hotel kitchen.

*Example of programme titles:*

*BBC2 Whites*

### **Example: Whites**

- to point to those discourses about food that may be described as powerful in the culture at large: 'high' food culture or haut-cuisine, discourse about the production of food for the middle-classes (in exclusive restaurants and hotels) which would allow them a glimpse of the food of 'superior' classes; as such, restaurateur or chef discourse of 'democratisation' in rolling out such knowledge and experience to lower classes; 'tele-chef' discourses about food.
- to point to those discourses about other phenomena than food that are brought into relationship to food, and which may be described as powerful in the culture at large: discourses about class (around the conflict between chefs as working class and their preparation of 'high' culture food); : discourses across the sale of goods and services which deal with the offer of 'exclusivity' and privilege through appropriation by money; the exchange of economic capital for symbolic capital; television aspirational 'lifestyle' discourses which offer the appropriation of cultural capital and the fantasy of symbolic capital; British comedy discourses (C4 style of 'street' sketch shows/ 'Inbetweeners', 'Phone Shop', etc) and comedy 'realism', debunking social status and revealing ordinariness and 'common humanity'.

- To identify how these programmes construct a shared position of concern or interest for 'us': through the constructs of 'sitcom', and observational documentary, we share the pleasure of observation of other people's lives and invest in the 'trajectories' of their lives.
- To identify how these programmes legitimize a food lifestyle: food lifestyle is parodied.

## **Appendix 5: Image grabs: Phase 2's food television programmes**

**Super Size v Skinny**

## Super Size v Super Skinny





## **Super Size v Super Skinny**

## **Super Size v Super Skinny**

## **Super Size v Super Skinny**

## **Super Size v Super Skinny**

## Super Size v Super Skinny



## **Super Size v Super Skinny**

## **Super Size v Super Skinny**

**Super Size v Super Skinny**

**Jamie Does Marrakesh**



## Jamie Does Marrakesh



## **Jamie Does Marrakesh**

## **Jamie Does Marrakesh**

## Jamie Does Marrakesh



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## **Jamie Does Marrakesh**

## **Jamie Does Marrakesh**

## Come Dine With Me



**Come Dine With Me**

## Come Dine With Me





**Come Dine With Me**

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**Come Dine With Me**

## Appendix 6

### Structural obstacles in UK facing young people.

This appendix item briefly draws attention to some of the economic and political conditions facing young adults, at the time of the fieldwork in this study, which substantially delay their acquisition of many of the traditional, social markers of adulthood. For more young adults, in the UK, in 2009-2010, there are worse employment prospects, worse economic rewards for the cost of university, greater difficulty in getting independent housing, and delay in marriage and starting a family. More are caught up in limiting and stigmatising welfare to work schemes. This kind of contextualisation adds detail to an aspect of young people's experience of 'high modernity' (Giddens, 1994, p.4. 27ff).

Observations of the plight of young adults, following the economic crash of 2008, have been commonplace, in media representation, for good cause. Larger numbers of young people, including the children of the middle classes, have been caught up in the problems of the poor, in negotiating progress along the 'strands' (Jones, 2000) of development toward adulthood. The restructuring of the UK economy, along with other advanced capitalist economies, has had direst consequences for the poor, including poor, young adults. Global, speculative flows of capital or financialization (Stockhammer, 2004<sup>1</sup>), has produced a credit based, consumption driven growth and crisis in the UK. It has prompted the markets to destroy decent wages and stable jobs. It has exacerbated the proliferation of asset stripping and closure of manufacturing industry, underway since the 1970s, and a dominance of service industries. It, and government neoliberal policy and a recent austerity programme, has prompted privatisation of the public sector, the proliferation of temporary work, and zero-hours contracts, sub-minimum wage employment

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<sup>1</sup> Stockhammer, E, 2004, Financialisation and the Slowdown of Accumulation, in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 28, 719-41

for those on apprenticeships, unpaid welfare to work programmes, the movement of labour from skilled and semi-skilled work to relatively unskilled work, and the weakening of trade union membership. The majority, 88%, of the ever increasing trend in self-employment - 3.8 to 4.6 million, from 2008-15 – is in part-time not full time mode<sup>2</sup>). Almost 80% of new jobs between 2010 and 2013 have been low paid<sup>3</sup> and 540,000 jobs created from 2010-14 (TUC)) is in agency work, zero-hours contracts, and sub-contracted roles, not entrepreneurial business start-ups<sup>4</sup>. The under 25 year olds is one of two demographics most likely to be working in zero hours contracts (ONS)<sup>5</sup>.

Wages have stagnated for most workers and have been in decline since 2007 in real terms. This has hit the lowest paid the most, including those young adults most exposed to poverty. The real hourly rate of workers under the age of 30 has fallen by 11% from 2008 to 2014<sup>6</sup>. Young adults, as a whole, have suffered the greatest fall in living standards between 2008 and 2014 (ONS)<sup>7</sup>. Unemployment, since the crash, hit the 18-24 year group the hardest, accounting for over 29% of the rise in unemployment from 2008-2011, double its share of the work force; more people are out of work in the 16-24 year old group than any other<sup>8</sup>. UK unemployment for young people is at a 17 year high, with 21.9% youth unemployment, with 1.02 million 16-24 year olds

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<sup>2</sup> Office for National Statistics. (2016). *Trends in self-employment in the UK: 2001 to 2015*. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployee/types/articles/trendsinselfemploymentintheuk/2001to2015> (Accessed July 2015).

<sup>3</sup> TUC. (2013). *Four in Five jobs since June 2010 have been in low paid industries*. Available at: <https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/four-five-jobs-created-june-2010-have-been-low-paid-industries> (Accessed: July 2013).

<sup>4</sup> Toynbee, P. (2014) 'Help to Work is a costly way of punishing the jobless', *The Guardian*, 15 April.

<sup>5</sup> Inman, P., (2015) 'Zero-hours Britain: number who rely on jobs with no guaranteed shifts leaps to 700,000', *The Guardian*, 26 February.

<sup>6</sup> Mason, P. 'Who will stand up for the young against the loan shark, the rip-off landlord and the profiteering boss?', *The Guardian*, 21 July.

<sup>7</sup> Stewart, H. (2015) 'The great wages crash', *The Guardian*, 30 January.

<sup>8</sup> Monaghan, A. (2014) 'Boom to bust: postwar generation lose out', *The Guardian*, 4 July.

unemployed (ONS<sup>9</sup>). The unemployment rate in graduates is better than for those without degrees, but in 2011 it was 18.5% (ONS<sup>10</sup>).

More young adults than ever before begin internships rather than employment proper, the highest proportion ever of which are unpaid - rising from 18% to 31% in the three years to 2013<sup>11</sup>. The internship route is unsustainable, particularly in areas of higher employment such as London and the south-east, and higher rents and other living costs, for young adults without wealthy parents. It is difficult for university students without wealthy parents to attempt to establish themselves in employment through the intern route. In 2014, nearly one third of graduate internees are unpaid, each spending nearly £1000 per month to work<sup>12</sup>.

In the unprecedented weak recovery of developed economies following the 2008 crash, weaker trade union organisation of labour, and political resistance to neoliberal discourses internationally, there has been a shift of wealth from the poorest to the richest, and from state to private interest, resulting in increased inequalities within UK society. There has been a downward pressure upon skilled workers and those with higher educational achievement to take employment below their skill level - 50% of university graduates, for example, do work previously done by younger non-graduates<sup>13</sup>.

Those leaving university do so with the highest levels of personal indebtedness ever, largely due to the marketisation of higher education and steep increases in university fees, and rent exploitation of students in university towns. For example, those graduating from English universities in

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<sup>9</sup> Allen, K. (2011) 'Youth Unemployment Hits 1 Million', *The Guardian*, 16 November. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2011/nov/16/youth-unemployment-hits-1m-uk> (Accessed: November 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Shepher, J. (2011) '20% of graduates out of work', *The Guardian*, 26 January. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2011/jan/26/fifth-graduates-unemployed-ons>

<sup>11</sup> Jones, O. (2014) 'Unpaid internships rig the system. Curb them, now', *The Guardian*, 15 December.

<sup>12</sup> Sutton Trust. (2014). *Nearly a third of graduate interns are unpaid, each spending £926 a month to work for free*. <https://www.suttontrust.com/newsarchive/nearly-a-third-of-graduate-interns-are-unpaid-each-spending-926-a-month-to-work-for-free/> (Accessed: November 2014).

<sup>13</sup> Guardian, 19.11.2013, Katie Allen, K. (2013) 'Half of recent UK graduates stuck in non-graduate jobs, says ONS', *The Guardian*, 19 November. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2013/nov/19/half-recent-uk-graduates-stuck-jobs-ons> (Accessed: November 2013).



2011 do so with an average debt of £22,000. Clearly, students with wealthy parents are hit least with respect to financing student housing, living costs and fees. The overwhelming majority of participants in this study have, or anticipate to bear the major load of debt. Even though the interest rate on student loans for those included in this study was low, there is great divergence in the perception of indebtedness by young people, including associating debt with personal aspiration<sup>14</sup>, there is also a greater aversion to debt amongst students from lower social classes<sup>15</sup>, and the association of debt and personal aspiration and making adult choices is strongest in those of higher social class<sup>16</sup> and, in the short term, debt may be perceived as making adult choices. The negative perception of indebtedness in the long term is associated with being powerless, a burden, and an encumbrance to personal, social aspiration. There is a greater aversion to student debt in those from low social classes which restricts going to university<sup>17</sup>.

The increased mobility required to find employment, internships and temporary work, is hardest for the least wealthy. Rents are high and are highest in those areas of the country where there are more employment possibilities. It is now more difficult for young adults to establish themselves in their own accommodation without the financial assistance of wealthy parents<sup>18</sup>. The cost of rents has escalated exponentially, in a largely unregulated housing market with unprecedented low numbers of new building and social housing stock. 'Gentrification' of city housing stock, including privatised council housing, particularly severe in London, accompanied by global

<sup>14</sup> Maringe, F, Foskett, N, Roberts, D, "I can survive on jam sandwiches for the next three years"; The impact of the new fees regime on students' attitudes to HE and debt, in *International Journal of Educational Management*, 2009, Vol.23(2), p.145-160

<sup>15</sup> Callender, C, Jackson, J, Does the Fear of Debt Deter Students from Higher Education?, in *Journal of Social Policy* Vol. 34(4) pp.509-540

<sup>16</sup> Dwyer, R. E., McCloud, L, Hodson, R, Youth debt, mastery, and self-esteem: Class-stratified effects of indebtedness on self-concept, *Social Science Research*, 2011, Vol.40 (3), pp 727-741

<sup>17</sup> Benson, P. (2011) 'Student Debt is a good reason to avoid uni', *The Guardian*, 19 August. Available at:

<https://www.theguardian.com/money/2011/aug/19/student-debt-avoid-university> (Accessed November 2011).

<sup>18</sup> Collinson, P., Wynarczyk, N. (2011). 'Student Loans – how the debt racks up', *The Guardian*, 12 August. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/money/2011/aug/12/student-loan-how-debt-racks-up> (Accessed: November 2011).

investors' purchase of a high proportion of new housing, distorting the market, has exacerbated the shortage of affordable accommodation for young adults. Because of the restructuring of lenders' exposure to financial risk, following the 2008 crash, a higher proportion of earning to mortgage debt is required for house deposit, on average during this period £25-30K, pricing out young adults without wealthy parents. The rising trend of the proportion of first-time buyers who need assistance from parents continues, becoming by 2015 52% nationally, and two thirds in London<sup>19</sup>. Those born between 1982 and 2004 are 10 percentage points less likely to own their own home than their parents (Resolution Foundation<sup>20</sup>). Whereas in 1998, more than half of 16-34 year olds, from households earning between 10-50% of national average wage, were buying their own home. In the period of 2013-14, that had dropped to a quarter<sup>21</sup>.

More and more young adults are returnees to the family home, or the home of one parent, after training, university education or a period of employment; and patterns of partially independent living away from a parental home, and living in 'intermediate' households, usually friends', are more common. The period of not being able to move out of home is extensive: one in five 18-34 year olds.<sup>22</sup> As ever, the impact is greatest upon the poor. Key changes in the organisation of families and households include young couples delaying having children<sup>23</sup>, and delaying marriage<sup>24</sup>. More young adults are carers of their own parents<sup>25</sup>,

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<sup>19</sup> Osborne, H., Bachelor, L. (2015) 'More than half of UK first-time buyers had help with deposits in 2014', *The Guardian*, 2 March. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/money/2015/mar/05/uk-first-time-buyers-half-help-with-deposits-2014> (Accessed: April 2015).

<sup>20</sup> Elliott, L. (2016) 'Analysis: An economic model that's creaking with age' *The Guardian*, 15 February.

<sup>21</sup> Elliott, L., and Osbourne, H., (2016) 'In 2025, only the rich will own their own homes', *The Guardian*, 13 February.

<sup>22</sup> Shelter. (2010). *Affordability Crisis Fractures Families* Available at: [http://england.shelter.org.uk/news/previous\\_years/2010/february\\_2010/affordability\\_crisis\\_fractures\\_families](http://england.shelter.org.uk/news/previous_years/2010/february_2010/affordability_crisis_fractures_families) (Accessed: October 2011).

<sup>23</sup> Chalabi, M. (2013) 'UK women delay babies later than ever before', *The Guardian*, 16 October. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2013/oct/16/motherhood-global-trends> (Accessed: November 2013)

<sup>24</sup> Office for National Statistics. (2018). Marriages in England and Wales: 2015. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/marriagecohabitationandcivilpartnerships/bulletins/marriagesinenglandandwalesprovisional/2015> (Accessed: March 2018).

<sup>25</sup> Quinn, B., (2013) 'Thousands of children as young as five act as family carers, figures show', *The Guardian*, 16 May. Accessed:

with accompanying exclusion from education, employment and training and social development.

Job Seeker's Allowance, has been tied to 'workfare' schemes, including mandatory, unpaid work placements and training and sanctions for non-compliance. Housing Benefit is not available to those young adults who return home or live with a relative. Working Tax Credit is limited to disability, child-rearing responsibility and a minimum number of working hours. Benefits are aggregated and subject to a benefit cap, in line with the introduction of a Universal Credit' scheme.

The slashing of housing benefit for young people for people aged 25-35, along with the scrapping of education maintenance allowance and tripling of university tuition fees, is now being characterized politically as intergenerational inequality.<sup>26</sup>

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<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2013/may/16/thousands-children-caregivers-family-data> (Accessed June 2013).

<sup>26</sup>Malik, S., Barr, C., (2016) 'UK faces permanent generational divide, social mobility tsar warns', The Guardian, 11 March. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/11/uk-faces-permanent-generational-divide-social-mobility-tsar-warns> (Accessed March 2016).

## Appendix 7

### Phase 2 focus groups: prompt sheets

What follows are copies of the sheets given to the male and female focus groups to support their discussion.

#### **SHEET 1: SITUATIONS**

##### **Situations**

Suppose a parent has decided that the whole family is going to be Vegan from now on. (Veganism is a diet and lifestyle that tries not to use animals in any way - for food, clothing or any other purpose.) The family has been told about the cruelty involving factory farming, the abuse of animal rights and the health risks to humans eating animal products. The family has also been told how much cheaper it will be for the family in these cash-strapped times; and that there will be more money then to buy things that the children want, like holidays and clothes. **What should happen?**

Charlie, aged 16, is friends with a group of four other young women. They spend a lot of time in each other's company, for example, at college, every break and lunch time. the four other young women have decided to go on a crash diet before the summer holidays so that they can look good. All of the group, including Charlie, have a long-standing plan of going on holiday together after the exams in the summer. at lunchtimes, the four have started to sneer at Charlie who brings a packed lunch, and bitch about her being fat. they have decided to eat nothing at all in the daytime. They spend their lunchtimes pouring over girls' magazines, comparing themselves to the models featured on its pages, and talking about what they will wear when they are super thin. **What should happen? Should Charlie say something? If so, what should it be?**

Suppose a group of female friends, aged 16, have decided to do their version of the television programme 'Come Dine With Me'. they are very excited and

have insisted that they must create a 'fine dining' experience. Each of them has to cook a dish 'to impress' the others. Each person will record their reactions and judgements to a video camera. each in turn will give each dish a mark out of ten and say what it tells them about the person who cooked it. After the meal, they will open a bottle of pink, fizzy wine and watch the finished video together. **If one of the friends can't cook, do you think she should ask another friend or a parent to cook the dish for her? If not, why should she not ask?**

Suppose a group of female friends have noticed that one of them, Gina, who is the thinnest of them all, is continuing to lose weight at an alarming rate. She has become very distant to the others and has told them to "lay off" whenever they try to talk to about it with her. One friend knows that at home she has started to take her evening meal up to her room, only to throw it down the toilet. **What should happen?**

A lad of seventeen wants to impress his new girlfriend by taking her out for a special meal in a restaurant. He doesn't want to get it wrong. One friend has told him that he thinks she is vegan and is big on animal rights; but another has told him that her family are very rich and often dine out at expensive restaurants and that she is an expert on wine and food. His only experience of eating out is Mac Donalds. **What should happen? Should he talk to her beforehand? If yes, then what should he reveal and what should he keep secret?**

A young man or woman is spending the weekend with the family of his/her girlfriend/ boyfriend. The first evening, they have 'supper' together around a long table. 'Supper' includes being given a large plate of cooked food. The meal includes many things that the guest has never eaten before and some things that s/he finds horrible to eat/. On top of that, the portions are far too big. Everyone else is eating everything enthusiastically, passing comment on how each item of food is really good. The guest feels horrible about him/herself, feels rude and obliged to finish. **Should s/he speak up? If yes, then what should s/he say? If not, what should s/he do?**

A young person of eighteen starts university. S/he has worked out how much money there is going to be for food each week - £15. S/he shares a house with three other students. At the moment, the others all buy microwave meals and do their own thing. **What should s/he plan to buy and cook to stay healthy on £15 per week? Should s/he involve the others in some way? If so what should s/he say?**

David finds fast food horrible and has always avoided going to MacDonalds or Burger King or any of the other fast food outlets. He is into sport, trains a lot and hates eating anything that he thinks is bad for him. he always wants to know what the ingredients in food are and where they've come from. One afternoon, he's out with three friends who insist that he goes to MacDonalds with them, telling him that if he's never been, he can't pass judgement. **What should he say?**

## **SHEET 2: WAYS OF THINKING OR FEELING ABOUT FOOD**

<b>way of thinking or feeling about food</b>	<b>explanation</b>
pleasing parents	following their directions; following their advice and common sense about food; listening and not showing disagreement with their food philosophies
parent pressure	being reminded of past experiences and behaviours; being expected to behave and think according to their wishes
gender cook	negotiating with friend, family or society expectations that male and female participation in the preparation and cooking of food are distinct, including use of the kitchen

way of thinking or feeling about food	explanation
gender eat	negotiating with friend, family or society expectations that male and female choice of food and style of eating is distinct
family distinction	personally feeling, or being reminded or told, that your family's food practices are different to the food practices of some other families
cultural capital	having knowledge about food that gives you a social and personal advantage
food philosophy	being alleged to a view about food in a way that speaks for who you believe you are
identification	seeing a food or style of food as a part of who you are
family inheritance	seeing a food or style of food as a part of who your family are
celebration	celebrating the sourcing, choosing, preparation, consumption or discussion of food
policing of self in public	checking and correcting one's appearance or behaviour, in front of others
policing of self in private	checking and correcting one's appearance or behaviour in front of yourself

way of thinking or feeling about food	explanation
maintaining balance	checking and correcting the intake of different foods in order to maintain the body and mood in a 'beneficial' way
deregulation	relaxing self-constraint and breaking rules of consumption in order to please yourself and/or others
resentment	resenting feeling under pressure to having to be or perform in a certain way, including comparison of yourself to media representations
resistance	being determined to refuse the pressure put upon you
guilt	feeling bad about yourself and you are to blame for how you feel
avoidance	keeping your head down and not participating, including not trying to look a certain way and not taking up a personal 'position' to food issues
future progression	wanting to be different in the future, including imagining a different relationship to food and eating
healthy food	dealing with messages about food said to be good for you
unhealthy food	dealing with messages about food said to be bad for you



way of thinking or feeling about food	explanation
fancy food	dealing with what you feel is 'posh' and unfamiliar.
fine food	dealing with food that you feel is special and unfamiliar
aesthetic attraction	finding the physical properties of a food interesting and desirable eg texture, touch, appearance, smell; or finding its associations attractive
aesthetic repulsion	finding the physical properties of a food off-putting and repellent eg texture, touch, appearance, smell; or finding its associations negative or disturbing

### **SHEET 3: THINGS ABOUT FOOD TO THINK ABOUT**

things about food to think about	explanation
types of food according to location	such as home food, school food, restaurant food, pub food
types of food according to perceived quality	such as 'good food'/ 'bad food'; 'healthy food'/ unhealthy food; 'institutional food'/ 'nice food'

things about food to think about	explanation
types of food according to allegiance	such as 'my food' or my family's food or food that you associate with such positive thoughts, you wouldn't want anyone to criticise it; or 'other people's food', the food that you just can't imagine yourself eating.
types of eating style and etiquette	such as how you eat at home/ how other people you know eat at home - together around a table at meal time, in your own room, next to your computer, snacking; or how you eat with friends; or how you eat when you are out.
types of knowledge and skill	such as being taught by a family member how to cook; knowing how to cook a style or cultural food properly; knowing how to prepare restaurant-style food; knowing about 'fine food'; knowing where to eat well; being a 'foodie'
wealth	such as having money in the family to spend a lot on food and not worry about it; or having to budget carefully or buy food that is cheap in order to cope

things about food to think about	explanation
work	such as being on your feet all day and not having time to eat much in the day; such as having a packed lunch; such as being too physically tired to spend long on cooking or on buying food.
body image	such as the pressure on females to look like models on magazine covers; and on males to have a type of muscular body; on causing unhappiness and guilt
peer pressure	such as being judged about what you eat, what you like, what you do around food; and on being pressured to conform to what others do and say.
home debate	such as difference of opinion about eating around a table together at meal times v 'grazing'; or about vegetarianism; or about organic food; or about 'Fairtrade' or carbon miles; or seasonal food; or Tesco chickens and rearing standards; or about free-range v intensively farmed

things about food to think about	explanation
exercise	such as something done with other people or done on your own; such as a way of 'burning off' high calorie foods or to keep off weight; or to be fit or healthy; or to feel good
television	such as watching 'Come Dine with Me' or watching 'Masterchef'; or liking a telly-chef eg Gordon Ramsay or Jamie Oliver; or really not liking these things
internet	such as talking about how you feel and body image and happiness or otherwise on social networking sites; or using sites that give advice or tips about body image or about styles of eating or not-eating
the future	such as what you imagine yourself doing in two years or six years time and how you imagine that the way that you will go out with other people to eat, how you imagine eating at home, cooking in your own style at home, or not; imagining where you want to go and how you want to be in the future

things about food to think about	explanation
fast food	such as going or not going to MacDonalds, Burger King etc; your attitudes to them; how often you go or other people go; or what other food is 'fast-food'; the difference between 'fast-food' and 'slow-food'.

## Appendix 8

### AS Film Studies Specification

What follows is a section of WJEC Film Studies Specification 2009 (pages 10-12) relevant to the creative work of Phase 2 participants: the production of a narrative photo-board or written step outline', and the writing of a reflective analysis.

#### **4 SPECIFICATION CONTENT**

##### **Advanced Subsidiary**

##### **FM1: EXPLORING FILM FORM**

##### **Focus of the unit**

This unit focuses on the **micro features** of film and the construction of meaning and emotion. Understanding will be fostered through:

- studying micro features of film: mise-en-scène, performance, cinematography, editing and sound
- identifying how these construct meanings and contribute to the sensory impact of film
- reflecting on individual response to micro features of film as a means of exploring the relationship between film and spectator
- creating a sequence to demonstrate how micro features produce meanings and responses.

Throughout this unit, the emphasis will be on the **interaction** of film and spectator.

##### **Content**

##### **(a) The micro features of film**

This unit requires the study of the micro features of film.

- **Mise-en-scène** includes setting, props, staging, costume and makeup, figure expression and movement and off-screen space.
- **Performance** includes physical expression, vocal delivery and interaction between performers (with reference to issues of staging/choreography where relevant).
- **Cinematography** includes photographic elements (e.g. camera position, colour, lens, depth of focus), lighting, framing and composition and special effects.
- **Editing** includes the organisation of time, both within a sequence and across sections of the narrative and the organisation of space, especially in creating coherence for the spectator. The principal conventions of continuity editing, such as shot/reverse shot and the 180 degree rule, will be studied. The uses of montage editing will also be considered.
- **Sound** includes diegetic sound, non-diegetic sound and the variety of ways in which aural elements (e.g. speech, music and noise) are used in relation to visuals.

It is recognised that it is often difficult to separate micro and macro features of film, although macro features – narrative and genre – will be the basis for FM2.

**(b) Spectators**

The unit encourages candidates to develop an awareness of their active role as spectators in working with the way the micro features of film construct meanings and contribute to the sensory impact of film. The extent to which responses derive from the micro features of film and the extent to which they derive from personal and/or cultural identity will begin to be explored.

**(c) Producers**

This unit also encourages candidates to develop their analytical and creative skills, reflecting their growing understanding and appreciation of the micro features of film and the ways in which these can be deployed in order to create meaning and produce response.

**Assessment**

Candidates should complete **two** main items, assessing AO2 and AO3:

**(a) An analysis of a film extract - 1500 words (30 marks)**

Candidates are required to explore how **one or more** of mise-en-scène, performance, cinematography, editing, and sound construct meaning and provoke response in a film extract.

- Candidates are encouraged to support their work with illustrative visual material.
- Recommended length of extract: approximately 3-5 minutes (depending on the complexity of the extract).

*An approach in which a whole class studies the same extract is not permitted.*

**(b) Creative Project: aims & context, film sequence or short film and reflective analysis (50 marks)**

Candidates are required to create a film sequence or a complete short film that demonstrates how the micro features of film construct meaning. This comprises three elements:

**(i) Aims and context**

A clarification of the aims and context of the sequence or short film to be completed on the appropriate cover sheet.

Please note: the 'Aims and Context' **must** be completed on the appropriate cover sheet, otherwise the Creative Project and accompanying Reflective Analysis cannot be adequately assessed.

**(ii) Film Sequence or Short Film**

The film sequence may **either** be an extract from longer film **or** a complete short film, with the emphasis on visual communication rather than on dialogue. It may take one of the following forms:

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- an **extended step outline** of 1000 words (representing 5-8 scenes)
- a **photographed (digital or photo-chemical) storyboard** of between 10 and 25 different shots (some of which may be repeated) plus up to 5 found shots (shots which would be difficult to photograph or where locations need to be established). The 5 found shots **must** be acknowledged.
- a **film sequence or short film** of approximately 2 minutes and containing between 10 and 25 different shots (some of which may be repeated).

**Group work** is permitted for the **filmmaking** option (maximum 4).

*Groups of candidates should take primary responsibility for – without precluding collaboration – one or more micro features of the sequence (such as camerawork, editing or sound). Each candidate must identify their role and the micro aspect they are responsible for on the appropriate coversheet.*

**(iii) Reflective analysis approximately 750 words or equivalent  
(10 marks)**

The reflective analysis should select key micro features of the sequence and demonstrate how they make meaning(s) and aim to provoke response(s) in audiences. Candidates working in a group should focus on the construction and impact of their chosen micro aspect.

The analysis can be presented:

- as a continuous piece of writing, with or without illustrative material
- in a digital form such as a suitably edited blog or another webbased format or
- as a focused DVD commentary.